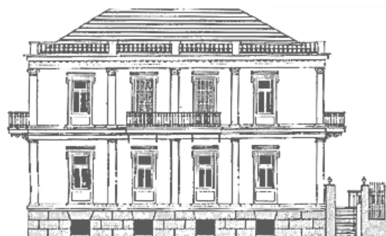
The History of Macedonia

Edited by

Ioannis Koliopoulos



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I. Prehistoric Macedonia

by Kostas Kotsakis

Professor of Prehistorical Archaeology, Department of History and Archaeology, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece

1. Introduction

In regional archaeology, interest is often accompanied or caused by specific geopolitical events. The classic example of such a relationship is Napoleon's campaign in Egypt with the rise of Egyptology in Europe, and the history of research is full of such instances, even in recent times. Macedonia is no exception to this. The Balkan Wars and the First World War in particular brought this mysterious and little known area of the Balkans to public attention. It is not by chance that the first studies were conducted by allied troops stationed at various points of Macedonia. Sometimes these were nothing more than the chance result of activities such as digging trenches. They had in any case been preceded by Rey's article and the useful book by Casson at the beginning of the century, which accompanied Wace and Thompson's classic work, itself a result of the then recent annexation of Thessaly to the Greek state. Systematic research, however, appeared only in 1939 with W. Heurtley's valuable book *Prehistoric Macedonia*, a founding work for the study of the prehistory of this region and based on research conducted in the 1920s.[1]

Without a doubt, however, as soon as research into Macedonian prehistory began, the region was seen in contrast to the South. This was to be expected: the South of Greece, the locus of classical civilisation and its prehistory, had from the 18th century been the core stereotype of the European perception of Greece, captivating the imagination of Europeans, through travellers, the landscapes of engravings, romantic descriptions of the *places* of classicism, and, of course, the archaeological artefacts. The European gaze defined research stances and approaches and scientifically shaped the type of archaeology that was practiced in the South: an archaeology that puts emphasis on art history as a high form of civilisation. For the history of archaeological research in Greece the role of Macedonia, as with that of Thessaly, has to a great degree been to act as a catalyst against the stereotypes of South Greek archaeology. It is not by chance that the first truly interdisciplinary archaeological programme in Greek prehistory, which marked the beginning of contemporary archaeological research, was conducted in Macedonia in the early 1960s; despite its unfortunate progress, it provided a model for much of the subsequent research carried out in Greece.[2]

If, as Heurtley himself explained in the introduction to his book, the purpose was to demonstrate that 'Macedonia goes with the South' and not with the 'North',[3] this deep sense of difference must have been widespread at that time, a feeling strengthened by the recent political history of the region. Such discontinuity continues to shape research approaches even today, although to a lesser degree. The 'North-South Divide' has been repeatedly discussed in relation to developments in South Greece that were absent in Macedonia, such as the appearance of palace culture and 'social complexity', thus creating a kind of geographical and cultural 'boundary'.[4] Just what the contribution of ancient political thought was to the formation of this notion of a difference that can be seen to the north and south of an imaginary 'boundary' is a matter for specialist

scholars. The only thing one should say about the prehistory of the region, admittedly on a general level, is that such a view of the boundary most probably leads to the essentialisation and objectification of multi-dimensional phenomena, such as social organisation or complexity, which neither have a stable content nor, as such, are they necessarily always manifested in the same way. For example, social complexity can be ascertained in various fields and not simply in the field of political organisation, nor in particular in the way in which power is diffused throughout the social structure. The last appears to predominate and to characterise certain societies in the Late Helladic period in the Peloponnese and Central Greece, obviously through specific social situations and special structural characteristics, but it does not necessarily prevail in other geographical areas, with different historical parameters. An archaeological discussion that insists on similar limits ends up looking at the appearance of specific archaeological forms, on both sides of the boundary, which it usually considers as stable and unchanging, and labels as 'types', e.g. palace type or a special pottery type. The presence of a 'palace', however, cannot be considered necessarily concomitant with political hierarchy, nor does it fully explain a hierarchy, whilst the absence of a palace does not necessarily also mean the absence of any form of social hierarchy. Pottery types cannot be compared without first understanding the function of the pots and the process of their production within different social contexts, in which they participate and partly produce, as elements of the material culture. There is, therefore, a deeper difficulty in formulating an analytic discourse that is based on stable categories that are formed through the concept of the ideal boundary. For this reason, each phenomenon shall here by approached, as far as possible, within its own parameters without being subject to generalised categories that presuppose in advance a specific content, meaning and role.

A similar difficulty, connected completely to the above, arises from the application of ethnic or cultural categories that are often adopted, seemingly indiscriminately, in an effort to reconstruct Macedonian prehistory. The meaning of cultural group (which, at bottom, does not represent anything more than selected archaeological categories of material culture, mainly pottery), is a popular tool in archaeological studies for historically reconfiguring peoples and groups with a supposed distinctive spatial behaviour, traceable thanks to the material culture and archaeological remains.[5] According to this view, the archaeological evidence reveals ethnic and cultural origins, movements and even migrations and colonisations. It overlooks, however, the fact that this traceable distribution of finds is essentially the result of the one-dimensional significance that archaeological research attaches to material culture, pottery in particular. If pottery and material culture are not evidence of cultural origins, but elements of the identity of the groups living in a region, then the picture that emerges is significantly different. In place of a linear movement of cultural groups, a dense multi-dimensional network of relations and contacts between prehistoric communities is shaped, which may not have the schematic simplicity of conventional reconstruction, but is undoubtedly richer and perhaps nearer the reality of prehistoric life. We shall not, however, discuss the question of origins in general, a question with particular theoretical and semiological overtones, and which goes beyond the scope of this chapter.

Finally, in terms of the history of research, a couple of words on the geography of this region. Regardless of geopolitical developments, the geographical region of Macedonia is defined by the outflow basin of the River Axios, which connects the areas to the north and south of the contemporary political boundary, i.e., from the borders of Greece and the F.Y. Republic of Macedonia. In this presentation of the prehistory, the aim shall not be to adopt a new, contemporary boundary to replace the ideal one between North and South of the early 20th century, shifting the dividing line some kilometres to the north, to today's borders between the two countries. Even so, it is in-

teresting, and ought to be noted, that, in terms of the international interest, the reconstruction of prehistory on both sides of the borders has not followed parallel paths. In the F.Y. Republic of Macedonia, foreign research projects have only recently taken off, in parallel with the local ones. On the Greek side, the initial picture was shaped within an international environment, already before the Second World War. The participation of Greek scholars has been felt only in the last few decades, becoming prevalent from the 1980s onwards.

2. The natural environment

No record of human activity is complete without the parameter of the environment. As prehistorians had already observed in the previous century, the environment provides the totality of the potential and resources that any human group has available to it, independently of how much and in which way it uses them. It is a potential productive dynamic, which, in contrast with the widespread notion of stability, is in constant motion and change, as a result of repeated natural processes and phenomena. At the same time, humans, in their daily contact with their surroundings, are constantly transforming the natural environment into landscape, and space into the *place* of their daily practices. The natural environment, then, as it is being transformed into social environment, is in constant dialogue with social reality. In order to understand the parameters of the life of prehistoric man, the successive creation of prehistoric landscapes is a central theme in the history of human settlement. Throughout the whole of the prehistoric period, we can closely observe the creation of these prehistoric palimpsests that were marked on space by, sometimes lesser and sometimes greater, human interventions.

Our knowledge of the Macedonian environment is not so detailed as to permit a particularly good picture, specialised for different regions. We have fragmentary knowledge of the natural changes, for certain regions where related research has been carried out. A classic example is the alluvial deposits of the Thermaic gulf. Struck and Hammond's historical hypothesis has been confirmed by systematic later studies in the region, which indicate an extensive episode of alluvial deposits, which in later antiquity transformed the deep Thermaic gulf into a lagoon, and from a shallow lake in more modern times to a complex interaction of alluvial deposit deltas, with a rise in the sea level.[6] Studies on the geomorphology of the area of North Pieria have reconstructed the stages in the complicated sequence of erosion and alluviation, in which humans also played a part. The deposits in the plain of Katerini exceed 10 metres. The distinct episodes of deposits in the adjacent streams date from the early 7th millennium BC, i.e. the beginning of the Neolithic period, whilst the last episodes date to the middle and modern historical era. As such, many sites, of which only a very few have so far been found by chance, are presumed to be 'buried' at the lowest points of the relief. In contrast, the hills that surround the plain have undergone extensive erosion and the archaeological sites in these areas have, to a great degree, been destroyed. The coastline of Pieria has experienced similar dramatic changes. The conclusion is that the picture that we have for diachronic human settlement is to a great degree distorted by natural geomorphic processes, whilst the available microenvironment of sites was at any given moment completely different from that suggested by the present picture of the landscape.[7]

The example of North Pieria shows just how important reconstruction of the environmental history is in order to understand the elements of the landscape independent of period, also highlighting the need for extensive geomorphological studies. In this context, the sense of the 'immobility' of the natural environment, which general opinion sees as a stable parameter within the mobility of history, is demonstrated to be inaccurate and unreliable. This is compounded when vegetation, the element with which

humans developed a direct and multi-dimensional relationship, is added to the environmental factors. Thankfully, analyses of the pollen that covers the whole of the area of Greek Macedonia give, to a certain extent, a clearer picture of the fluctuations in deciduous forest, in comparison with the geomorphology, allowing hypotheses to be made as to temperature changes and, primarily, the relationship between vegetation and human activity. For example, it is suggested that in the 5th millennium BC summer in the uplands may have been up to 4 degrees warmer than today. In contrast, only by the Bronze Age, indeed towards its end, does there appear to be some vegetation regression, most likely a result of the intensive grazing and colonisation of the uplands. Even so, the palaeobotanical evidence is not conclusive enough to verify this.[8]

3. Early Prehistory

The earliest human presence in Greece has been identified in Macedonia. The Petralona hominid of Chalkidiki has been extensively discussed, both for his age as well as for his anthropological characterisation. It is generally agreed today that he represents a distinct species of Eurafrican Middle Pleistocene archaic *Homo sapiens*, known as *Homo heidelbergensis*, whilst the most recent laboratory datings place his presence to around 150–250,000 before Present (B.P.).[9] This has now closed an issue that caused a number of disagreements and, on occasion, strong controversies, whilst older estimates at dating have been demonstrated to have been exaggerated.[10]

Human presence during the earliest period of Greek prehistory, known as the Lower Palaeolithic, has now been demonstrated by the discovery of surface finds. The findings at Rodia in Thessaly have been added to those of the South Peloponnese, whilst recent finds at Zagliveri near Thessaloniki demonstrate that human presence was far more regular during this period than had previously been thought.[11] The exceptionally patchy data cannot at present but underline the gap in our knowledge and our inability to discuss the more complex questions that preoccupy specialists of the early periods, such as, for example, the African origin of Neanderthals and the first entry of human beings into the Greek peninsula.[12] A similar indication is the well-known handaxe from Palaiokastro near Kozani, the work of a human similar to the Petralona hominid. The locations of these finds, at strategic passes between distinct geographical units, confirm the particularly large-scale movement of groups of that time. Tracing the archaeological evidence for human presence will undoubtedly require systematic and painstaking research, which in Greece, and in particular in Macedonia, has only just started, with few and limited resources.[13]

There is a significant gap in the early prehistory of Macedonia, in relation to the late Pleistocene and early Holocene. We do not have any specific indications of human presence in the area before and after the glacial maximum of the 18th millennium, and the gap is not even filled for those areas of Macedonia which are today located to the north of the Greek border. The haematite mines at Limenaria on Thasos, dating to the Late Palaeolithic, are an exception.[14] It is logical to attribute this gap to the lack of dedicated, specialist research and to a limited understanding of the Pleistocene deposits and their complicated geological characteristics, as well as to the difficulty in locating and interpreting archaeological remains that are not easily visible and recognisable. So far, however, the first clear archaeological traces of the Holocene can be dated to the late 7th century BC. This means that the crucial phase of permanent settlement and agricultural life is not represented in Macedonia, at least not to the extent and in the same way that it is represented in Thessaly. Research has only just cautiously taken off, and it is certain that there will be more data in the near future, which will permit a more complete understanding.

On the available data, the first Neolithic settlements do not precede the last quarter of the 7th millennium — in other words, they are much later than the corresponding Thessalian ones dated to the first quarter of the same millennium. The processes by which the first landscapes of the Neolithic farmers were shaped escape us, since even the systematic excavations of this phase are not yet adequate. The process by which the earliest communities emerged at the beginning of the Neolithic period in Greece escapes us completely, although various versions as to how they made their appearance can be found in the scholarly literature. In general, the discussion focuses either on the idea of 'neolithisation' or on that of the 'Neolithic transformation'. The former usually emphasises the imposition — or transfer — of a social and economic structure, usually through the movement of people and colonisation, that had already been formed in the Middle East and Central Anatolia, thus explaining the first Neolithic settlements.[15] The latter, by contrast, without excluding movements, lays greater emphasis on the process by which the supposed economic and social model is transformed, as it reorients itself to the many and various interactions with the environment (natural and social), local populations and moving groups.[16] Of course, the simplistic way in which the question of the beginning of the Neolithic was posed by the previous generation of archaeologists, i.e. as either a question of autochthonous development or as a result of migration, no longer stands. Both contemporary hypotheses understand that the shift to the Neolithic represents a deeper social change that must be understood on its own terms, within a context that research must reconstruct as far as possible.

In the case of Thessaly, the view that the earliest settlements are due to population movements from the Middle East and Central Anatolia prevails.[17] Research knows nothing of the local pre-Neolithic populations of Macedonia, and as such it has so far proven simply impossible to determine their relationship with the exogenous groups. Although it was proposed in the 1980s, the view of the autochthonous rise of the Neolithic has today been abandoned. Neither does the issue of the movement of farming populations from Anatolia to southern Greece via Macedonia arise, since the earliest known settlements are later than those of Thessaly. Moreover, no sites dating to the Early Neolithic (i.e. the 7th millennium) have been located in East Macedonia and Thrace, making it difficult to argue for the movement of these populations through these areas.

The classic view for the position that Macedonia had in the spread of the Neolithic throughout Europe follows the model of Gordon Childe, formulated in the inter-war period.[18] According to this model, Macedonia was the natural channel for the penetration of the Neolithic to Europe, along the Axios, Morava and Danube river valleys. Following the chronology of the sites-stops on this route, this movement must have taken place in the last centuries of the 7th millennium. Yet, this linear route can only be observed if one is limited to the rough framework of the archaeological data, as earlier scholars were of necessity due to a lack of data. When we take a closer look at the particular manifestations of this cultural route, then a whole set of differences arises to destroy this simple picture. For example, the early sites identified in the Ochrid area could shift the dates for the movements of the Neolithic period if it is proven that they are earlier than the early sites of Greek West Macedonia.[19] Indeed, some scholars, such as Catherine Perlès, believe that Neolithic colonisation of Greek Macedonia came from the Balkans and not the other way round. The Neolithic Balkans are now associated by some scholars more with NW Anatolia, via the Bosphorus, and less with Neolithic Thessaly, with which the similarities truly do seem less close.[20]

As noted in the introduction, this debate wholeheartedly accepts the basic hypothesis of cultural archaeology, that the similarities in the material culture of different regions indicate a cultural relationship, and that this is only possible through population

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No record of human activity is complete without the parameter of the environment. As prehistorians had already observed in the previous century, the environment provides the totality of the potential and resources that any human group has available to it, independently of how much and in which way it uses them. It is a potential productive dynamic, which, in contrast with the widespread notion of stability, is in constant motion and change, as a result of repeated natural processes and phenomena. At the same time, humans, in their daily contact with their surroundings, are constantly transforming the natural environment into landscape, and space into the *place* of their daily practices. The natural environment, then, as it is being transformed into social environment, is in constant dialogue with social reality. In order to understand the parameters of the life of prehistoric man, the successive creation of prehistoric landscapes is a central theme in the history of human settlement. Throughout the whole of the prehistoric period, we can closely observe the creation of these prehistoric palimpsests that were marked on space by, sometimes lesser and sometimes greater, human interventions.

Our knowledge of the Macedonian environment is not so detailed as to permit a particularly good picture, specialised for different regions. We have fragmentary knowledge of the natural changes, for certain regions where related research has been carried out. A classic example is the alluvial deposits of the Thermaic gulf. Struck and Hammond's historical hypothesis has been confirmed by systematic later studies in the region, which indicate an extensive episode of alluvial deposits, which in later antiquity transformed the deep Thermaic gulf into a lagoon, and from a shallow lake in more modern times to a complex interaction of alluvial deposit deltas, with a rise in the sea level.[6] Studies on the geomorphology of the area of North Pieria have reconstructed the stages in the complicated sequence of erosion and alluviation, in which humans also played a part. The deposits in the plain of Katerini exceed 10 metres. The distinct episodes of deposits in the adjacent streams date from the early 7th millennium BC, i.e. the beginning of the Neolithic period, whilst the last episodes date to the middle and modern historical era. As such, many sites, of which only a very few have so far been found by chance, are presumed to be 'buried' at the lowest points of the relief. In contrast, the hills that surround the plain have undergone extensive erosion and the archaeological sites in these areas have, to a great degree, been destroyed. The coastline of Pieria has experienced similar dramatic changes. The conclusion is that the picture that we have for diachronic human settlement is to a great degree distorted by natural geomorphic processes, whilst the available microenvironment of sites was at any given moment completely different from that suggested by the present picture of the landscape.[7]

The example of North Pieria shows just how important reconstruction of the environmental history is in order to understand the elements of the landscape independent of period, also highlighting the need for extensive geomorphological studies. In this context, the sense of the 'immobility' of the natural environment, which general opinion sees as a stable parameter within the mobility of history, is demonstrated to be inaccurate and unreliable. This is compounded when vegetation, the element with which humans developed a direct and multi-dimensional relationship, is added to the environmental factors. Thankfully, analyses of the pollen that covers the whole of the area of Greek Macedonia give, to a certain extent, a clearer picture of the fluctuations in deciduous forest, in comparison with the geomorphology, allowing hypotheses to be made as to temperature changes and, primarily, the relationship between vegetation and hu-

man activity. For example, it is suggested that in the 5th millennium BC summer in the uplands may have been up to 4 degrees warmer than today. In contrast, only by the Bronze Age, indeed towards its end, does there appear to be some vegetation regression, most likely a result of the intensive grazing and colonisation of the uplands. Even so, the palaeobotanical evidence is not conclusive enough to verify this.[8]

3. Early Prehistory

The earliest human presence in Greece has been identified in Macedonia. The Petralona hominid of Chalkidiki has been extensively discussed, both for his age as well as for his anthropological characterisation. It is generally agreed today that he represents a distinct species of Eurafrican Middle Pleistocene archaic *Homo sapiens*, known as *Homo heidelbergensis*, whilst the most recent laboratory datings place his presence to around 150–250,000 before Present (B.P.).[9] This has now closed an issue that caused a number of disagreements and, on occasion, strong controversies, whilst older estimates at dating have been demonstrated to have been exaggerated.[10]

Human presence during the earliest period of Greek prehistory, known as the Lower Palaeolithic, has now been demonstrated by the discovery of surface finds. The findings at Rodia in Thessaly have been added to those of the South Peloponnese, whilst recent finds at Zagliveri near Thessaloniki demonstrate that human presence was far more regular during this period than had previously been thought.[11] The exceptionally patchy data cannot at present but underline the gap in our knowledge and our inability to discuss the more complex questions that preoccupy specialists of the early periods, such as, for example, the African origin of Neanderthals and the first entry of human beings into the Greek peninsula.[12] A similar indication is the well-known handaxe from Palaiokastro near Kozani, the work of a human similar to the Petralona hominid. The locations of these finds, at strategic passes between distinct geographical units, confirm the particularly large-scale movement of groups of that time. Tracing the archaeological evidence for human presence will undoubtedly require systematic and painstaking research, which in Greece, and in particular in Macedonia, has only just started, with few and limited resources.[13]

There is a significant gap in the early prehistory of Macedonia, in relation to the late Pleistocene and early Holocene. We do not have any specific indications of human presence in the area before and after the glacial maximum of the 18th millennium, and the gap is not even filled for those areas of Macedonia which are today located to the north of the Greek border. The haematite mines at Limenaria on Thasos, dating to the Late Palaeolithic, are an exception.[14] It is logical to attribute this gap to the lack of dedicated, specialist research and to a limited understanding of the Pleistocene deposits and their complicated geological characteristics, as well as to the difficulty in locating and interpreting archaeological remains that are not easily visible and recognisable. So far, however, the first clear archaeological traces of the Holocene can be dated to the late 7th century BC. This means that the crucial phase of permanent settlement and agricultural life is not represented in Macedonia, at least not to the extent and in the same way that it is represented in Thessaly. Research has only just cautiously taken off, and it is certain that there will be more data in the near future, which will permit a more complete understanding.

On the available data, the first Neolithic settlements do not precede the last quarter of the 7th millennium — in other words, they are much later than the corresponding Thessalian ones dated to the first quarter of the same millennium. The processes by which the first landscapes of the Neolithic farmers were shaped escape us, since even the systematic excavations of this phase are not yet adequate. The process by which the

earliest communities emerged at the beginning of the Neolithic period in Greece escapes us completely, although various versions as to how they made their appearance can be found in the scholarly literature. In general, the discussion focuses either on the idea of 'neolithisation' or on that of the 'Neolithic transformation'. The former usually emphasises the imposition — or transfer — of a social and economic structure, usually through the movement of people and colonisation, that had already been formed in the Middle East and Central Anatolia, thus explaining the first Neolithic settlements.[15] The latter, by contrast, without excluding movements, lays greater emphasis on the process by which the supposed economic and social model is transformed, as it reorients itself to the many and various interactions with the environment (natural and social), local populations and moving groups.[16] Of course, the simplistic way in which the question of the beginning of the Neolithic was posed by the previous generation of archaeologists, i.e. as either a question of autochthonous development or as a result of migration, no longer stands. Both contemporary hypotheses understand that the shift to the Neolithic represents a deeper social change that must be understood on its own terms, within a context that research must reconstruct as far as possible.

In the case of Thessaly, the view that the earliest settlements are due to population movements from the Middle East and Central Anatolia prevails.[17] Research knows nothing of the local pre-Neolithic populations of Macedonia, and as such it has so far proven simply impossible to determine their relationship with the exogenous groups. Although it was proposed in the 1980s, the view of the autochthonous rise of the Neolithic has today been abandoned. Neither does the issue of the movement of farming populations from Anatolia to southern Greece via Macedonia arise, since the earliest known settlements are later than those of Thessaly. Moreover, no sites dating to the Early Neolithic (i.e. the 7th millennium) have been located in East Macedonia and Thrace, making it difficult to argue for the movement of these populations through these areas.

The classic view for the position that Macedonia had in the spread of the Neolithic throughout Europe follows the model of Gordon Childe, formulated in the inter-war period.[18] According to this model, Macedonia was the natural channel for the penetration of the Neolithic to Europe, along the Axios, Morava and Danube river valleys. Following the chronology of the sites-stops on this route, this movement must have taken place in the last centuries of the 7th millennium. Yet, this linear route can only be observed if one is limited to the rough framework of the archaeological data, as earlier scholars were of necessity due to a lack of data. When we take a closer look at the particular manifestations of this cultural route, then a whole set of differences arises to destroy this simple picture. For example, the early sites identified in the Ochrid area could shift the dates for the movements of the Neolithic period if it is proven that they are earlier than the early sites of Greek West Macedonia.[19] Indeed, some scholars, such as Catherine Perlès, believe that Neolithic colonisation of Greek Macedonia came from the Balkans and not the other way round. The Neolithic Balkans are now associated by some scholars more with NW Anatolia, via the Bosphorus, and less with Neolithic Thessaly, with which the similarities truly do seem less close.[20]

As noted in the introduction, this debate wholeheartedly accepts the basic hypothesis of cultural archaeology, that the similarities in the material culture of different regions indicate a cultural relationship, and that this is only possible through population movements and common origin. In reality, similarities in material culture (which in archaeology are always or almost always based on pottery, and less on architectural types) provide exceptionally insecure evidence, as has been demonstrated by a number of ethnographic and historical studies in the past few decades. Even more so, when, without exception, these similarities are selective, whilst the *differences* that always exist in ma-

terial culture - which is not located within a context of functions, meanings and symbols - are left uncommented. It is obvious that there are many and different reasons why societies might share or selectively imitate elements of material culture, without this meaning that they are connected through common descent or origin. And, as social anthropology teaches us, analytical categories such as culture, race, peoples and ethnicity are easily used as general schema, although their content is anything but self-evident.

Irrespective, however, of the origin of the Neolithic populations of Macedonia — a question that, in any case, does not produce secure conclusions — one thing is for certain, that in the last centuries of the 7th millennium Macedonia was inhabited by farmers and pastoralists. The best-known site that reveals to us the form of early Neolithic settlements is that of Nea Nikomedia. This site, located in Western Macedonia near the modern town of Veroia, is typified by square houses built with wooden posts and clay. A larger structure, almost in the centre of the settlement, had dimensions of 11,78 by 13,64 m., unusual for the period, and the excavator suggests that it must have housed a 'shrine' or a 'Community house', terms which describe a structure different from the rest. Its difference lies not only in its size, but also in its content: five large female figurines, small boxes of unbaked clay, two unused stone hoes with traces of colour and two groups of hundreds of flaked stone tools representing unified technological collections. The presence of these objects, as far as one can conclude from the description given, indicates a use that has nothing to do with daily household activities, perhaps analogous to that which we find in the early Neolithic central buildings that we know from South-east Anatolia from the 10th millennium BC. In contrast with those, here we have no trace of burial or other treatment of the dead, something that could mean that the presence of ancestors did not play a symbolic role in whichever activities took place in the interior of this structure.[21]

The settlement of Nea Nikomedia covered an area of around 2.4 hectares. In this particular area there were three building phases during the Early Neolithic creating for the first time in this region a permanent settlement to which people would return for hundreds of years. The meaning of *place* as a permanent point of reference in which social and productive relations were concentrated and in which the whole of Neolithic life was reproduced, appears on the scene for the first time. This was a place of *memory and continuity*, a section of the natural space in which the central functions of social cohesion took on a material existence, transforming it into a place predominantly of social reproduction. Correspondingly, even cultivated land, the field, emerges as the direct correspondent of the settlement, the main space for economic production.[22]

In this way, Neolithic farmers and agropastoralists shaped the new, Neolithic landscapes, which were gradually to predominate in the area of Macedonia. The location of these sites or settlements is, as might be expected, a basic parameter in these landscapes, and is connected to the communications roads in this very early period. The foundation of settlements on these axes of communication, as, for example, Servia on the exits of the Sarantaporo pass on the Aliakmon valley, a natural pass from Thessaly to Macedonia, portrays this network in the best way, which gradually unified these regions along ancient passes, which were in use until the very recent past.[23]

The settlements are characteristic points on the landscape, which with the passing of time and the accumulation of building materials formed characteristic mounds, which in later periods became true tells with a height that reaches and exceeds 20 m. In Macedonia these tells are known as *toumbes*, and are often confused by non-specialists with the Macedonian *tymvoi*, the burial monuments of the classical and Hellenistic periods.[24] As with the *tymvoi*, the *toumbes* evolve into a distinct point in space, dominating the landscape, something particularly visible in most lowland areas. On settlements of this type, each new building is constructed on the foundations of an older one, a practice that

soon results in the elevation of the site. The insistence of the inhabitants in building on the same point must be related to the particular importance attributed to the location of the house, such as, for example, a declaration of descent and the long descent of the specific group that inhabits the building, or a close relationship with the ancestors, which can support longevity and the success of the particular household. Practical reasons, such as the availability of space or the easier laying down of foundations for the new building would definitely also have played a role, but this — in the Neolithic as well as later periods — does not exclude other, less tangible meanings and social messages. Such meanings always surround the construction of a new building, and as a rule relate to the negotiation of the social position of the group that inhabits it. To a great degree, these meanings and messages determined — and still determine — the form of the building and its characteristics.[25] These *toumbes*, then, aside from concentrations of people, are also fields of social discourse in which a central place is occupied by the 'households' (oikoi), which, even though they undoubtedly operate within the context of Neolithic collectivity, appear to contest some form of greater or lesser autonomy, if we are to judge from the inhabitants' insistence on living in distinct buildings, each one of which preserves its own history.[26] As such, the eventual form of the settlements is the result of the emphasis that is given to the 'oikos' and its origin, an emphasis that has a social as well as an economic content and meaning: it is the result, that is, of a particular form of social organisation. From this perspective, the Neolithic settlements are a factor in the creation not only of natural but also of social landscapes.

The inhabitants of the second type of Neolithic settlement that we know from Macedonia, that of flat-extended sites, appear to have had a different orientation. Buildings were not erected on the same point at these sites, but, on the contrary, were shifted within a wider area, which, to judge from the later example of Makriyalos at Pieria (late 6th millennium BC), was defined by a pair of deep and large curved ditches.[27] The horizontal extent of settlements of this type could be very large (Makriyalos is over 60 hectares), but the density of buildings is exceptionally low as they are surrounded by extensive open spaces. The buildings themselves do not have the careful construction of the tells, and give the impression of being temporary structures. Often they are nothing more than pits dug into the natural earth covered by a makeshift structure, which clearly replaced other semi-subterranean pit-like structures that were found at other points of the settlement. Such settlements are known in Macedonia and further north, in the region of Serbia, and are considered part of the cycle of the Starčevo culture, a culture that covers the last two centuries of the 7th millennium and the beginning of the 6th millennium. We know of settlements of this type that have been excavated in the region of Thessaloniki. The oldest has been found within the boundaries of the facilities of the Thessaloniki International Trade Fair, and can be dated to the mid-6th millennium, as can the settlements of Thermi and Stavroupoli, which were inhabited a few centuries later.[28]

It is difficult to interpret this difference in settlement practices by comparing them with the practices identified at the *toumbes*. The conventional view would interpret them as the manifestations of two different cultural groups, but before we adopt such an interpretation we should analyse the phenomenon much more carefully. Juxtaposing the total architectural and settlement layout pictures from the two types of settlement, we can conclude that there was a clear devaluation of the importance of the isolated house at the extended sites. The lack of emphasis on the house itself and its spatial continuation, and by extent the role of the 'oikoi' and their descent, can be seen as an indication that in these settlements there was a greater margin for collectivity to be imposed as the main mechanism of ideology. Such interpretations are always dangerous, but thankfully the data from Makriyalos offers more support. At Makriyalos the perime-

ter ditches of the settlement were used as burial places for the dead, even if their number indicates that not all the dead ended up in the ditches.[29] The indifferent way in which they were buried (nothing more than the simple disposal of the body), the raking of the bones and the clear social character of the two ditches, in which daily activities were constantly taking place, leads us to the hypothesis that at this settlement, the individual social identity of the dead and their relationship with their direct living relatives or social partners had less significance than their relationship with the community as a whole, to which, in some way, they belonged in life and in death. This was underlined with the choice of the ditches, public works with a heightened social character, true monuments of collectivity. As such, both the spatial discontinuity of inhabitation as well as the burial practices indicate that the major ideological basis of these Neolithic communities was not the autonomy of the distinct social unit, but communal collectivity. Similar forms of collectivity should be considered possible in the productive activities of the settlement as well, which are however much more difficult to identify through archaeological means.

The settlement of Makriyalos in particular gives us another example of the social discourse of collectivity on a different level. At almost the central point of this concentric settlement, within the boundaries of a large, shallow pit, the archaeological remains and bones of hundreds of animals confirms an episode of mass meat consumption on a scale so far unique in comparison with the Neolithic settlements that we know of. It is clear that this ritual consumption had a collective character and, as corroborated by the amount of meat consumed, not only all the inhabitants of Makriyalos participated in it but possibly the inhabitants of the settlements of the wider region.[30] Amongst the archaeological data that we have for the Neolithic, this is the only time that a ritual on such a scale and with such an obvious collective character can be corroborated with as much security as the archaeological data can provide.[31] This observation does not hold just for Macedonia, but broadly for the wider region of the Neolithic in SE Europe, and sheds light upon the character of settlements of this type.

Light is also shed upon the question of rituals and symbolic expression in the small communities of Neolithic Macedonia, rituals that emphasise the role of the house and the social unit that it represents, in the finds from the F.Y.R. Macedonia. At the Madjari *toumba* near Skopje a number of dwellings constructed with posts were found, of which the central one, with dimensions of 9 x 9 metres, contained a large number of storage and food consumption vessels, placed in a specific order along the walls. Three clay ‘offering’ tables, with dimensions of around 1 x 1 m., small clay boxes, a large figurine 39 cm high representing a small house upon which sits an imposing female figure, and a ‘hoard’ of loom weights made up the unusual contents of this space, which is thought by the excavator to be, like the earlier one at Nea Nikomedia, a shrine. A date of around the middle of the 6th millennium BC seems likely for this site. A recent finding at the site of Govrlevo in the vicinity of Skopje repeats the same theme, a woman sitting upon a small house, known also from earlier studies in the region of Pelagonia, as, for example, the site of Porodin.[32] The ‘domestic’ character of these areas (in the final analysis, it is yet another house, even if larger) cannot but underline the social visibility of the ‘oikos’, but also the ‘privacy’ of the activities that are conducted within it. In any case, the symbols used revolve around the theme of the house as a building. A simple comparison with the large-scale, public and open ceremony of Makriyalos is enough to lead us to conclusions about the characteristics of the societies that shaped the *toumbes*, as well, of course, as the flat-extended settlements in the Macedonia of the 6th millennium.

Irrespective of their special characteristics, which are associated with the social structure as well as with economic and productive practices, the settlements during the

Neolithic gradually came to occupy the landscapes of Macedonia. The settlements were always sparsely populated, with a population that did not exceed 200 to 300 inhabitants. The plain of Yannitsa, where Nea Nikomedia had been founded, was the first area to be occupied, as demonstrated by the recent excavation within the town of Yannitsa, revealing the existence of an early settlement. Many features of this settlement have comparisons with Nea Nikomedia, as well as with the site of Anza in the vicinity of Skopje, with which, as with Nea Nikomedia, the settlement is approximately contemporary.[33] Of particular interest is the upland area of Grevena, in the outflow basin of the River Aliakmon, in which a series of sites demonstrate settlement for a brief period towards the end of the Early Neolithic, around the beginning of the 6th millennium. This brief period of settlement poses certain interesting questions for the choices and the orientation of these early agricultural populations and for how they explored the various landscapes of Macedonia. A similar site is perhaps represented at the early settlement of Drosia, near the River Agras and Vegoris lake, an area on the natural road through the plains of Upper Macedonia towards the uplands of Pelagonia further north. The positioning of the settlement indicates that it might have been a communications point on the route to the sites found around today's town of Bitola.[34] We can reliably hypothesise that the network of settlements that existed must have been substantially denser than that which the fragmentary archaeological research has so far identified.

No Early Neolithic sites have so far been located in Central and East Macedonia, i.e. before the middle of the 6th millennium BC. The first settlements that we know of date to after 5,500 BC, and include the early phases of the sites of Sitagroi and the Drama plain. The site of Dikili Tash, near ancient Philippi, also represents a site that dates to around the same period, perhaps a little later. Sites of the period that the archaeologists call the Late Neolithic (after 5,300-5200 BC) predominate in this region, and are accompanied by new pottery types, with different technologies and different forms of material culture. Similar changes are also observed in Thessaly, where the cultural characteristics are better known to us from long and systematic research. It is a fact that at the end of the 6th millennium and the beginning of the 5th millennium, similar types predominate throughout the whole of Macedonia, most likely marking broader differences. One difference that appears to be truly central is the extension of the settlement network, which now also occupies areas that were previously either completely uninhabited or very sparsely inhabited. Certain settlements choose truly idiosyncratic environments, which had not been inhabited in previous eras, such as the settlement at Dispilio on the banks of lake Kastoria.[35] Production diversification appears to have been a possibility in this area, without, of course, it reaching the level of absolutely specialised productive activities.

The spread of Late Neolithic settlements cannot but mean an increase in the population and in the density of communications networks between the regions, but also between the settlements themselves. The great extent of the network is confirmed by certain archaeological finds: at the settlement of Mandalo, on the foothills of Mt Paikos, the presence of obsidian from Karpathia was ascertained, whilst the jewellery made from the Aegean *Spondylus gaederopous* shell and produced in Late Neolithic settlements in Macedonia reached not only as far as the whole of the Balkans but even central and northern Europe.[36] Bronze objects also appear in this period.[37] The uniformity of the pottery throughout the whole of the area of Macedonia, but also its great 'visibility', in particular the predominant, painted categories, demonstrate that pottery played a major role in this network, not so much as an object of exchange — systematic studies on this have not yet been done — but as a means of cultural unification for the communities of the Late Neolithic. An example of this unification are the sporadic finds with arrangements of symbols carved onto different materials, wood, stone or clay. These

have so far been found at Dispilio and Yannitsa, but there are analogies throughout the whole of the Balkans in this period. Researchers currently refer to them generically as 'script', without this meaning that we know whether these symbols had a specific speech value. Even so, all these archaeological artefacts should not be considered exchangeable goods in themselves, but more as symbols of the exchange. The true exchangeable goods are lost to archaeological research: textiles, foods and people, in the form of exogamous exchanges. The gender dimension of these networks also escapes us, the role of men and women in the settlement and in movement along the networks, as well as in the successive changes in Neolithic social reality. In each case, the 'cosmopolitan' nature of the period does not last for long: as we approach the end of the 5th millennium and the beginning of the 4th, the traces of the Neolithic settlements are almost lost. At settlements such as Mandalo and Sitagroi long-term abandonment that lasts for several centuries is witnessed, whilst the known sites dating to this period are few. Megalo Nisi Galanis in the Ptolemaida basin is one such site that has been explored recently.[38] It undoubtedly shows a dramatic change in the order and form of the settlements, the characteristics of which we do not yet understand. As is common with archaeological reconstructions, much more and systematic research is required on this subject.

4. Late Prehistory

Researchers have not come to any conclusions as to the precise processes responsible for the changes that characterise the next long period, which we conventionally call the Bronze Age (3500–1100 BC) in Macedonia. The rapid changes that can be observed in the economy and social organisation of Crete and the Peloponnese, but also of the Cyclades, led to an explosive rise in hierarchy and social complexity in these societies, which ended in the appearance of 'palace' cultures, as Colin Renfrew has noted since the 1970s.[39] Something similar is not, however, apparent in Macedonia. The populations of the Early Bronze Age continue in the Neolithic settlements, or resettle in older Neolithic *toumbes* such as Mandalo and Sitagroi. At the same time, many settlements that had been settled in the Late Neolithic and had already been abandoned were not refounded, and the beginning of this period at least is marked by a general decline in the number of settlements. In the region of Langadas, for example, the number of sites shrinks in the Early Bronze Age, but rises again by the end of the 3rd millennium. By the end of the Bronze Age, the number of sites has risen markedly, and during the Iron Age the density of sites is so high that such a number has never been seen since, even during the Ottoman period.[40] A similar reduction in settlements is seen in East Macedonia, and the general picture that we have, although to a great degree lacking and fragmentary, indicates a drastic reduction of the population in comparison with the high point of the Late Neolithic. Before, however, coming to any conclusions about possible historical events, we should remember that the whole of the 4th millennium already represents a period of population decline following the collapse of the extensive network of Neolithic settlements and exchange between the regions, including complementary micro-environments and productive capacities. The most substantial change that is observed in this period is the dominance of settlements with a *toumba* form. All the flat-extended sites have already been abandoned and even the largest sites now shrink to the limits of manifestly smaller *toumbes*. One characteristic example is the Mesimeriani Toumba in the Prefecture of Thessaloniki, where the older Neolithic settlement is limited to the west side of the original Neolithic settlement, occupying an area of only around 1 1/2 acres, and which continues to be inhabited and to rise throughout the whole of this period.[41] The Macedonian landscape acquires many of the prehistoric features familiar to us today during the Bronze Age.

The importance of the predominance of settlements with the *toumba* form should be assessed in relation to the characteristics of the social organisation attributed to this form of settlement layout. As we have seen, the formation of the *toumba* is considered to be the result of the presence of the 'oikos', a presence that lays an emphasis on the duration and continuation of the distinct households that together constitute the settlement. This development now also appears to have shaped the forms by which space was organised, which previously lay emphasis on a communal collectivity that now appears to have been abandoned completely. On the contrary, there are indications that in this period the 'oikoi' and their 'households' now dominate completely, to the extent that they represent or are a substitute for the totality of the community. Thus, communal works appear, especially in the advanced phases of the Bronze Age, that have the sole purpose of strengthening the power of the 'oikoi' of the community, making it more tangible and giving them a dominant position in the landscape, deliberately raising the tell in its totality. On the other hand, works of architecture such as the 'Burnt House' at Sitagroi portray this dominance in an eloquent way, the forerunners of which we encounter in the Neolithic period only in the 'megara' of Dimini and Sesklo in Thessaly.[42] Large, central buildings in which storage spaces and spaces for the consumption of food (hearths, silos, etc.) prevail, indicating an attempt at economic autonomy that is not by chance alone.[43]

At this point we should also take into account the disappearance of the painted, decorated fine pottery and its substitution by monochrome undecorated categories. Many of the techniques used in pottery production, decoration and firing that were widely known from the explosion of pottery production in the Late Neolithic disappear in this period, and production is limited to dark-coloured vessels, for daily use, cooking and storing. Only in the mid-2nd millennium BC does pottery decorated with similar characteristics reappear. This important change is not necessarily connected with the movements of prehistoric 'peoples', with realignments of the cultural map of Macedonia, nor should it be related to 'cultural decline' or 'stagnation' or similar evaluative descriptions.[44] Neolithic painted pottery represents an object of high social visibility, produced for the offering of food and public consumption within conditions of open sociability. Its presence and use in such a context aspires to emphasise the value that society places on the redistribution of food, and by extent mutuality, thus creating a central ideological mechanism. This social function is the deeper reason why this particular form of material culture acquires this prominent role in Neolithic cultures. The rise of the 'household', however, signifies a distancing from the ideology of redistribution, and reinforces hoarding and autonomy, as we can see in the extensive storerooms that accompany the household buildings. The consumption of food is transferred to 'private' space, as is demonstrated by the hearths and the food preparation structures, where collective distribution is neither possible nor necessary, and perhaps not even desirable. Collective consumption is thus transformed into private hospitality and the vessels take on a different focus. Within the context of private hospitality, the Neolithic common use of the vessels cannot attribute particular status to the host. On the contrary, the personal objects that belong only to the members of the house and which are exhibited in the appropriate circumstances transmit to third parties powerful messages of status and social superiority. In this way, the 'households', by emphasising the importance of 'personal' objects, objects that can be worn upon the person, reorganise social — and economic reality — to their benefit. Within this process, they use and reshape the material culture that accompanies and supports this reality. The declaration of social messages of mutuality is gradually transformed into a declaration of messages of power, which are expressed by the very presence and form of the 'oikoi' within the context of their low-key competition, whilst pottery is limited to its simple functional use. Some pottery shapes, however, appear related to the new conditions of individual consump-

tion, such as the consumption of wine, for the production of which we have some evidence at Dikili Tash already from the end of the Neolithic.[45]

When talking of the Bronze Age, the view prevails that the appearance of this metal, with the change in productive capabilities that it ushered in, was the main engine of society. And this view is also part of the heritage of inter-war archaeology and of Gordon Childe. Even so, in the region of Macedonia, as indeed in South Greece, research shows that the introduction of bronze objects into the social system was not due to production, where they probably did not play any role except towards the end of the period, but to social structure. As we saw above, bronze crafted objects, as 'personal' items, are implicated in the competition between the 'oikoi' and are used metaphorically as evidence of the success, strength and power of the collective identity of the 'oikos' and its members. For this reason, they acquire a particular symbolic value, as is demonstrated by an engraved stele of this period from Skala Sotiros on Thasos: in low relief, there is a human figure wearing a necklace and holding a dagger in his right hand; a double-headed axe hangs from a belt around the waist, whilst a spear rests lopsidedly on the chest area. Without a doubt, these objects are powerful symbols of the status and social and economic power of the figure or the 'oikos' associated with the stele.[46] The totality of the bronze crafted objects hoarded in a pit at Petralona in Chalkidiki in a chance find in the 1970s had a similar significance. These objects must have had an especially great value for their unfortunate owner.

The question of social complexity and the creation of social asymmetry are thus central to the Bronze Age, without this meaning that earlier social forms were free of these aspects of social dynamism. Similar trends are always present, whilst their content and form change. That which interests us is the specific way in which this change takes place within the context of the Bronze Age, and the role of the 'oikoi' and their members, which emerge as distinct social units. We can gain some picture in this direction from the cemeteries of the period, some of which have been excavated, although their finds have not yet been fully published. Burial practices at the cemetery of Ayios Mamas in Chalkidiki varied in character and complexity from burial to burial, emphasising the individuality (would it be too bold to say the *personality*?) of the dead, and similar general assertions can be made for the cemeteries of the *tymvoi* that are beginning to be found in Chalkidiki.[47] However, despite all the indications from various aspects of the material culture, the details of the move towards social complexity and stratification remain little understood, since there are still many gaps in research in this area, in particular for the early phases, which are critical from the point of view of social transformation. The site of Kastanas on the east bank of the Axios covers the third millennium chronologically, and is one of the sites of the period that has been systematically excavated. Even so, the early phases of the settlement do not preserve enough evidence and the picture is to a great degree lacking. At other sites in Central Macedonia, such as Assiros in the Langadas basin and Toumba Thessalonikis, two of the largest tells in Central Macedonia, the evidence for social complexity becomes significantly greater as we pass into the second millennium B.C.[48]

Organised storage areas occupied a large part of the settlement at Assiros in the Langadas basin in the 14th and 13th centuries. Large quantities of cereals were stored in these spaces, which, according to the specialists, greatly exceeded the needs of the local population of the settlement. A compact earthen bank and a double wall built using the casemate technique[49] were regularly rebuilt, maintaining the sharp slopes of the mound, whilst the internal layout of the settlement remained the same despite several rebuildings. Toumba Thessalonikis is a tell standing almost 23 metres high on earlier deposits and a similar formation to Assiros, albeit representing a much larger site. At some point in the Late Bronze Age, at approximately the centre of the tell, a particularly large

casemate wall was built here, surrounding the tell, with a width of 6 metres and a height greater than 3 metres. It is not easy to determine the function of these large structures. Some scholars believe that they were simply fortifications, but a more sophisticated interpretation seems likely, which, without excluding a fortification function, seeks their significance in the deliberate intent to emphasise the height of the settlement. A central aspect of this layout behaviour has already been analysed in the context of the Neolithic tells of Macedonia, and there is no serious reason why something similar should not hold for the period we are discussing here. The intent of the inhabitants of the Macedonian Bronze Age tells to emphasise their predominant position over the other settlements — something that cannot but send a message of power and dominance to all the other communities, and should therefore be seen within a context of competition, if not aggression — is clear here. If we take into account the fact that not all the sites from this period share the same characteristics, i.e. they do not all have the great height and sharp slopes that we believe to be the result of the massive earthworks, we can assume that in this period the settlements were organised hierarchically, with one settlement at the centre, probably the seat of the most powerful 'households'. The absence of earthworks at Kastanas, for example, has been attributed to the peripheral location of this settlement within the local hierarchy, the centre of which must have been represented by the imposing mound at Axiochori a few kilometres to the north. In keeping with the evidence from Assiros, these networks must have had a markedly centralised economic character, in the framework of which the social redistribution of the product now passed into the control of a smaller, but powerful group. If, then, the Neolithic tells are, as we have characterised them, monuments to the competition between the 'households', then the Bronze Age tells are truly monuments to the ultimate predominance of these 'households' — and later, perhaps, of one 'household', the most powerful — which impose upon the landscape and all the other sites of the immediate vicinity. All indications lead to the conclusion that in this period a number of small toparchies were being formed, with local influence of course, the forerunners of formations that are described much later by the ancient historians as hegemonies.

Even though the signs of social change indicate a society that is being gradually integrated into the wider environment, the daily reality of its inhabitants does not change dramatically in relation to the earlier periods. Life in the *toumbes* of Macedonia in the Bronze Age continues to follow its old rhythms, and the trade and advanced crafts industry that we know of from South Greece during this same period — economic structures vital for the support of a rising aristocracy — do not appear to have played a clear role at the Macedonian sites. The settlements remain at base farming and pastoralist settlements, communicating with the outside world through the natural and transport roads that had been established since the Neolithic period. Even the economic centralisation that can be traced archaeologically at Assiros is not oriented, according to the specialists, to the production of surplus produce. Large areas are not cultivated, and small-scale intensive farming is carried out instead, with complementary crops, closely linked to stock rearing, and agricultural techniques from long ago.[50] The use of bronze, as we have seen, was particularly limited, even in the advanced phases of the Bronze Age, whilst basic productive tasks, such as threshing and ploughing continue to be carried out using ancient Stone Age techniques. Finally, valuable objects and a luxury, almost 'urban' life are unknown.

The only exception was Mycenean pottery, which made its cautious appearance either through vessels that came from southern Greece or through local imitations. The first pottery of this type appeared at Toroni in Chalkidiki, and is contemporary with the shaft graves at Mycenae. This pottery, of which there is very little, was undoubtedly imported. Pottery contemporary with LBA III (13th–12th century) gradually became

more common, and it is usually a local imitation.[51] For the first time in Macedonia the use of the potter's wheel in pot manufacture is seen. The technology of the new pottery represents an important addition to the traditional Macedonian techniques, which continue to be used for the manufacture of handmade and not thrown pots, and with firing done on an open fire and not in a kiln. Other technological details, such as those relating to the paints and clay composition, add interesting aspects to the characterisation of the new technology.[52] The question posed, then, is was there a centralised production of these local imitations at a few centres established in Macedonia, or were they produced at each settlement separately by craftsmen who know or have learnt the new pottery technologies. Special archaeometric analyses, done in the context of the excavations at Assiros and Toumba Thessalonikis, have shown that the technology used in the production of this pottery has very few standard characteristics, something which supports not the interpretation of centralised production but the existence of a number of small centres instead, each of which applies different recipes for pottery production. We do not encounter such an image of diversity in other regions that are usually also considered 'Mycenean peripheries' and for which a similar analytical approach has been applied.[53] This was, then, a transfer of an element of Mycenean material culture to the Macedonian communities, which, however, each community produced in a different way, and often differently within its own boundaries.

This pottery, imitations and imports, indicates without a doubt that South Greece was part of the region's network of communication. It would definitely help with our understanding of the phenomenon, however, if simple interpretations were not adopted right from that start, such as those of colonisation and the settlement of 'Myceneans' and their 'emporeia', for which we have no serious indications despite all the archaeological studies and excavations that have been done in the past few decades, nor any verification from the publication of analytical analyses, such as the one we just saw above. In order to understand the significance of the transfer of this element of Mycenean material culture to the *toumbes* of Late Bronze Age Macedonia, we must approach the question more from an anthropological perspective, bearing in mind that material culture is first of all a series of objects that people have used within specific conditions and for specific purposes. The example of the disappearance of painted pottery during the Early Bronze Age, as we saw, allows us to come to a general conclusion that objects of material culture were integrated into the social practices that accompany them, as these are being formed, rather than the objects themselves imposing a fixed cultural content, which we attribute to them and which they supposedly have.

It is possible that Mycenean pottery played a central role in instances of food consumption in the Macedonian *toumbes*. The central significance of the integration of food consumption into social practices has been discussed by many researchers in the past few years, with different starting points and for different cultural and chronological contexts, and we believe that similar rituals must also have taken place at the Late Bronze Age Macedonian *toumbes*.[54] In contrast with the public Neolithic rituals, a clear example of which we saw in detail at Makriyalos in Peria, these rituals must have taken place in the interior of the 'oikoi'. They would have been similar to the symposia that were organised in the Mycenean 'megara' of South Greece, although these were of course on a quite different scale and with an extreme 'palatial' style, as we can judge from the vessels that accompanied them. These were, then, 'private' rituals in which the organiser hoped to gain status and social capital, confirming his role in the intra-communal social competition. Mycenean pottery replaced the local handmade decorated categories of vessels for offering and consuming food, which gradually declined in number. This can be concluded from the shapes of the Mycenean vessels, which belong exclusively to these categories,[55] and from their limited presence in the pottery total, demonstrating

that this pottery never played the main role in the daily lives of the inhabitants, who continued to cook, eat and store in vessels of their own tradition. In their social competition, however, the 'exotic' vessels that came from or imitated the Mycenean luxury of the hegemons of the South undoubtedly proffered more prestige to their owner, even if, as analyses show, they had been manufactured by craftsmen operating in the immediate vicinity.[56]

The end of the Bronze Age is usually associated by researchers with movements of populations and tribes and other similar phenomena, which are, however, difficult if not impossible to be proved through archaeology, as we discussed at the beginning of the chapter. On the contrary, the archaeological testimony offers a plethora of details that confirm the continuation of the small toparchies that had been formed during the Bronze Age through the next few centuries as well. The form of the settlements, as well as their position, remained identical, and the houses, as Toumba Thessalonikis undoubtedly shows, continued to be inhabited without a break or to be rebuilt on the same position.[57] The only clear and undoubted change during this period is the rise in the population of the settlements, which since it does not fit within the small area at the peak of the mounds, spreads out over their bases, creating for the first time extensive and densely populated settlements, such as at Toumba Thessalonikis and Axiochori. An increase in settlements marks the landscape, some of which occupy for the first time the peaks of upland areas and which look out over the lower points. What we observe archaeologically may represent a reorganisation on the borders and the regions of the small toparchies, with the creation of peripheral hegemonies, which quickly filled the landscape. The spread of the cemeteries of the *tymvoi* at Vergina and upland Olympus may mark such an episode of symbolic occupation of the landscape, which is included in this process. Of course, in no instance is it necessary for these episodes to have had a symbolic character only.

These hypotheses certainly require more systematic fieldwork and deeper theoretical processing in order to be proven. In general terms, the prehistory of Macedonia is characterised by slow processes that, with the passing of time, transform the local communities, turning them into the forms that we know better from the references of the later, ancient authors. To a certain degree, it is to be expected that the ancient authors laid emphasis on the aspects of ethnic or tribal mobility, which were more familiar to them and fitted with the way in which the world was understood in their era. Naturally, they were not able to be aware of the long durations and continuities, in contrast with today, when we have the tool of archaeology available to us. Episodes of rapid changes, which are perhaps more interesting historically, undoubtedly took place, yet the ability of archaeology to identify these in the material culture, and even more so to interpret them is limited. Even so, in the centuries that followed, the appearance of colonies established by the southern Greek cities in the region of Macedonia is an important historical event from every perspective. The presence of organised cities created a new reality, undoubtedly competitive, for the agricultural communities of Macedonia that had existed for thousands of years. Contacts with South Greece now become closer, within a Greek world that was gradually being unified, culturally, ideologically and, primarily, economically.

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Notes

1. L. Rey, 'Observations sur les sites préhistoriques et protohistoriques de la Macédoine', *BCH* 40(1916), S. Casson, *Macedonia, Thrace and Illyria*, Oxford 1926. W. Heurtley, *Prehistoric Macedonia,* Cambridge 1939.
2. Andreou, Fotiadis and Kotsakis 2001, 283-284. The Nea Nikomedia project (1961) remained unpublished for almost 40 years, and the first volume of the excavations was published only in 1996 (Wardle 1996). On the influence of the Nea Nikomedia project on archaeology in Greece, see Fotiadis 1995. See also, Fotiadis 2001.
3. Heurtley 1939, xvii.
4. Halstead 1994.
5. Recall the so-called 'culture-historical approach', as formulated by Gordon Childe in the inter-war period. For the contemporary theoretical critique of this view see for example Johnson 1999, with a simple synopsis. Even so, this approach is used extensively by Sakellariou 1982.
6. Schulz 1989; Vouvalides, Syrides and Albanakis 2003.
7. Besios and Krahtopoulou 2001; Krahtopoulou 2003.
8. Andreou, Fotiadis and Kotsakis 2001.
9. Grün 1996.
10. An age of 700,000 years has been proposed by A.N. Poulianos for — to use his term — *Archanthropus europaeus petraloniensis*. See Poulianos 1981.
11. On the Peloponnese, see Reisch 1982; Runnels and van Andel 1993. On Thessaly, see Runnels and van Andel 1993.
12. Runnels 1995.
13. Efstratiou, Biagi, Elefanti et al. 2003.
14. One dating puts the use of the mines at 20,300 years B.P. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Weisgerber 1993.
15. Perlès 2001.
16. On this major issue, see Dennell 1983; Zvelebil 1998; Kotsakis 2002; Kotsakis 2003.
17. van Andel and Runnels 1995; Runnels 2003.
18. Childe 1925.
19. Mitrevski 2003.
20. Özdogan 2005; Roodenberg 1995.
21. Basgelen and Özdogan 1999.
22. For the characteristics of Neolithic settlements and their transformational function within the context of Neolithic society, see Lagopoulos 2004. Also, Kotsakis 1996.
23. Until the opening of the Tempe National Highway, the Sarantaporo pass was the main connection between Thessaly and Macedonia. On Neolithic Servia, see Ridley, Wardle and Mould 2000.
24. This is an ancient Greek word which has survived throughout the whole of Macedonia until today.
25. Hodder 1990; Leach 2003.
26. With the term 'household' in prehistoric archaeology we mean the smallest social unit that, as a recognisable entity, resides within a structure and is active in the affairs of the community. See the review of the relevant bibliography in Souvatzi 2002. For the economic functions of households, see Halstead 1999.
27. Pappa and Besios 1999.
28. A general discussion of the Balkan context in Bailey 2000. For recent research on the Greek side, see Andreou, Fotiadis and Kotsakis 2001. For the settlement of the Thessaloniki International Trade Fair, see Pappa 1993. For Stavroupoli, see Grammenos and Kotsos 2002, and Grammenos and Kotsos 2004.
29. Triantaphyllou 2001.
30. Pappa, Halstead, Kotsakis et al 2004.

31. Supportive of this view is the interesting observation that the sheep and goats consumed during this ritual had been reared on a different diet than those that were consumed in a household context, as the special laboratory analyses have shown. See Mainland and Halstead 2002.
32. Sanev 1988. On Govrlevo, see Mitrevski 2003, vol. II, 5.
33. Gimbutas 1976.
34. Andreou, Fotiadis and Kotsakis 2001, 292.
35. Hourmouziades 1996.
36. See the recent discussion in Grammenos and Kotsos 2004.
37. Andreou, Fotiadis and Kotsakis 2001, 293-294.
38. Andreou, Fotiadis and Kotsakis 2001, 290-291.
39. A classic thesis, which, however, requires a reconsideration of the data, Renfrew 1972.
40. Andreou and Kotsakis 1994.
41. Grammenos and Kotsos 2002.
42. Hourmouziades 1979; Kotsakis 1996. On the role of the 'megaron' in the social formation of Thessaly, see Halstead 1995.
43. Renfrew, Gimbutas and Elster 1986. See also the slightly later plethora of impressive food preparation structures at the *toumba* of Archontiko, Pilali-Papasteriou and Papaefthimiou-Papanthimou 2002. The similar phenomena observed at the site of Tumba Radobor in the F.Y. Republic of Macedonia, in the vicinity of the town of Bitola, are also of interest; see Mitrevski 2003, 46.
44. The view that this picture is related to the descent of the Indo-Europeans into Greece is popular, in particular outside of the field of archaeology. On the issue of the appearance of Indo-European *languages* (and not the *Indo-Europeans* per se) see Mallory 1995; Mallory 2001. It is worth noting Mallory's salient observation here (2001: 135): 'Even so, we must admit that there is no secure link between language on the one hand and the political systems that archaeologists perceive on the basis of house, burial and pottery, etc. type, or the anthropological types that anthropologists identify, on the other hand.' Even if Mallory's description of what archaeology does is somewhat outdated, his observation is still valid.
45. Mangafa, Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, Malamidou et al 2003.
46. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1987.
47. Pappa 2005.
48. Andreou, Fotiadis and Kotsakis 2001, Andreou 2001.
49. This was a technique known from the Middle East. It is comprised of the construction of two parallel walls close together, which are united lengthways by smaller perpendicular walls. The technique offers many of the advantages of a compact wall but at a significantly lower cost. The 'cubes' that are formed can be filled with compact earth or used for other purposes.
50. Halstead 1994.
51. The presence of this pottery is unknown in the upper Axios valley, north of the borders, at sites such as Vardarski Rid, which belong, according to archaeologists from the F.Y. Republic of Macedonia, to the Ulanci culture. Claims that there is a Mycenean influence here are completely indirect and questionable. Even so, the analogies with the other categories at modern sites of the lower Axios valley, such as Kastana, are not negligible. See Mitrevski 2001.
52. Kiriatzi, Andreou, Dimitriadis et al 1997.
53. Such as the plain of Sybaris. See Buxeda i Carrigos, Jones, Kilikoglou et al. 2003. On the subject of Macedonia as a 'periphery' of the Mycenean world and for a discussion of the theoretical questions that accompany such a characterisation, see Andreou and Kotsakis 1994.
54. Dietler and Hayden 2001; Hayden 2001; Halstead and Barrett 2004.
55. Stirrup jugs, the 'trademark' of Mycenean trade, are absent, for example.
56. Andreou 2003.
57. Andreou, Fotiadis and Kotsakis 2001.

II. Macedonia in the Classical and Hellenistic Periods

by Ilias K. Sverkos

1. Introductory note

Alongside Athens and Sparta, Macedonia was the Greek state that inspired, and continues to inspire, the most historical and general interest. Its rise from a country of farmers and stock breeders to the leading Greek power in the 4th century BC, the historical role as the 'fence' (Polybius, IX 35.1-4) of southern Greece, fending off the invasions of the peoples of the northern Balkans, the global historical significance of Alexander the Great's campaign to the East (the work not only of a single military genius, but of his Macedonian followers), and the three wars against the Romans, possibly the most characteristic example of resistance to Roman expansion to the East, are the four elements that constitute the history of Macedonia as an independent state, and which justifiably inspired and inspire such historical and general interest.

In contrast to this exceptionally important historical role, the sources available to us for the history of the Macedonians until the Roman conquest are relatively few. Until the reign of Philip II, i.e. the second half of the 4th century BC, the extant information is incidental in nature, mainly digressions in works on the history of the city-states of southern Greece. General works on the history of Macedonia started to appear from the time of Philip onwards. Of these, however, only a very few fragments have survived, and in some cases only the titles. This is mainly due to the fact that these works, as well as a large portion of the Hellenistic literary output, was neglected in the Augustan period, with its classicising turn, resulting in their loss. The loss, for example, of the work of Hieronymos of Kardia (*ca* 350-270 BC), which covers the events of the fifty years from the death of Alexander the Great until the death of Pyrrhus (323-272 BC), cannot be made up for through the relatively few fragments contained in the work of Diodoros (1st century BC) or the details that Plutarch provides in his biographies. Nor in the highly rhetorical work of Pompeius Trogus, the *Historiae Philippicae*, which comes down to us in an Epitome of Justin from around AD 150. Other literary sources include the political rhetoric of the 4th century BC, which is known to us mainly through the speeches of Demosthenes and is typified by the Athenian rhetor's political prejudice towards the rising new Greek power. These political speeches had, as we know, a great influence on the later sources of the Imperial period, as well as on modern European historiography, resulting in the following paradox: in contrast with what is usually, perhaps always, the case, the history of the conflict between the Athenians and Macedonia is known to us not from the perspective of the victor, but from the perspective of the defeated.

The history of Alexander the Great's campaign to the East is known from much later works, e.g. Plutarch's *Life* and Arrian's *Anabasis*, which however focus on the personality of the king and are influenced at many points by the classicising trend of the milieu in which they were written (1st – 2nd century AD). As for the history of the resistance to the Romans in general works, the information provided is not only limited, but undoubtedly influenced by the ultimate domination of the Romans. This is also true for Polybius (2nd century BC), whose central theme is the rise of Rome as a global power, and especially so for the Roman history from the city's foundation by Livy (1st century BC).

In addition to the digressions mentioned above and the few fragments in works on Macedonia, what remains for the history of the ancient Macedonians are inscriptions, of

which only a few refer to the 5th and 4th centuries BC (the earliest from Athens), the vast majority coming from the 3rd and 2nd centuries, in particular the Imperial age.

There is, however, a large volume of prosopographic material, i.e. the names of people, institutions, festivals, etc., known from literary sources and inscriptions, as well as the relatively few sparse remains of the Macedonian dialect. To all these we must add the exceptionally important finds from archaeological excavations conducted mainly in the second half of the 20th century, finds which, without of course being able to fill the gap created by the lack of other sources, constitute an important source for the art, general culture and daily lives of the ancient Macedonians throughout all the phases of their history.

Four basic themes have been posed in the historical research of ancient Macedonia as an independent state (by which we mean the centuries from the foundation of the Macedonian kingdom around the mid-7th BC century until its dissolution by the Romans in 168 BC). The first concerns the origins of the Macedonians, or their 'Greekness', specifically as to whether they were a Greek tribe, like the others, or something else (which, however, is never defined by those who deny the Greekness of the Macedonians). The second theme concerns the internal organisation of the state, from the foundation of the Macedonian kingdom (*ca* the mid-7th century BC) until the time of Philip II. The third concerns the cultural relations of the Macedonians with the southern Greeks, and the fourth the historical role of Macedonia from Alexander's campaign to the resistance against the Romans.

2. Part A: The Origin of the Macedonians

As regards the problem of the origin of the Macedonians, it should be said that, independently of the volume and type of information available and of the attitudes expressed by southern Greek writers, and regardless of the judgments or prejudices of earlier and contemporary scholars, what is of utmost importance is what the Macedonians believed about themselves. Directly related to this are the definite (objective, one might say) pieces of evidence that verify their own purported self-conscious identity. Or, to put it differently: if the Macedonians started to define themselves from one specific period (specifically, the 4th century BC) and onwards throughout the rest of their history as Greeks, and if the linguistic evidence garnered from various aspects of their culture is Greek, then the problem of their original descent is irrelevant. In any case, as primarily earlier scholarship has correctly observed, and as is self-evident, no nation can prove a pure ethnic descent, without intermarriage or influences from other nations.

In the famous epigram that accompanied the dedication of the Persian shields, the spoils from Alexander's victory at the River Granicus (324 BC), the Macedonian king spoke collectively of himself and the other Greeks, except for the Spartans ('Alexander the son of Philip and all the Greeks except the Spartans from the Barbarians who dwell in Asia', Arr., *Anabasis*, I.16.7, Plutarch, *Alexander*, 16.18). The letter that he sent Darius after the battle of Issus begins with the phrase 'Your ancestors invaded Macedonia and the rest of Greece and did us harm although we had not done you any previous injury. I have been appointed commander-in-chief of the Greeks and it is with the aim of punishing the Persians that I have crossed into Asia, since you are the aggressors.'(Arr., *Anabasis*, II. 14). In the treaty between the king of Macedonia Philip V and Hannibal (215 BC), given in Polybius (VII.9), Macedonia is emphatically referred to as a part of Greece: reference is made to the Gods 'who rule Macedonia and the rest of Greece', whilst the allies of the Carthaginians are given as King Philip, the Macedonians and other Greeks. Moreover, around half a century later, on the pediment of a monument dedicated to the Roman general Quintus Caecilius Metellus, an ordinary

Macedonian from Thessaloniki, both his Macedonian and his Greek origins were emphasised with the phrase ‘honour and gratitude are due to those who have served the homeland and the other Macedonians and the other Greeks’, (*IG* X 2.1, 1031).

These points, to which others could be added, leave no doubt that in the following centuries the Macedonians identified themselves as a Greek tribe. The same conclusion can be reached from the great majority of their surviving linguistic traces: the names of the Macedonian months, such as Xandikos, Dios, Artemisios, Hyperberetaios, Peritios, etc., which are associated (as in the cities of south Greece) with festivals, are Greek. Personal names – and not only those of the higher social classes, but also those of the lower classes – are, aside from a very few, Greek. These date from the 6th-5th centuries BC and, as with the names of the festivals, are not, of course, attributable to the ‘Hellenisation’ of the Macedonians via the coastal cities. In none of the cases where Macedonians and other Greeks communicate is an interpreter mentioned, meaning that the Macedonian and Attic dialects were mutually comprehensible. This is also testified in a fragment from the fifth-century comedy ‘Macedonians’ by the comic poet Strattis, in which a Macedonian (a character in the comedy) has the line – obviously speaking in the dialect of his origin – ‘Wha’ ye Attics ca’ a hammer-fush, me freen’’ (J. M. Edmonds, *The Fragments of Attic Comedy*, vol. 1 Leiden 1957, p. 823, fr. 28, Edmonds has here translated the Macedonian’s speech as though he were a Scot).

Only if one accepts this Greek identity of the Macedonian dialect, is it possible to understand why Attic Greek became the language of government for the Macedonian state under Philip II, and only then is it also possible to understand why the Macedonians, after the conquest of the Persian Empire by Alexander, used Attic. A people with such political achievements, both in the case of Philip II and his victory over the Athenians as well as Alexander with the conquest of Asia, has such a strong sense of self as not to abandon its own language in favour of another. This, as K. J. Beloch and other historians have correctly observed, would be the only example in world history.

To say that Philip and Alexander used Greek in the same way as Frederick the Great and Catherine the Great used French, as critics of the Hellenicity of the Macedonians do, is a mark of prejudice, because in neither case, of Prussia or of Russia, was French used as the official language. And to argue for the ‘idiosyncrasy’ of the Macedonian language with reference to phrases such as ‘Macedonian speech’ (Plutarch, *Alexander,* 51.4) or ‘Macedonian in voice’, (Plutarch, *Eumenes*, 14.5) signifies either ignorance or prejudice, since the phrase ‘We talk Peloponnesian’ (Theocritus, XV, line 92) indicates dialect and not, of course, a Peloponnesian language.

The questioning of the Greek origin of the Macedonians has mainly been done (irrespective of the intents or prejudices of the arguments) through reference to the distinction between Greeks and Macedonians made in literary sources from the 5th century BC. Such questioning pays particular attention to a relatively few, clearly loaded phrases in which the Macedonians are characterised as culturally inferior (‘barbarian’, e.g. Demosthenes, *Third Philippic*, 31). Despite the fact that these phrases cannot be taken as evidence for a generally negative attitude of the southern Greeks towards the Macedonians, and of course even less for some kind of ‘barbarianism’, I consider it necessary to add a few, indicative details which reflect the historical reality and irrefutably verify it. I shall then discuss some of the phrases in which the distinction referred to is made.

The earliest evidence that we have, i.e. Herodotos, does not leave any doubt that the name ‘Macedonians’ signifies a Greek tribe. In the first reference (I 56), Herodotos discusses the Dorian ‘genos’ (‘race’), which ‘settled in Pindos, in the territory called Macedonia’. In his second reference (VIII 43), Herodotos uses the phrase ‘Dorian and

Macedonian ethnos' ('nation') when describing cities in the Peloponnese (Spartans, Corinthians, Sikyonians, Epidaurians, Troezenians) that took part in the naval battle of Artemeison (480 BC). 'Makednos' is also found as an adjective in the Homeric epics, and means tall or tapered (*Odyssey*, 7.106: 'fylla makednos aigeiroio', 'leaves of a tall poplar tree').

The historical reality is reflected in the mythological tradition testified to in Hesiod, according to which Makedon, the founder of the 'genos' of the Macedonians, was the son of Zeus and Thyia, daughter of Deucalion, and brother of Magnes, the former living on Olympus and the other in Pieria (R. Merkelbach-M.L.West, *Fragmenta Hesiodea*, Oxford 1967, fr. 7). The sons of Makedon are given as Europas, Pieros and Amathos, names of Macedonian cities. According to another tradition, Makedon was the son of Aiolos, brother of Doros and Xouthos (*FGrHist* 4 F74, Hellanikos), a tradition that demonstrates a clear link to the Greek tribes. This, and other evidence (mainly linguistic, demonstrating the relationship between the dialects) support the view of earlier and contemporary historical research that Macedonia was one of the north-western Greek tribes, with Pindos as its place of origin.

A typical example of the belief that the Macedonians constituted a Greek tribe from the historical evidence itself is the point made by the Akarnanian politician Lykiskos in a speech given at Sparta in 211 BC, during which he said that the Macedonians were 'of the same race [homophyloi] as the Achaians' and the Dorian Spartans. The other Greeks must unite with those of the 'same race', the Macedonians and their king Philip in order to face the threat of 'another race' (allophyloi), i.e. the Romans ('now Greece is threatened with a war against men of a foreign race who intend to enslave her,' Polybius, IX 37.7-8). In the speech of the Aitolian politician Agelaos at Naupaktos in 217 BC, the Macedonians are presented as another Greek race with whom the other Greeks should unite in order to face the enemy (Polybius, V 104).

In addition to this evidence, which relates to a significant external threat and crisis, there is more evidence from other specific incidents, which is equally revealing. From the 4th century, Macedonians were listed as victors in the Panhellenic Games. Among the Greek cities from various regions that acknowledged the right to immunity of the Asklepeion at Kos in 243 BC were the Macedonian cities of Pella, Kassandreia, Amphipolis and Philippoi (Hatzopoulos, *Institutions* II, nos 36, 41, 47, 58). In 209/8 BC, King Philip V attempted to influence Chalkis' participation at the Panhellenic festival of Artemis Leukophryene organised by Magnesia on the Meander, emphasising, as we can see from a phrase in a letter of his quoted in the decree of Chalkis, that the Magnesians are relatives of the Macedonians (*I. Magnesia*, 37). Only one example suffices from the imperial period, the decree of the city of Ephesus (162/163 or 163/164 BC), in which the Macedonians are mentioned amongst other Greek 'ethne' (nations), lines 16-20: 'the month which we call Artemision, the Macedonians and the other Greek ethne call Artemisio' (*I. Ephesos* 24B).

The impression given by these few yet indicative references is that the distinction between Greeks and Macedonians, if it is not due to political bias, as in the case of Demosthenes, should be attributed to a reasonable lack of contact during the archaic and classical periods; a lack of contact that justifies an ignorance of the real conditions existing in Macedonia. Since this distinction has often been exploited, we should attempt to give a brief presentation of it here.

Macedonia was known in southern Greece mainly through the territory and organisation it had achieved since the time of Alexander I (*ca* 495-452 BC). We shall discuss both further below. It is worth noting here, however, that this state included areas from Upper Macedonia as far as the River Strymon. Such a state, with its various

Macedonian tribes, also included regions in which other, non-Greek tribes lived and who were later expelled, such as the Illyrians, the Paionians and the Thracians, and which was probably not very well known to the Greeks of southern Greece. The tribe from which the Argead kings, who with Alexander I and his ancestors had made 'Makedonis' the centre of the state (Hdt. VII 127), i.e. the area between the Haliakmon and Loudias rivers, is also very little known. According to tradition, as preserved in Herodotos (VIII 137-138) and Thucydides (II 99.3), the Macedonian kings descended from Argos and were the descendants of Temenos, i.e. they were descendants of Herakles. A dedicatory inscription to Herakles Patroos from Vergina - even if it dates to the reign of Perseus (178-169 BC) - is indicative of the connection between the royal family and its 'ancestor' (*SEG* XLVI 829).

In the 5th century we know that there were mass settlements from southern Greece in Macedonia: for example, in 478 BC after the destruction of Mycenae by the Argives, a large section of the population fled – thanks, of course, to the interest shown by the Macedonian king Alexander I - to Macedonia (Pausanias VII, 25, 6), whilst in 446 BC residents of Histiaia in north Euboia migrated to Macedonia after the capture of their island by Perikles (*FGrHist* 115, F387, Theopompos). According to Thucydides (IV 124.1), in 423 BC Greek hoplites were serving in the army of Perdikkas II. Macedonians, however, would rarely have gone down to southern Greece and the region would have started to become better known in the early years of the Peloponnesian War. It is indicative that cities within the area of Macedonia that belonged to the Delian League are referred to in the tribute lists as belonging geographically to Thrace.

In my opinion, this lack of knowledge for the region and its inhabitants is one reason for the distinction made between Greeks and Macedonians. Another reason is that the latter had not participated in the Greek political and cultural developments of the 6th and 5th centuries BC, and thus the basic element of these developments, i.e. the democratic city-state did not exist in Macedonia, which was governed by a monarchy. This explains the fact that in the mid-4th century, even Isokrates, in the letter to Philip in which he proposed the union of the southern Greeks under Philip's leadership in the war against the Persians, distinguishes between Macedonians and Greeks (*To Philip* 107-108). Even so, the relatively few references that are extant do not allow us to generalise this distinction as the universal attitude of all southern Greeks. In his speech *On the crown* (330 BC), Demosthenes criticised a large number of politicians from southern Greek cities who had followed a pro-Macedonian policy and were traitors (*On the crown*, 295). One would wish to know the thoughts of these 'traitors' on Macedonia, but unfortunately they are known only through the charged accounts of the Athenian political rhetor, which Polybius comments upon negatively (XVIII.14).

Even so, the position of a large section of contemporary and earlier scholarly work on the origin and language of the Macedonians, which has not been influenced by this distinction and unreservedly accepts the Hellenicity of the Macedonians in terms of their origin and language, is absolutely correct. The opposite view comes up against not only historical reality but often against common sense. If a proper name or common word has a non-Greek origin, or even a custom (e.g. Aristotle, *Politics*, 1324b 15-16), it is considered to be non-Greek, this is not a counter-argument, and to continue to be proposed as such serves anything but academic interests.

Inscriptions and other finds are prevalent in contemporary research. They are few, of course, but indicative enough and from far-flung parts of the Macedonian hinterland, demonstrating the Hellenicity of the Macedonians, without us having to accept the vague, and thus unconvincing, view that they were Hellenised by the residents of the Greek coastal colonies.

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Relations between Macedonians and the cities of southern Greece

I. K. Xydopoulos, *Koinonikes kai politistikes scheseis ton Makedonon kai ton alllon Ellinon. Symvoli stin erevna tis grammateiakis kai epigraphikis paradoseos gia tin archaia Makedonia* [*Social and cultural relations between the Macedonians and the other Greeks. Contribution to the literary and epigraphic tradition on ancient Macedonia*], Thessaloniki 1998**.** I. Touloumakos, 'Exopolitikes scheseis Makedonon kai notion Ellinon kata tin ellinistiki kai aftokratoriki epochi' ['Extra-political relations between the Macedonians and southern Greeks during the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods'], *Archaia Makedonia*, 5 (1517-1538).

3. Part B: Political History (500–168 BC)

3.1. Alexander I (ca 495-452 BC)

The political history of Macedonia as a part of Greek history essentially begins in the reign of Alexander I (495-452 BC) of the Argead dynasty, which belonged to the Macedonian tribe that founded the state. The most likely scenario is that this Macedonian tribe, having come from the region of Orestis, migrated around 700 BC in an easterly direction in search of more land, eventually occupying Pieria and later neighbouring Bottiaia. The Macedonian state was founded in this region around 650 BC (Thuc. II 99). It seems more likely that the dynasty's name points to its founder and not to a fabricated origin in the Peloponnesian Argos (according to the myth invented later, in the era of Alexander I, to connect Macedonia to southern Greece). According to Herodotos (VIII.139) six kings had ruled before Alexander: Perdikkas I, Argaios, Philip I, Aeropos I, Alketas and Amyntas I. From the time of Amyntas I (father of Alexander I) and for a

long period during the reign of Alexander I (until 479 BC), Macedonia was subordinate to the Persians.

Alexander I, the seventh Temenid king (Hdt., VIII.137.1), was known in Greek history as a 'Philhellene', a characterisation used as an argument by some of those who would deny the Hellenism of the Macedonians. They are unaware, however, or choose to be unaware, that this characterisation, given to him for his position during the Persian War, simply means one who loves the Greeks, and was used not just for foreigners, but also for Greeks (e.g. it was later used for the king of Sparta Agesilaos, Xen., *Agesilaos*, VII.4: 'it is honourable in one who is a Greek to be a philhellene'; cf. the inscription *IG* X 2.1, 145, 3rd century AD).

Alexander I fully understood that defeating the Persians was of vital importance for Macedonia, and it is thus very likely that it is he who should be thanked for the supply of timber with which Themistokles built the Athenian fleet. This is the reason he was honoured a little later by the Athenians as a 'protector and benefactor' (Hdt. VIII 136.1) and a 'protector and friend' (Hdt. VIII 143.3).

Alexander was a 'Philhellene' for the services he offered to the Greeks fighting against the Persians, even though he was forced to follow Xerxes during his campaign, especially at the battle of Plataia (479 BC), according to Herodotos's celebrated description (IX 44-45). Moreover, this offer is also indicated by the presence of a golden statue of Alexander at Delphi, next to the tripod, a votive offering of the Greeks for their victories at sea (Hdt. VIII 121.2, Dem., *Philip's Letter*, 21).

The Macedonian kingdom, with the extent that it was known up to the reign of Philip, owed much of its emergence as a strong political power to the skills of Alexander I. According to Thucydides (II 99), Alexander and the previous Macedonian kings, generally referred to as 'his ancestors', expelled the Paionians from the lower Axios river valley, the Edonians from Mygdonia, the Eordaioi from Eordaia, as well as the Almopes from Almopia. They also took over Anthemus (V. 94.1) at the cove of the Thermaic gulf – which Herodotos even says was offered to Amyntas I by Hippias, son of the Athenian tyrant Peisistratus. A work that can be considered exclusively Alexander's own is Macedonian domination in the area of Bisaltia and Krestonia. The local populations living here were different from those of the Pieres, Bottiaeans, Edonians, Eordaioi and Almopes that we saw in Thucydides and who were expelled from their regions. The related tribes of Upper (mountain) Macedonia (Lynkestai, Elemiotai, Orestai, Tymphaioi, and Parauaioi) became, in Thucydides's (II 99.2) phrase, 'allies and dependents', meaning that he forced their leaders to accept his suzerainty. In Alexander's day, then – and in particular after the defeat of the Persians at Plataia, against whom Alexander achieved a crushing victory as they retreated through Macedonia ('made their defeat irreparable', Demosthenes, *Against Aristokrates* 200, *On Organisation*, 24) - the territory of the Macedonian kingdom quadrupled.

A characteristic demonstration of the achievements of the Macedonian king are the coins that were minted with silver from the mines of Dysoron in the region of the Strymon. The horse rider portrayed on one side is clearly the king himself; the other side bears his name.

Of equal historical importance is Alexander's work in the area of foreign policy, where with new ideas and initiatives he made expansion of the state and reinforcing of the central authority top priorities. Strengthening of Macedonia's military might was of urgent necessity. This strength had previously been dependent upon the cavalry, which consisted of noble Macedonians who bore the Homeric title of 'hetairoi', i.e., companions. Because the cavalry would certainly not suffice for the new needs, Alexander set about organising (to a limited extent) the infantry. What clearly shows his political gen-

ius was the new attitude with which this organisation was done: the Macedonian infantry were named 'pezetairoi', i.e. the infantry (*pezoi*) 'companions' of the king, as were the nobles. In this way, a strong bond was created between the Macedonian peasant-hoplites and the monarch on the one hand, and a political counterweight against the nobles on the other. Bonds between the army and the king were also strengthened to a significant degree with the granting of land by the king to the 'hetairoi' nobles and also, albeit a smaller territory, to the 'pezetairoi'. Historians have different views on the creation of these 'pezetairoi' (see, for example, Hatzopoulos, *Institutions*, 269), due to the problems presented by the only piece of evidence that we have for it (*FGrHist* 72 F4 Anaximenes). Historical reasoning, however, makes its attribution to Alexander I necessary, and thus the view presented here is accepted by most scholars. Indeed, the discovery in the west cemetery of Archontiko near Pella of graves that belonged to warriors - members of the local military aristocracy, as can be ascertained from their 'rich' burial goods and which date from before and up to the reign of Alexander I - leaves almost no doubt that these individuals were associated with Alexander's programme, perhaps even his predecessor kings, i.e. Alketas I (6th century) and Amyntas I (ca 540-598 BC). This also shows that the efforts to create and organise a Macedonian army date to several years before the reign of Philip II.

Of course, the Macedonian infantry, both in terms of numbers and in terms of organisation, did not yet have (and could not have) the strength that it was later to develop later thanks to Philip II, who established the general military service. Even so, the concept of its organisation along the lines discussed above is an incontrovertible element in the assessment of Alexander I as an exceptionally skilled leader. This becomes even better understood if we consider that the Macedonian kingdom was not an authoritarian regime, since the assembly of the army played an important role. The army elected the new king or the 'ephor' (regent) of an underage successor from the Argead family and even operated as a court in cases of high treason.

Alexander I's policy towards the Macedonian cities, which we should imagine as being more or less dependent on the monarch, is less known to us. Of the great majority of these cities we know only the names (Ichnai and Pella for example, are described as *poleis* in Herodotos VII.123). One of the finest seems to have been Ichnai, which had been minting coins until the 5th century. As for their organisation, Hesyichios informs us of the terms *peliganes* (*s.v.* '*peliganes:* the glorious; the councillors (*bouleutai*) at Syros') and *tagoi* or *tagonana* (*s.v.* '*tagonana*: Macedonian authority'), which obviously ascribes to them, in the first case, a kind of *boule* or *gerousia*, and the most important nobles in the second case. The 'languages' in Hesyichios are confirmed in letters in the form of inscriptions: in a letter from Philip V, for example, to the city of Dion – dated to around 180 BC – the 'epistates' (civic magistrates), '*peliganes'* and 'other citizens' are mentioned as the recipients (*SEG* XLVIII 785). In deeds of sale from Tyrissa (in the region of Yiannitsa) 'royal judges' and '*tagoi* are mentioned (*SEG* XLVII 999).

For the organisation of a state undergoing vast expansion, as Macedonia was in the period of Alexander I, the forty-five years or so of his reign were too brief to achieve much. Internal cohesion was still relaxed since the leaders of the related tribes of Upper Macedonia could not, of course, fully accept domination by the Argead king. Beyond the borders there were foreign, non-Greek tribes, such as the Odrysian Thracians to the west and the Illyrians to the north, who under certain conditions could endanger the security of the Macedonian kingdom. There was also a danger from the south, in other words Athens, in whose sphere of influence, as members of the Athenian League, were many of the coastal cities along the Thermaic gulf as far as the Hellespont. For this reason, Macedonia's vital interests came into conflict with those of

Athens, as was already clear from 465 BC, when the Athenians attempted to occupy the territory of the Lower Strymon, suffering a humiliating defeat at the hands of the Edonoi when they attempted to proceed inland. As many historians agree, Alexander contributed significantly to this failure of the Athenians.

3.2. Perdikkas II (452-413 BC)

The internal problems that arose from the great territorial expansion of the Macedonian kingdom in the reign of Alexander I appeared a few years after his death (under unknown circumstances), when his son Perdikkas (452-413 BC) ruled Macedonia. Dynastic clashes, seccesionist movements among the kings of Upper Macedonia, interventions by the powers of southern Greece (i.e. Athens and Sparta) during the Peloponnesian War, not to mention the invasion of Odrysian Thracians comprise the political history of the Macedonian kingdom over the forty or so years in which Perdikkas ruled the country.

Although we have relatively few sources for Perdikkas II, we can say – and this is generally accepted by historians – that he was definitely politically resourceful in the way he dealt with all these difficult situations. In this way he managed to impose upon the two rivals to the throne, his brothers, to whom their father had also given a part of his realm. Perdikkas also managed to vacillate between Athens and Sparta, switching alliances between the two as it suited, in order to secure the independence of his state. This, of course, held more for Athens, which wanted a Macedonia that was dependent upon it, because it was from Macedonia that Athens secured timber, the primary raw material upon which its power was based.

It is worth looking at the various changes in Perdikkas's relations with the Athenians during the Peloponnesian War so as to ascertain the Macedonian king's political versatility, which in certain circumstances was, however, not enough to deal with the understandable weaknesses of Macedonia as a rising power. In 429 BC, Sitalkes, the king of the Odrysian Thracians, invaded Macedonia, pillaged a number of regions and reached as far as Anthemous (Thuc. II 100), clearly indicating that Macedonia did not yet have sufficient military power. This was also apparent during Perdikkas's military campaign alongside the Spartan king Brasidas against the Lynkestai in 423 BC, against whom Perdikkas had hired Illyrian mercenaries. The campaign failed as a result of the treason of the Illyrian mercenaries (Thuc., IV 124-125). Even so, the way in which Perdikkas II won over the nephew of the Thracian leader Seuthes (to whom Perdikkas gave his sister Stratonike in marriage, Thuc. II 101. 6), thus securing the latter's withdrawal from Macedonia, is an example of his political versatility.

3.3. Archelaos (413-399 BC)

In this period, Macedonia witnessed exceptional progress in its internal organisation as well as in other fields. There were specific reasons for this: the political conditions prevailing in southern Greece during the last phase of the Peloponnesian War, a weakened Athens as a result of the disastrous Sicilian Expedition, the city's ultimate defeat, and, above all, the presence of an able monarch in Macedonia. The creator of this Macedonia was King Archelaos, whom Plato characterises as a callous tyrant (*Gorgias*, 471 c-d, *Alkibiades II.,* 141 d, 7). Thucydides, however, saw him as an active and clear-sighted king. In terms of the infrastructure of the country (fortresses and roads) and the equipping and organisation of the army (infantry and cavalry) Archelaos achieved more than any of the previous eight kings of Macedonia, is the ancient historian's brief but incisive comment (II 100.2). To what we can attribute this rise in the strength of the

Macedonian army is not quite known. Some younger historians argue that it mainly involved the creation of units of heavily-armed hoplites. This is one possible hypothesis based on the painful experience of the failed response to the invasion of Sitalkes, due to the lack of an infantry of sufficient standards (see above).

Archelaos, an illegitimate son of Perdikkas II who was however recognised as legitimate early on (Plato, *Gorgias*, 471a, Aelian, *Historical Miscellany*, XII 43), was proclaimed King in 413 BC by pushing aside various relatives, rivals to the throne. In the (relatively brief) period of the 13 years of his reign (he fell victim to a conspiracy in 399 BC that had personal and political motives), in addition to reinforcing the country's defence capabilities he posited and (to a certain degree) achieved three other goals: improvement in its administrative organisation (alongside the establishment of centralised power), an increase in its power abroad and, most of all, cultural development. All this was done with the perspective that in the near future Macedonia could become an important power with a leading role in Greek politics.

As is known, Archelaos moved the capital of the country from Aiges to Pella, in the western section of the Thermaic gulf (see Hatzopoulos, 'Strepsa', 42-43). In a diplomatic manner, he avoided an alliance between the kings of Elimia and Lynkestai - Sirras and Arrhabaios – by giving his daughter in marriage to the former (Aristotle, *Politics*, 1311b 13-14). With the help of the Athenians (who urgently needed his help in ensuring their timber supply) he occupied Pydna in 410 BC. In response to the appeal for help from the Aleuadai (aristocrats of Larissa) against their political rivals, he invaded Thessaly, occupied Larissa, withdrawing only once the Aleuadai had been established, yet maintained his occupation of Perrhaibia.

The importance that Macedonia acquired as a political power in southern Greece can be seen, perhaps more than in any other event, in the fact that in a vote of 407-6 BC the Athenians honoured Archelaos as a protector and friend, with specific reference to the export of timber for the construction of the new fleet that the Macedonian king had approved (*IG* I^3 117, *SEG* X 138). We can easily understand the importance of this decision if we take into account that the Athenians, after the loss of Amphipolis in 421 BC, had no entry point into Macedonia for their timber supply and were thus dependent upon the good will of the Macedonian monarch. In contrast, only a few years earlier, it was the Athenians who had imposed their own terms upon Perdikkas (in 426/5 BC with the settlement of his relations with Methoni and in 423/422 with the treaty of alliance with reference to the monopoly on the supply of timber, *IG* I^3, 89).

In the only fragment of his speech *On Behalf of the Larisians* (ca 400 BC), the rhetor Thrasymachos of Chalcedon, a political rival of the Aleuadai and Archelaos, called the Macedonian king a 'barbarian' ('Are we to be slaves of Archelaos, barbarians though we be Greeks?' H. Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, Berlin 1952^6, 85, B2). The bias of the ancient rhetor's phrase as well as the prejudice of certain contemporary historians who refer to it, deniers of the Greekness of the Macedonians, is clear. The same prejudice can be seen in the evaluation of the Macedonian monarch's cultural work, which we discuss below (Part C).

3.4. The great crisis (399-359 BC)

In the 40 years from the death of Archelaos (399 BC) till Philip's ascension to the throne (360 BC), the Macedonian kingdom experienced the most serious crisis in its history. A number of aspects of this crisis are unknown, or insufficiently known, to us because the information available to us from the (mainly literary) sources of the 4th century BC or much later is limited and, at many points, problematic. Nonetheless, even

with this information the three main points that comprised this crisis are clear. The first consists of the political instability arising from inter-dynastic conflicts that result in the overthrow of the ruling king (and occasionally his murder). The other two points are products of this political instability: interventions by the powers of southern Greece in favour of one or the other side, and the expansionist policy of Olynthos at the expense of the central section of the kingdom along with the invasions of the Illyrians. This last shows how serious the crisis was.

This political instability is manifest in the list of kings of this period, as compiled (with minor variations) by the Byzantine chronographers: Orestes (young son of Archelaos): 399-398/7 BC; Aeropos (initially Orestes's regent): 398/7-395/4 BC; Pausanias (son of Aeropos) and Amyntas II, the so-called 'Little': 394/3 BC; Amyntas III: 394/3-370 BC; Argaios: 393/392 BC; Alexander II (son of Amyntas III): 370-369 BC; Ptolemy Alorites (regent): 368-365 BC; Perdikkas III (son of Amnytas III): 365-360 BC.

Of these kings, four (according to information generally considered reliable) had a violent end, on the initiative of those who succeeded them: Pausanias, Amyntas II, Alexander II and Ptolemy Alorites. With the exceptions of Amyntas III and Perdikkas III who governed for 24 and six years respectively, their reigns lasted only for between several months to four years. It is not impossible that a lead box with a lid, most likely from Vergina, with the dotted inscription 'Child of the Argeads' (*SEG* XLI 580), is connected to the conflicts between the royal princes during the first half of the 4th century BC and the use of magic to neutralize one's rivals. This political instability was accompanied, as mentioned, by external interventions.

Unable to deal with the invasion of the Illyrians as a result of the rebellion by Argaios, his rival to the throne, Amyntas III, whose skills are praised by Isokrates (*Archidamos*, 46), requested help from Olynthos, making significant territorial concessions in the central section of the state in return. This help was not given, the Illyrians withdrew after being paid a significant sum of money, and Argaios was expelled with the help of the Thessalians (382 BC). Quite reasonably observing that Olynthos (more precisely, the Chalkidian League) was the most serious danger for the very existence of the kingdom, which could not be faced with the available powers and in the given conditions, Amyntas requested help from Sparta. Using the pretext that it was applying the terms of autonomy, as established with the King's Peace of 386 BC, Sparta intervened in that year (382 BC) and after three years (379 BC) it disbanded the Chalkidian League. Even so, after the foundation of the Second Athenian League (377 BC), and in particular after the Athenian victory over the Spartans in the naval battle of Naxos (376 BC), the power most able – and with most interest - to intervene in Macedonia was Athens. And from 371 BC, after the victory over Sparta at Leuctra, this power was to be Thebes.

Several years later both powers were to intervene in Macedonia, during the new crisis that was burdening the country, after the death of Amyntas (summer 370 BC). A certain Pausanias emerged as a rival contender to the throne against the young Alexander. Queen Eurydike, Alexander's mother, descended from the royal family of the Bacchiadai of Lynkestai, requested help from the Athenian general at Amphipolis, Iphicrates (Aeschines, *On the Embassy*, 26-29). Another historical tradition, more likely inaccurate scandal-mongering (Justin, *Epit.* VII.4.7-5.8), holds that Eurydike, in collaboration with Ptolemy Alorites, the husband of her daughter Eurynoe, arranged the murder of her son and able king, Alexander II (369 BC). Alexander's intervention in Thessaly in 371, after a request from the Aleuadai of Larissa and the subsequent campaign of Pelops, led to a peace treaty with Thebes and the handover of captives, including Alexander's young brother (and later king) Philip. After the murder of Alex-

ander and the assumption of power by Ptolemy Alorites (as regent of Perdikkas III), Thebes took on even more of a crucial role in Macedonian politics: the Thebans exploited Ptolemy's dispute with the Athenians over their demands in Amphipolis, at the same time taking Philoxenos, Ptolemy's son, hostage in Thebes.

From the time of Amyntas III, when the Illyrians withdrew in exchange for a sum of money, Macedonia had been paying a tribute to the neighbouring tribe. In order to put an end to this humiliating relationship, king Perdikkas III campaigned against the Illyrians. In the battle that took place in 360 BC he was killed along with 4,000 Macedonians (Diodorus, XVI 2, 4-5). This painful defeat was the peak of the crisis: a significant section of Upper Macedonia went to the Illyrians, whilst the Paionians invaded the country. Three rivals to the throne – Pausanias, who had been expelled by Ptolemy Alorites; Argaios, who had pushed Amyntas III aside for a brief period; and a certain Archelaos, eldest son of Amyntas III from his first marriage – contested the throne. At this particularly critical moment, it was a blessing for the country that its rule was assumed by the regent of the underage successor Amyntas, the 22-year-old Philip, son of Amyntas III. He not only saved Macedonia from collapse, but he also fundamentally changed the course of its history, as well as that of all Greek history.

3.5. Philip II (360-336 BC)

Macedonia's rise from political instability (and consequent dependence on others) to the position of leading Greek power was an achievement of Philip, a characteristic example of the determining role played by great personalities in history. Clear political goals, working indefatigably to achieve them, organisational talent, skillful political conduct (to subjects and rivals), cultural virtuosity (with a sense of humour) were Philip's undoubted traits as a great personality – undoubted because even Philip's eminent rival Demosthenes admitted them, albeit in his own way. Indeed, the historian Theopompos of Chios, a contemporary of Philip, characterised him (in his work *Makedonika*, which unfortunately does not survive) as Europe's greatest political man (*FGrH* 115 F27). According to his brief statement, which survives in Polybius (VIII.9.1), 'Europe had never produced such a man as Philip, son of Amyntas'.

Macedonia had to and was able to become, with the resources it had available to it (significant human resources and a number of raw materials) a great power. This was necessary first effectively to prevent any future invasions by neighbouring tribes, of which it had painful experiences, and, second, to secure the cohesion of the state, after the collapse of the Chalkidian League and the incorporation of the cities of Pydna and Methone (in its central section) as well as Amphipolis in 357 BC. With all this, it had to play a leading role in southern Greece, which was made possible – but also necessary – by the political weakness of the Greek city-states. This weakness enabled the Persian king to play a regulatory role in Greek political affairs, which he had gained with the King's Peace of 386 BC. These three goals, reasonable given the conditions of the day, defined, in the order given, Philip's activities in the 24 years of his reign.

Philip displayed his leadership abilities as soon as he assumed power, in the year of the great crisis (360/359 BC): he secured the withdrawal of the Paionians in exchange for payment of a tribute, and in the same way convinced the Thracians to withdraw their support for Pausanias, the rival to the throne (Diod. XVI 3, 4). He first arrested Archelaos and had him put to death. After this, he defeated Argaios, who had staged a surprise attack with the help of the Athenians in Macedonia, reaching as far as Aiges from Methone, (Diod. XVI 3, 5-6) was defeated in a surprise attack. The following year he led an expedition into Illyria with 10,000 infantry and 600 horse men (Diod. XVI 4, 3) and, with one decisive victory, became ruler of the whole of Upper Mace-

donia, and all the Macedonian tribes of the region became subject to the Macedonian state (Diod. XVI 4,7; 8, 1). In a period of less than two years, the size and population of the kingdom doubled. Two years later (356 BC), Philip took the title of King, with the consent of Amyntas who withdrew from public life.

Although Philip clashed with Athens, through his successful campaigns over the next twenty years, Macedonian supremacy was established throughout the whole of the Balkan peninsula. In 356 BC, the Paionians became directly dependent on the Macedonian state, later participating in Alexander the Great's campaigns. Cities were founded: Herakleia (today's Monastir) in Lynkestis in 344 BC, Philippi in 356 BC, and Philippopolis in 342/1 BC. Macedonian influence spread to the coastal areas of Thrace as far as the Hellespont (351 BC). Olynthos was occupied (348 BC), whilst victories were scored against the Scythians and the Triballians during the campaign along the Danube (339 BC). These are characteristic examples of this rise, achieved by a people with the resilience and self-confidence that an able leader creates, especially when he shares in all the hardships of war. With the ascendance to the throne of Epirus of Philip's brother-in-law Alexander (brother of his wife Olympias) in 342 BC and the victory over the Phokians in the same year, Macedonian influence reached from the coast of the Adriatic as far as the Hellespont, and from the Danube as far as Thermopylae. Four years later, with the victory at Chaironea (in September 338 BC) against the Athenians and the Thebans, Macedonia became the only power in Greece. This was the expected consequence of Philip's successes, which, in the judgement of Philip and the pro-Macedonian faction in Athens (from 346 BC), could have happened without conflict. This development was due to the opposite judgement, or, more precisely, ideology, supported by the anti-Macedonian faction and promoted with the rhetorical talent of its leading proponent, Demosthenes.

This ideology believed that Athens could regain the leadership role it had had a century-and-a-half beforehand, something which was going against reality, as it had been shaped after the rise of Philip. With the reorganisation of the army implemented by the Macedonian king (establishment of the military service, creation of the phalanx of sarissa-pike wielding hoplites, combining of various weapons, choice of able leaders from all parts of the country), the self-confidence of the people, the effectiveness of the leader, as well as the plentiful economic resources, this leading role belonged to the rising new Greek power of the north.

Even though Demosthenes and his fellow ideologue politicians supported an unswerving resistance, it did actually contain an element of reality in amongst its ideological fervour, which derived from a knowledge of the earlier history of Macedonia. If the progress of the country depended upon the presence of an able king, and the kings of Macedonia often found themselves victims of murder, then the Athenians' resistance should be founded upon the hope of such a prospect recurring again, which would be followed by a weakening of the country. This is why Demosthenes, on hearing the news of Philip's death in 336 BC appeared in a white robe of joy, even though this daughter had only recently died (Aeschines, *Against Ctesiphon*, 77; Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, 22.1-2.). What neither he nor anyone else could foresee, however, was that the new Macedonian king would be one of the greatest leaders in history.

The policy of unswerving resistance, however, in addition to the difficulties of its application - based on the ideology of reviving Athenian hegemony – could not provide a solution to the political crisis of the Greek world in the 4th century. In contrast, the conception of the 'League of Corinth', also known as the 'Hellenic League' (*Koinon ton Ellinon*), founded by Philip after the battle of Chaironea and during the conference of Corinth (337 BC), proved a constructive solution. Macedonia was to be its leading power – politically and militarily, Athens its cultural centre (and base of its naval

power), and the other city-states would retain their autonomy. This Greek federation was also to include the cities of Asia Minor that were to be liberated from Persian rule by the Panhellenic campaign, as proclaimed at the Corinth conference. Despite the different developments that took place later with Alexander the Great, the Hellenic League was to be (on an organisational level) a 'point of reference' for the later Macedonian kings in the formation of their policy to southern Greece.

3.6. Macedonia from the beginning of Alexander the Great's campaign to the end of the Wars of the Successors (335-277 BC)

3.6.1. Antipater (335-319 BC), Cassander (319-297 BC), Demetrios Poliorketes (294-287 BC), Lysimachos (287-281 BC)

During the campaign to the East, the government of Macedonia was assumed, as deputy to the throne (and one of Alexander's leading supporters when he became king), by Philip's general Antipater, who had a dual role: maintenance of political relations with Greece and the effective confrontation of any anti-Macedonian movement, as well as the deployment of any new military forces that would be required during the campaign. The only anti-Macedonian movement came from Sparta, and its King Agis, inspired by memories of the city's former glories. It was easily put down by Antipater, with a victory at the battle of Megalopolis in 331 BC. Far more serious was the rebellion which broke, with Athens at its centre and which was known as the Lamian War, after Alexander the Great's death in 323/322 BC. The rebellion was put down by Antipater with the help of Alexander's generals, Krateros and Leonnatos. The failure of this challenge to Macedonian power was paid by Athens (with the destruction of its fleet at Amorgos and the abolition of its radical democracy) and Demosthenes with his life (he committed suicide so as not to be arrested in 322 BC).

In the approximately 44 years that passed from the death of Antipater (319 BC) until the ascension to the throne of Anitgonos Gonatas (277 BC), Macedonia suffered a second great crisis in its political history, with all the accompanying tribulations. The country, the king and the army that only a decade beforehand had changed the political map of the ancient world with the dissolution of the Persian Empire, suffered more than any other during the wars between the Macedonian generals, former comrades-in-arms during the great campaign.

In the first phase of these wars, during the clash between Polyperchon, an old general of Alexander the Great (appointed by Antipater as deputy to the throne, but who proved to be politically inept) and Antipater's son Cassander, the entire royal family was eliminated over a period of 11 years. First, the legal king Philip III Arrhidaios and his wife Eurydice were killed on the order of Alexander's mother Olympias, who had shifted her allegiance to Polyperchon (319 BC). Olympias herself was the next to be killed (having first been confined at Pydna by Cassander, who had been running Macedonia since then, by an indictment of the army assembly in 316 BC). Six years later, Cassander had Alexander's wife Roxane and their son Alexander IV put to death, to prevent them from claiming their rights to the Macedonian throne. And in 309 BC Polyperchon had Alexander's son by the Persian Barsine, along with his mother, killed on the wish of Cassander.

Macedonia enjoyed political stability during the reign of the – undoubtedly skilled – Cassander (319-297 BC). Cassander married Alexander's half-sister Thessalonike for reasons of political expediency, giving her name to the city he founded (316/5 BC) at the inlet of the Thermaic gulf. The foundation of Thessaloniki and Kassandreia (on the

site of Potidaia) show Cassander's political vision. Also successful was his campaign against the Illyrians. In 306 BC, following the example of the other Successors, Cassander took the title of King. He had, however, already lost a significant part of his influence in southern Greece after the intervention of Demetrios Poliorcetes, son of Anitgonos the One-eyed, who had Asia Minor under his control. With the establishment of his control over southern Greece (he even sought to revive the Hellenic League in 303/2 BC), Demetrios Poliorketes was to become the next king of Macedonia.

He achieved this thanks to the dynastic conflict that broke out between Cassander's two younger sons, Antipater and Alexander, after the brief rule of only a few months of Cassander's eldest son and successor, Philip IV (297 BC). The conflict arose after Antipater's refusal to accept the division of the kingdom proposed by his mother Thessaloniki. Thessaloniki was killed by Antipater, who later fled to Lysimachos, king of Thrace, when Alexander requested help from Demetrios Poliorketes and Pyrrhos. Once Pyrrhos had withdrawn (with the annexation from Macedonia of Akarnania, Tymphaia and Ambrakia as the reward for his intervention), Demetrios Poliorketes came along. Returning to southern Greece (since his intervention was not necessary) he had Alexander, who had accompanied him thus far, killed in Larissa, and was immediately proclaimed king of Macedonia (294/3 BC). Demetrios's autocratic behaviour, and the opulence of his personal life, offended public opinion, something that gave Pyrrhos and Lysimachos the excuse to ally against him and intervene in Macedonia. At Beroia, Demetrios's army shifted allegiance to Pyrrhos. Demetrios was then forced to flee Macedonia and the country was divided between Pyrrhos and Lysimachos. Lysimachos is mentioned as king of Macedonia over the next six years (287-281 BC), on whose order Antipater was also killed.

3.6.2. Ptolemy Keraunos: Invasion of the Celts (280-278 BC)

The dramatic adventure begins in 281 BC, after the defeat and death of Lysimachos at Kouropedion in Asia Minor. The victorious Seleukos crossed the Hellespont, with his homeland of Macedonia as his destination, only to be killed by Ptolemy Keraunos, son of Ptolemy I, the king of Egypt (by Eurydike, daughter of Antipater and sister of Cassander), who, after the rift with his father over the issue of the succession, moved within the circles of Seleukos. With the support of the army (due mainly to the fact that it had avenged the death of Lysimachos), Ptolemy Keraunos became king of Macedonia in 280 BC. A few months later, the Celts invaded Macedonia. This dire defeat – in which Keraunos was killed – was followed by a long period of torment for the country, lasting for around two years. Celtic raids into the open countryside were successfully confronted to a certain degree by the general Sosthenes, although he refused to become king. After his death in 278/277 BC, the country fell into complete anarchy, with four rivals to the throne. An end was put to this by Antigonos Gonatas, son of Demetrios Poliorcetes, with his proud victory over the Celts at Lysimacheia, who went on to become one of Macedonia's most able kings.

3.6.3. Antigonos Gonatas (277-239 BC)

Antigonos Gonatas - the origin of this name is not quite known - governed for 38 years, from 277 until 239 BC. During this period, Macedonia was one of the three great powers of the Hellenistic world, alongside the Seleukid kingdom and Ptolemaic Egypt. His success in this role, and in the necessary restructuring of the country, is mainly due to his personality as king. This is an especially important observation, if we taken into consideration the 'balance of power' of the era, during which differences and conflicts over spheres of influence caused much instability. Moreover, during the Wars of the

Successors (as well Alexander's campaigns in the East), Macedonia lost a significant portion of its most valuable resource, its manpower.

With the weight of the victor, Antigonos Gonatas restored order within the country by, amongst other things, expelling the tyrant Apollodoros from Kassandreia and bringing Thessaly and Paionia back under Macedonian rule. He also founded the city of Antigoneia at Paionia, near the river Axios (Stephanos Byzantios, *s.v.* 'Antigoneia'; cf. F. Papazoglou, *Les Villes*, 324). Even so, Antigonos was defeated a little later, in 275/4 BC, during Pyrrhos's latest invasion of Macedonia. Pyrrhos even took Aiges, where Celt mercenaries pillaged the tombs of the Macedonian kings (Diod., XXII.12, Plut., *Pyrrhos*, XXVI 6). This looting is believed to be the reason for the dire condition in which the tombs were found, scattered throughout the fill in the Megali Toumba at Vergina. Antigonos also used Celt mercenaries, although his main support came from the fleet with which he kept Thessaloniki and other coastal cities under occupation.

Under Antigonos Gonatas, Macedonia played the role of the great power, when there was no longer any threat of intervention from the king of Epirus. After Pyrrhos's death at Argos in 272 BC, his army shifted allegiance to Antigonos and Macedonian influence was restored over southern Greece. With the realism that characterised him (and which conditions necessitated), Antigonos did not tamper with the independence of Epirus, instead appointing Pyrrhos's eldest son to govern the country. To preserve his influence in southern Greece, he kept Macedonian garrisons at only three strategic points (Demitrias, Corinth and Chalkis). The cities' autonomy was not compromised, and in only a few cases and for specific local reasons were tyrannical regimes indirectly supported. Macedonian influence in southern Greece (mainland and island) appeared to have been established with Antigonos's victory in the so-called Chremonidian War (267-261 BC), waged by Athens and Sparta (*IG* II^2 686, 687) with the support of Ptolemy II Philadelphos, and also with his victory in the last naval battle of Kos (probably in 255 BC).

Subsequent developments did not, however, justify this impression. The King of Epirus invaded Upper Macedonia (resisted by Antigonos's son Demetrios) and Antigonos's nephew Alexander rebelled in southern Greece (during which Corinth and Chalkis acceded to Alexander until his death, i.e. from 249-245 BC). Moreover, its inefficient military forces meant that Macedonia was unable to respond to the rising political power of the confederacies, which were ideologically opposed to the monarchical system that it represented: in 243 BC Aratos of Sikyon, son of a political friend of Antigonos, betrayed him and took over Corinth, making it a member of the Achaian League. He handed over the garrison of the city, which was comprised of mercenaries of Antigonos from Syria, to Aratos and the garrison then turned against the Macedonian king after the victories of Ptolemy III against Seleukos II in the third Syrian war (246-241 BC). Antigonos Gonatas had been an ally of the Seleukids from 276 BC, when he married Antiochos II's sister Phila.

Antigonos Gonatas died in 239 BC at the age of 80, having already appointed his son Demetrios as his successor. In Greek, and we could say European history, he is best known for his belief that kingship (and power in general) is 'a worthy kind of slavery' (Aelian, *Historical Miscellany,* II 20). Or, to put it another way, that the king is the servant of the people. In the modern period, this view was also expressed by Frederick the Great, King of Prussia.

3.7. Demetrios II (239-229 BC), Antigonos Doson (229-221 BC)

Military confrontations on two fronts, against the Aitolians in southern Greece and against the Dardanians in the north, cover the first ten years of the reign of Demetrios (239-229 BC), demonstrating the consequences of Macedonia's inability to make its mark on the new environment. The expansionist ambitions of the Aitolian Confederacy in Acarnania spurred Epirus to make political approaches to Macedonia, with Demetrios taking as his wife Phtia, the daughter of Alexander II of Epirus. The Aitolians turned against Macedonia, supported by the Achaians (who invaded Attica), and they were able to wrest parts of Thessaly from Macedonian control. Demetrios, preoccupied in southern Greece, abandoned Epirus, resulting in an uprising in that kingdom against the royal family, leading to its fall. The Dardanian invasion of Paionia forced Demetrios to forge an alliance with the Illyrians, who defeated the Aitolians and then invaded Acarnania, occupying the fortress point of Medeon (Polybius, XI 5). This development was primarily a result of the political short-sightedness of the two confederacies, a political short-sightedness that led to foreign interventions, making the prospect of a stable collaboration with Macedonia - necessary for the common interest - difficult and sometimes impossible.

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After Demetrios's death the running of the country was assumed by Antigonos, the so-called Doson, as regent for his son Philip; Doson was the son of Demetrios the Fair, king of Kyrene and half-brother of Antogonos Gonatas.

Immediately on assuming power, Antigonos Doson restored Macedonian control to those areas of Thessaly that had been taken by the Aitolians, and successfully repelled the invasion of the Dardanians. Thanks to these successes he was proclaimed king and married Phthia, the widow of Demetrios. His most significant achievement, however, was the restoration of Macedonian influence over southern Greece. The positive response in the Peloponnese to the revolutionary programme of Kleomenes III, king of Sparta, forced the leader of the Achaian League, Aratos, to seek help from the Macedonian king, in exchange for Corinth. In 223 BC, Antigonos Doson was elected general of the Achaian League, and brought the Arcadian cities onto his side, and in the next year (222 BC) he defeated Kleomenes at the battle of Sellasia. Macedonian influence was restored with the Hellenic League (Polybius, IV 9.4), put together by Antigonos. Its members included Macedonia and the Confederacies (except for the Aitolian). The Illyrian invasion forced him to return to Macedonia, where he died after having successfully managed to repel the invaders (Polybius, II 70, Plut., *Cleomenes*, 30).

3.8. Philip V (221-179 BC), Perseus (179-168 BC)

The history of Macedonia in the years of Philip V and his successor Perseus, was sealed, as we all known, by the struggle for independence against Rome, a struggle that did not concern only Macedonia but the whole of the Greek world of the East. In this struggle, Macedonia was alone, and she ultimately lost, resulting in the dissolution of the Macedonian kingdom and the enslavement of the other Greeks to Rome. This defeat was the result not only of Rome's greater military might; it was also due to the political short-sightedness of the other Greek states. This was, as Polybius tells us, the message of Thrasykrates of Rhodes afore the Aitolians, when he argued that the struggle against Philip would lead to the 'enslavement and destruction of Greece' (Polybius, XVIII 37.9). Another factor, already mentioned, was that Macedonia had lost a great section of its manpower in the East and the wars that followed. Given these (negative) conditions, the struggle against Rome is quite understandably of particular historical interest.

Philip's main goal, from his ascent to the throne at the age of only 17, should have been – and was – to expel the Romans from the southern section of Illyria, which had become a Roman protectorate from the first and, in particular, the second Illyrian wars (229/8-219 BC). It is indicative that among the young king's councillors was Demetrios Pharios, from near the city of Pharos from whence he had been expelled in 219 BC. The presence of a great power to the south of the kingdom was a severe threat for its very existence. In southern Greece, however, with a few obvious exceptions, the opposite view prevailed: because they had put an end to Illyrian raids along the western Greek coasts (as far as the Peloponnese), the Romans had been welcomed in Isthmyia from the end of the first Illyrian war (228 BC) as though they were a fellow Greek tribe.

The first great opportunity for averting the Roman danger was presented during the Second Punic War, specifically after Hannibal's third victory at Lake Trasimene (Polybius, V.101.5-6), in 217 BC. Up until then, Philip had been engaged in a war with the Aitolians. In 219 BC, according to Polybius (IV 62.1-2), the Aitolians destroyed Dion, whilst a year later Philip did the same to Thermyon (V 8.4-9) and its allies Elis and Sparta. In 217 BC - having secured the respect of the majority of Greeks (Polybius, VII 11.8, see also *IG* IV^2 590, *SEG* I 78: dedication of the Epidaurians for the punishment of the Aitolians) - he agreed to a peace treaty for the reason mentioned above, the last peace to be agreed on the initiative of the Greeks themselves. At the conference of Naupaktos (Polybius, V 102-105), held just for this purpose, the Aitolian politician Agelaos spoke in a brilliantly vivid way, of the need for an alliance of all the Greeks under Macedonian leadership against the danger of the 'black clouds' that had appeared in the West. His argument was that whichever power won the war underway in Italy, the Romans or the Carthiginians, it would intervene in Greece, the most likely result being its enslavement, if an alliance did not exist to counter this likelihood (Polybius, V.104).

The alliance that Philip forged with Hannibal in 215 BC (after the victory of the latter at Cannes) did not offer anything positive as both sides were too weak to fulfill the term of mutual support stipulated in the treaty (Polybius, VII.9, Livy, XXIII 33.9-12). As for Philip, he was obliged to expend the limited powers he had left (with himself at the head) on various fronts (Illyria, the Peloponnese, Central Greece), and especially so after 211 BC when the Romans and the Aitolians had agreed the so-called 'rapacious treaty' (Polybius, IX 39), according to which any cities and territory gained would go to the Aitolians and the moveable property and persons to the Romans. This war, the first Macedonian War, in which, aside from the Aitolians, the Spartans, Elians, Messenians, Athenians, Illyrians and the kingdom of Pergamon under Attalus I participated on the side of the Romans, was concluded with the peace that Philip agreed first with the Aitolians (206 BC) and then with the Romans (205 BC). The peace was drawn up on the basis of the *status quo*; the main result was that southern Greece and a part of Asia came under Roman influence, and the unity of the Greek world had broken down irretrievably.

This breakdown took on even greater dimensions - with all the consequences this was to have for Macedonia - a little later with the developments that took place after the death of Ptolemy IV of Egypt (204 BC). The ensuing decline of that country led to a secret deal between Philip V and Antiochus III of the Seleukid kingdom, with the aim of breaking up the dominions of Egypt (Polybius, III 2.8, XV 20, Livy, XXXI, 14.5). With the vigour that characterised him, Philip proceeded with a series of (partly successful) military operations along the west coast of Asia Minor and in Karia, whilst Antiochus invaded southern Syria. The impending prospect of Macedonian influence in their region led Rhodes and Pergamon to seek an intervention from Rome (200 BC). Even though a year earlier the Romans had rejected a similar plea from the Aitolians, the answer this time was positive. One view attributes this to purely imperialist aspira-

tions over the Greek East, whilst another, more likely, attributes it to the fear of an 'alliance' of the two great powers of the day. Given the painful memories of the war with Hannibal, the likelihood of an invasion of Italy by Macedonia and the Seleukids had to be avoided with a pre-emptive intervention by the Romans.

The reality, however, was completely different. The Romans put to Philip the demand that he abandon Ptolemaic territories, not go to war in Greece and to agree to the resolution of differences with Rhodes and Pergamon through the arbitration of a neutral state; demands that he rejected (Polybius, XVI 27.2, 34.1-7, Livy, XXXI 18, Diod., XXVIII.6). He was thus forced to accept the prospect of war, at which moment Antiochos III abandoned him, preferring to tolerate the presence of the Romans in southern Syria. A political mistake made out of political short-sightedness, which cost both him and the Greek world dearly.

In this new war with Rome (the so-called Second Macedonian War, 200-197 BC), Macedonia was again alone, but with more rivals: these now included the Achaian League, as well as the Macedonian tribe of the Orestians (Polybius, XVIII 47.6, Livy, XXXIII 34.6). Philip's proposals for compromise were rejected by Rome, which even demanded that he pull out his garrisons from Corinth, Chalkis and Demetrias, which would mean Macedonia shrinking to the position it had before Philip II. Philip's refusal led to a decisive battle that took place at Kynoskephalai (in southern Thessaly) in the spring of 197 BC.

In this battle, of the 26,000 men under the command of the Roman consul Titus Quintus Flaminius around one third were Greeks, primarily Aitolians and the Epirot tribe of the Athamanes (Livy, XXXIII 4, 4-5). Philip's army was made up, according to Livy (XXXIII 3.1-5) and confirmed by two copies of Philip V's regulation of military service (one from Kassandreia and the other possibly from Amphipolis, *SEG* XLIX, 722, 855), of mainly new recruits from Macedonia. The war ended with his unavoidable defeat. According to the peace terms imposed by Rome, Macedonia lost all its foreign possessions (and Thessaly), was obliged to disband its fleet, to pay a war indemnity of 1,000 talents and to be Rome's ally (with all the obligations such a relationship involved, Polybius, XVIII 44, Livy, XXXIII 30).

Over the next 18 years of his reign, Philip took various measures for the economic reform of the country (increase in taxes and duties, exploitation of unused metal mines), demographic reinforcement (support for large families, settlement of Thracian populations), government decentralisation (as we can see from the coins minted locally in certain areas). With these policies, and the successful campaigns against Thracian tribes (Odrysians, Bessoi, Denthelitai, Maedoi) Macedonia remained the most powerful state in the Balkan peninsula, continuing its historic role as the 'fence' (Polybius, IX 35.1-4) of the main territories of Greece and the Greek cities of Thrace. Other measures, with the clear aim of strengthening the country's defensive powers, also make an impression: cereals and money were stored at fortified positions in the hinterland in order to support a large number of mercenaries (Plutarch, *Aemilius Paulus*, 8). The Greek population of coastal cities was also transferred to the hinterland, and Thracians and other foreigners settled in their place. It cannot be proved that Philip was looking to another military showdown with Rome, as is argued by his contemporary Polybius and later historians. Following a serious crisis in the royal family – his younger son Demetrios was killed, apparently by his elder son Perseus – Philip died in 179 BC at Amphipolis. The country's government was taken over by Perseus, who proved unable to rise to the occasion, and so it is perhaps true, as Livy (XL 54-58) says, that Philip had wanted to appoint his distant relative Antigonos as his successor.

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Perseus's place in history has been tied to the final war against Rome (the so-called third Macedonian War of 171-168 BC), which ended with his defeat and the lamentable dissolution of the Macedonian kingdom. Three factors contributed to the outbreak of war: Perseus's attempt to restore Macedonian influence in southern Greece, something promoted mainly through the anti-Roman (for political and social reasons) sections of the population; the political will of the military leadership in Rome at that time, which equated such a policy with 'rebellion' and responded to it accordingly; and the reproachable morality and political short-sightedness of Eumenes II, the king of Pergamon. In a speech to the Senate in 172 BC Eumenes exhorted the Romans to intervene politically in order to confront the (supposed) serious danger stemming from Macedonia. A fragmentary inscription from Dion confirms what Eumenes had claimed in relation to the signing of an alliance between Perseus and the Beotians (*Alliance between King | Perseus and Beotians*), allowing us to correct the text of Livy (XLII 12.5-7), which previously stated that the three copies of the treaty were produced on stelai, one of which was set up at Thebes, another at Delphi and the other *alterdsidenum* (*altero ad Delium*, older version). The third stele with the inscription of the treaty was set up in the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios at Dion (*altero ad Dium*).

With the clarion call of preserving the democracy of the Greeks, Rome declared war against the Macedonian king (*SEG* XXXI 542). Perseus scored a number of successes in the first two years, allowing him to request a peace treaty from the Roman Senate. But the Romans sought an unconditional settlement. The significant tactical errors that he made during the third year and the effective leadership of the Roman Consul Lucius Aemilius Paulus, resulted in Perseus's crushing defeat at the decisive battle of Pydna (22 June 168 BC). Perseus fled to Amhipolis and from there to Samothrace, where he was arrested and later transferred to Rome. Here, he was put to death, along with a number of other captives, after having been dragged along during the procession of the successful Consul's triumph.

The country was introduced to the new side of Roman imperialism, with the cruelty that typified it: the Macedonian kingdom, as a unified state, was divided into four regions ('merides'). The first lay between the Strymon and Nestos rivers, with a few fortified positions to the east of the Nestos, and its capital at Amphipolis. The second region lay between the Strymon and the Axios rivers and had Thessaloniki as its capital. The third had as its borders the Axios river and the Thermaic gulf to the east, Mt Vermio to the west and Mt Pineios to the south, its capital being based at Pella. The fourth section included Upper Macedonia as far as the borders with Epirus and Illyria, with its capital at Pelagonia (Livy, XLV 29-30, Diodoros, XXXI 8.8, Strabo, VII fr. 48). Each 'meris' was run by an oligarchic-style body known as the 'Council'. Marriage and economic relations between people of different 'merides' was forbidden, as was the exploitation of mines and the felling of trees for the construction of ships. In addition to this, all officials of the former kingdom's government were obliged to settle with their families in Italy. The Roman leadership of the day imposed upon Macedonia a complete economic and political decline, in every way possible.

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The political history of Macedonia as an independent state has been studied, and continues to be studied, from different starting points. However, from no perspective is it correct to disregard one of its basic characteristics. This is the importance of the psychological endurance and fighting spirit of its people, which can be seen in the surpassing of internal crises, but also in the campaign to the East, as in the resistance (with limited capabilities) against Rome. From this perspective, Macedonian political history is of particular interest not only for Greek history, but also for world history.

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4. Part C: Culture

No comprehensive work on the cultural history of ancient Macedonia from the foundation of the Macedonian kingdom until the close of classical antiquity currently exists. The difficulty in the writing of such a work lies in the fact that not only are there relatively few references (and circumstantial at that) in the literary sources, but, in addition, a large section of the archaeological finds (inscriptions, artistic monuments, material culture) has not been published. The examples from both categories that are presented here have been selected on the criterion of the two (known) basic elements of this cultural history: the decisive role of the monarchy in the country's cultural life (in particular during the 5th and 4th centuries BC) and its Greek character.

Macedonian kings, such as Alexander I, Perdikkas II, Archelaos, Perdikkas II, Philip II and Antigonos Gonatas took care to have intellectuals from southern Greece in their circles or to maintain relations with them out of personal interest. Clearly, they were aware of the importance of these relations for the promotion of their country throughout the Greek world.

Alexander I was known for his relations with Pindar and, in particular, Bachylides. The former, of whom it is mentioned that he visited Macedonia (Solinos, IX 16), composed a victory ode (fr. 120, 121, Snell) in honour of the Macedonian king, probably on the occasion of Alexander's victory in the Olympic Games (most probably of 496 BC, see Hdt. V 22.2, Solinos, VII 2.14), but also for his offer to help in facing the Persian danger. The memory of the friendship between the two men was preserved for many generations. As Dio Chrysostom (II 33) and other authors inform us, during his destruction of Thebes (335 BC) Alexander the Great, recalling the friendship between the poet and the ancestor whose name he bore, made sure to keep Pindar's house

intact. Bachylides wrote, as we know, a symposium song dedicated to the Macedonian king (fr. 20 B, Snell).

Perdikkas II hosted Hippocrates, the well-known doctor from Kos, in his court as well as the poet of 'lyric and dithyrambic odes' Melanippides of Melos (Suda, *s.v. Hippocrates*, *Melanippides*). The most impressive example that we know of, however, is that of Perdikkas's successor, Archelaos. The palace of Pella was decorated with compositions by the celebrated painter of the period, Zeuxis of Herakleia (Aelian, *Historical Miscellany*, XIV 17). In his court, Archelaos hosted the epic poet Choirilos of Samos (Athenaeus, VIII 345d), the Athenian tragic poet Agathon (Aelian, *Historical Miscellany*, II 21, XIII 4) and possibly the musician Timotheos (Plutarch, *Moralia*, 177b). It is also said that he invited Socrates to Macedonia, an invitation that the Athenian philosopher declined (Seneca, *De beneficiis*, V 6.2-6, Diogenes Laertios, II 25, Dio Chrysostom, XIII 30).

The best known for his ties with Macedonia, and in particular with Archelaos, was Euripides. It was in Macedonia that Euripides composed his 'Bacchae', in which the Macedonian landscape has a strong presence, and his drama 'Archelaos', of which only the plot is known to us from the later Latin writer Hyginus (CCXIX 143-144). According to this, the drama was an indirect glorification of the Macedonian monarch, since a king of the same name appears as founder of the dynasty.

Archelaos is the foremost example of a Macedonian king who epitomised the decisive role of the monarchy in the cultural life of the country. It was he who founded the athletics and musical games at Dion (Diod, XVII 16.3-4), which lasted for nine days, just like the number of the Muses. These Games took place at the end of October every four years, just like the Olympic Games, according to one version, or, according to a less likely version, each year. These Games bore the name Olympia, not in contrast to the Olympic Games (we know that Archelaos had taken part and won in the Olympic and in the Pythic Games; Solinos, IX 16), and, as one might expect, it is inconceivable that he would have expressed his opposition to the southern Greeks in this way. The Games at Dion had a significant duration and, as the only state-run cultural event of Macedonia, were an institution of decisive importance for the cultural life of the country. As mentioned, Dion was destroyed by the Aitolians in 219 BC, although inscriptions and other monuments demonstrating its continued importance must exist, and will hopefully one day be found. Nonetheless, it is generally accepted by historians that the cultural work of Archelaos was due to the fact that the Macedonian aristocracy enjoyed a high level of education, at least from the picture we garner from the generals of Philip (Antipater and Parmenion) and Alexander the Great (Ptolemy, Krateros, Seleukos). Antipater, author of a historic work with the title 'The Illyrian Deeds of Perdikkas' (Suda, *s.v. Antipater*) – a history of Perdikkas's wars against the Illyrians – was a close friend of Aristotle, with whom he kept up a regular correspondence. Ptolemy's historical work on Alexander's campaigns in Anatolia was a primary source for the historian Arrian.

The dynastic in-fighting within the Macedonian kingdom following the death of Archelaos undoubtedly limited the flow of intellectuals from southern Grece to the Macedonian court, but did not cut it off altogether. Plato's student Euphraios was part of Perdikkas's immediate environment (Plato, *Epistles*, V 321c-322c). The detail provided by Athenaios in his *Deipnosophistae* (XI 508d-e), that Euphraios's influence was so great that it was impossible for one to participate in royal symposia unless he were familiar with geometry or philosophy, may be an exaggeration, but it is also indicative. So is the fact that Plato's successor Speusippos, in his letter to Philip II, expresses his pro-Macedonian feelings with extensive reference to the work of a historian called Antipater, who lived at Athens and who was definitely connected with the Academy. In

this letter, Philip's territorial ambitions in Chalkidike and his foreign policy in general are also justified.

Equally indicative are certain examples that have a direct relationship with the Macedonian court in the time of Philip. The first is an epigram written on the order of the mother of the Macedonian king, Eurydike the daughter of Sirras (perhaps the leader of Lynkestai and not Illyria, as a number of modern historians have argued). The epigram (Plutarch, *Moralia*, 14b) accompanied a dedication by Eurydike in the temple of the Muses at Pella, and it expresses her satisfaction at having being able to learn to read at such an advanced age. This is of interest not so much for its personal element, as for what it suggests of the cultural atmosphere of Macedonia.

Two other examples, which refer to Philip are equally indicative of the atmosphere of the great Macedonian king's own cultural interests. In the first, Philip, with the humour that characterised him, asked a group of Athenian joke-writing experts to write, especially for him, some witty jokes and to send them to him for the price of a talent (Athenaios, *Deipnosophistai*, XIV 614e). The second example has the Macedonian king meeting one of his fanatical opponents at Delphi, the Achaean intellectual Arkadion, who detested Philip and had gone into self-exile when the pro-Macedonian faction in his city prevailed. Philip asked him where he was going, and Arkadion replied that he was going to settle in a place where Philip was not known. Arkadion then laughed, invited Philip to dinner and the enmity thus dissipated (Athenaios, *Deipnosophistai*, VI 249c-d).

Of the kings of the 3rd century, Antigonos Gonatas stands out as a great cultural figure in addition to his distinguished political activities that have been mentioned. At Athens he had been a student of Zeno, whom he particularly admired (Dio. Laertius, VII 15, Aelian, *Historical Miscellany* XII 25). Another student of Zeno, and friend of Antigonos, was Persaeus of Kition, whom Antigonos appointed as governor of the garrison at Corinth (Dio. Laertius, VII 36). Intellectuals from various regions were hosted at the court of Antigonos Gonatas, such as Aratos of Soloi, Menedemos of Eretria, the historian Hieronymous of Kardia, the lyric poet Alexander the Aitolian and the epic poet Antagoras the Rhodian. Moreover, Antigonos maintained relations with the distinguished philosophers of his day, the Cynic philosopher Bion of Borysthenes, Arkesilaos and Timon of Phliny.

One could argue that relations between leaders and various (even foreign) intellectuals is a common phenomenon and can be observed even in the modern period; for this reason, a number of contemporary historians do not assess these relations as evidence of the Greek character of Macedonian civilisation. For the objective observer, this is definitely reliable evidence, especially when accompanied, as it should be, with the will of the kings to spread Greek education throughout their country. This can be seen in institutions such as the Games established by Archelaos, or even Alexander the Great's wish that 30,000 Persian boys learn Greek (Plut., *Alexander,* 47, 3). To this we can add the use of the Attic dialect in the country's administration, and especially the desire of the people themselves, without which such a policy would have been absurd. In any case, the Greek character of cultural life can be seen not only in the literary sources (names of people, place names, institutions, etc.) but also in inscriptions, such as artistic monuments, and in material culture. These are as equally indicative, as are the works by the Macedonian historians and poets within the circle of Antigonos Gonatas, such as Marsyas of Pella and the epigrammatist Poseidippos, and the circle of Philip V, such as the epigrammatist Samos, son of Chrysogonos of Edessa.

Some indicative, in my opinion, examples of the various categories are here given in brief. Of particular interest, as regards the first category, are objects with inscriptions

dating to the 5th and 4th centuries BC: here we can include, for example, the bronze strigil inscribed with the name APATHOS (*SEG* XLIX 671, 5th century), the stelai with the names KLEIONA and ATTYA (*SEG* XLIII 363, 450-400 BC) from Aiane, and the Attic kylix cup with the Macedonian name Machatas from Pontokomi in the prefecture of Kozani (*SEG* XLIX 776, 5th century BC). In addition, the stele from Pella of the young Xanthos, son of Demetrios and Ammadika (5th century BC), which has him portrayed along with objects from his daily life (dog, pigeon, wheel). With the exception of the bronze strigil, which could have been transferred from some other part of the Greek world, it is probable that the remaining objects were produced in local workshops. The same holds for the 67 grave stele - most of them inscribed (*SEG* XXXV 771-808) - which were found scattered in the fill of Megali Toumba at Vergina, and which date to the last quarter of the 5th century and the first quarter of the 3rd century BC. All the names - a total of 84 survive, of which 75 are complete - with the exception of three are Greek. Indeed, most names were common throughout the whole of the Greek world, already known from the mythological traditions of the Greeks.

To the second category belong monuments of art that indicate the Macedonians' knowledge of the mythological traditions of the southern Greeks, the Homeric epics in particular. One of the earliest, as far as I am aware, is an Attic red-figure hydria (water container) from Pella, dating to the late 5th century BC, on which is portrayed the contest between Athena and Poseidon over the name of the city of Athens. Its use as a funerary urn is indicative of how familiar the locals were with Greek mythology. The same goes for the representations on vessels for daily use with scenes from the Homeric epics and the Athenians tragic poets, Euripides in particular, the majority of which come from Pella but also from many other cities of Macedonia. The names of the heroes are written on some of these representations, on others they are not, indicating that the images portrayed were widely known. Particularly impressive is the painted decoration of a cist grave from around 300 BC, also excavated at Pella. As the preliminary publication of the grave notes, the image represented is related to later portrayals, primarily of the Roman period, where gatherings of cultural and intellectual personages are shown. The dead man buried here was perhaps a philosopher himself, or an important figure with specific philosophical and intellectual interests.

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III. Roman Macedonia (168 BC - AD 284)

by Pandelis Nigdelis

1. Political and administrative developments

1.1. Macedonia as a Roman protectorate (168–148 BC)

A few months after defeating Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, at Pydna (168 BC) the Romans found themselves facing the crucial question of how to govern the country. The question was not a new one. It had arisen thirty years before, after their victory over Perseus' father, Philip V, at Cynoscephalae (197 BC), when the solution adopted was to preserve the kingdom within its old historical boundaries and to have the heir to the throne, Demetrius, educated in Rome, so that Macedonia would continue to fulfil its vital role as a rampart defending southern Greece against barbarian invasion. The latest war had shown that this solution was unrealistic, and that harsher measures were required for more effective control over the land. The Romans still, however, avoided becoming directly involved in the government of the country, for they did not want to assume responsibility for its defence. They therefore, having set the amount of the annual taxation at 100 talents, or half its previous level (an unavoidable reduction given that they were abolishing some of the revenues enjoyed by the previous regime), and collected spoils and plunder worth a total of 6000 talents, opted for the solution of a Macedonia politically divided and economically enfeebled.

The political fragmentation of Macedonia was achieved primarily by the creation of four self-governing "cantons" (*regiones*); these, with the exception of Paeonia (which, although inhabited by a single tribe, was divided under the new system), were defined on the basis of their historical boundaries. The first canton extended from the Nestus to the Strymon, with the addition of Bisaltia (which lay to the west of the Strymon) and Sintice. The second canton comprised the lands between the Strymon and the Axios, plus eastern Paeonia, which lay to the north about halfway upstream along the Axios. The third canton was defined as lying west of the Axios, east of Mount Vermion and north of the Peneios river, its northern boundary being indeterminate; it also included that part of western Paeonia bounded by the Axios. Finally, the fourth canton embraced (from south to north) the lands of Eordaea, Elimea, Lyncestis, Derriopus, Pelagonia and the part of western Paeonia that bordered on the land of the Dardanians. Of their political organisation we know only that assemblies met, taxes were gathered and governors elected (Diodorus tells us that each canton had its own governor) in their capitals (Amphipolis, Thessaloniki, Pella and Pelagonia, respectively). Although the sources do not permit any certainty on this point, it is probable – and has been argued by a number of scholars – that the Roman senate allowed the Macedonians to set up a joint council (see Livy XLV, 32) for the overall administration of the whole of Macedonia. The question of the region's security was resolved in an unusual manner, with the constitution of local garrisons of Macedonians quartered along the northern frontiers of the three cantons that bordered on barbarian lands (i.e. not the third).

The second element of the solution, namely the economic enfeeblement of Macedonia to prevent the emergence of strong local centres that could undermine its loyalty, was to be achieved through a number of specific measures: a) prohibiting intermarriage between inhabitants of different cantons; b) prohibiting the ownership of land or buildings in more than one canton; c) prohibiting trade in salt between regions and fixing its

price for the fourth canton; and d) suspending the operation of state (royal) monopolies, such as timber and the silver and gold mines, an exception being made only for the production of iron and copper. This last decision was influenced by the disgust of the patricians in Rome at the activities of the tax-farming syndicates in Spain [1]. (Text 1)

The arrangements made in 167 BC proved, however, to be inadequate from both the political and the military point of view. In 163/162, just four years after the council of Amphipolis, a Roman envoy had to be dispatched to settle an outbreak of urban unrest in Macedonia; while at some later date (just when is not known), and in circumstances that are unclear, one Damasippus massacred the council assembled at the stronghold of Phacus, near Pella, afterwards seeking refuge in the court of Ptolemy VII as a mercenary. Despite the economic recovery Macedonia was enjoying, apparently on account of Rome's decision to re-open the royal mines (158 BC), domestic strife that literary sources describe – although without providing any detail – as civil insurrection also occurred in 151, on which occasion the Macedonians sought the intervention of Rome, asking for Scipio Aemilianus, son of Aemilius Paullus, to be sent out as arbiter. The likely cause of this instability probably owes less to the political customs of the royalist Macedonians and their inability to adapt to a republican system of government, as Polybius argues, than to the inadequate and uneven rule of the new pro-Roman political elite to whom their friends had entrusted the government of the country.

However, if from the political point of view the arrangements adopted in 167 BC satisfied at least part of Macedonian society, from the military aspect they were wholly unacceptable and mathematically certain to lead to its destruction. The military weakening of Macedonia through the provision that the new administration could maintain military garrisons in the three frontier cantons left the country an easy prey to the inveterate rapacity of the neighbouring barbarian tribes, all the more so since the abolition of the monarchy had also eliminated the trepidation that might have held them back. The military security of Macedonia was, however, necessary for the viability of any settlement in Greece. In this sense the insurrection led by Andriscus in 149 BC should be seen more as the product of external pressures, and specifically of the role of the Thracian tribes that supported him militarily, than as a national or social revolution, as has sometimes been suggested, although its sponsors and supporters certainly took advantage of the social disaffection between segments of the population, not to mention their monarchist loyalties and the anti-Roman sentiments engendered by the traumatic experience of 168. That Andriscus and his Thracian associates were relying on these factors is indicated by his proclamation of himself as king of Macedonia under the dynastic name of Philip, his claim to be the son of Perseus and his elimination of a number of wealthy Macedonians, although this last action, ideologically inconsistent with the rest of his conduct, may more likely have been dictated by a desire for booty, as would in addition be suggested by the execution of a number of his own supporters. On the other hand, it is also a fact that the Macedonians did not support him until after the summer of 149 BC, by which time he had seized control of most of Macedonia.

In this adverse conjuncture (for their legions were tied up in North Africa) the Romans decided to defuse the situation through diplomatic means, sending an embassy to sort things out; but when the forces of this adventurer out of nowhere ("*αεροπετούς*") managed to occupy part of Thessaly, sterner measures became necessary. The first attempt was unsuccessful: the Roman legion that arrived in Greece under the command of the praetor Publius Juventinus was soundly defeated at the Thessaly - Macedonia border and its commanding officer was killed on the battlefield (summer 148). A few months later, however, Quintus Caecilius Metellus arrived in Macedonia with two legions and, with the help of the Pergamene navy (Attalus II) and certain tactical errors committed

by his opponent, defeated Andriscus at Pydna and carried him off in chains to Rome to march in his triumph.[2] (Text 3)

This episode convinced the Roman *nobilitas* that the experiment of a Macedonian four-canton protectorate without military support was essentially unworkable. From that year (148) on Rome kept a regular army in Macedonia, commanded by a Roman provincial governor (usually of the rank of *praetor*), while the Macedonians continued to contribute to the military security of the country by maintaining the garrisons instituted by Aemilius Paullus. The sending out of governors and legions (their number depending on the military requirements of each conjuncture) is the only, albeit substantial, change effected by the Romans to the arrangements for Macedonia worked out in 167, at least in these early years of their rule. These arrangements, as well as the division of the country into four cantons, remained in force into the imperial age. The fragmentary sources we have do not tell us when Macedonia formally became a province of the Roman republic and whether Metellus instituted any further arrangements. This is why some contemporary historians speak of a military administration and not of a province, basing their interpretation on the pre-eminently military responsibilities of its governors. In any case, up to the end of the republican period Macedonia was part of the vast province of that name, whose governor ruled not only over it and southern Illyricum (which had been annexed in order to secure communications between Macedonia and Italy) but also over whatever territories in the Balkan peninsula the Roman legions would afterwards add to the empire.[3]

1.2. The consolidation of Roman rule in Macedonia and its role in the surrounding region (148-46 BC)

The strongly pro-monarchist sympathies of the generation of Pydna, the repercussions on the economic and social life of the Macedonians of the virtually incessant pressure from neighbouring peoples, and the capricious arrogance too often displayed by the Roman governors in the exercise of their duties naturally fostered new uprisings whenever claimants appeared – at least in the early years of Roman rule. The number of such insurrections, however, was very small. If one excepts the first such incident, which occurred during the general turmoil of the Andriscus episode, was led by an adventurer claiming to be Alexander, the son of Perseus, and was put down by Metellus, the only serious such rising was that of another false Philip (or false Perseus), which broke out in 143. According to at least one source (Eutropius) sixteen thousand armed men took part in this affray, many of them slaves; but in the end the rebels were put down by Roman forces led by the quaestor Lucius Tremellius Scrofa. The third such incident dates from the beginning of the rule of governor Gaius Sentius (93): taking advantage of the distress caused by a sharp and unjustified rise in the price of wheat in the province, a young Macedonian called Euphantus presented himself as king and appealed to his fellow-countrymen to rise and restore the “ancestral monarchy”. His action won little response (the sources describe his supporters as adventurers) and the rising never got off the ground, all the more so since his own father denounced him as insane[4].

These episodes should not, of course, lead to the conclusion that Roman rule met with persistent and permanent resistance in Macedonia. Not only were these isolated incidents, with varying degrees of support, but – and more importantly – much of the population had early on begun to adapt to the new and incontestable political reality that had taken hold of the East after Pydna: the unchallengeable Roman hegemony in the eastern Mediterranean basin and its surrounding regions. In Macedonia, the signs of this adaptation come from divers sectors of public life. The first concerns the introduction of a new dating system, beginning on the first day of the month of Dios (October) in the

year 148: it was, in other words, associated with the crushing of the insurrection of Andriscus. This system, which replaced the earlier method of dating based on the regnal year of each monarch seems – as far as can be determined from the available data – to have been used only in Macedonia (cf. the expression *kata Makedonas* or *hos Makedones agousin*); and it remained in use until the imperial age. The fact that the Macedonians were adapting to Roman rule is also shown by the institution of games in honour of Roman officials, such as the quaestor Marcus Annius who distinguished himself in the warfare of the year 120/119 BC, and by the adoption of cults, such as that of Jupiter Liberator and of Rome. Statues in honour of Roman officials began to ornament the Forums and other public places in Macedonian cities immediately after the events of 148. The earliest example is that of the Thessalonians honouring Metellus (148-146): in the inscription on the base of the statue the inhabitants of that great city, adopting the new vocabulary of the Romanised political elite of southern Greece, describe him as 'saviour' (σωτήρ) and 'benefactor' (ευεργέτης). How far this adaptation had progressed within just a few decades is evident from a passage in a letter from Sulla (80 BC), in which he tells the people of Thasos that, since during the events of the First Mithradatic War (see below) "they had resisted the enemies of Rome and sworn to sacrifice themselves, their children and their wives and to die fighting for Rome rather than repudiate the friendship of the Roman people", the Roman Senate had granted them the privileged status of *socii* (allies).

One of the principal factors fostering the development of this attitude among the Macedonians was obviously the fact that the Roman administration had taken over from the monarchy the difficult and wearisome task of defending the country against raids from neighbouring tribes to the north, and thus guaranteeing their security and "freedom". Indeed, up until the time of the first Roman civil war, which was fought on Macedonian soil, the political history of Macedonia is nothing but a long list of military engagements between the Roman governors and the various tribes of the region. The need for a good highway to enable the legions to reach Macedonia rapidly and efficiently was, in fact, the main reason for the construction, sometime before 120 BC, of the Via Egnatia: named for the governor in office at the time, this great military road (*via militaris*) connected the Adriatic (Dyrrachium, Apollonia) with the Propontis (Byzantium) and the Aegean.

The principal foe faced by the first provincial governors (up to 84 BC) was the Scordisci, a Celtic tribe settled initially at the junction of the Savus and Danube rivers. Their first recorded clash with the Roman legions on Macedonian soil was in 120-119 and took place in Argos, eastern Paeonia (a little way north of Stobi). Despite their initial successes, and the death on the battlefield of the provincial governor Sextus Pompeius (grandfather of Pompey), catastrophe was avoided thanks mainly to the timely and effective reaction of the quaestor Marcus Annius, who managed to defeat both the Scordisci and the mounted reinforcements sent up by their Thracian allies, the Maedi, using only the available Roman legions and the local militia, without having to call up the Macedonian reserve (Text 4). A few years later, however, in 114, the then governor of the province, Lucius Porcius Cato, grandson of Cato the Censor, suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Scordisci in Thrace, part of which was under their control; they followed up their victory by invading central Greece and plundering Delphi. Subsequent governors managed to hold them in check, the most important of these being Minucius Rufus, who governed the province for three years (109-106) and won important victories over the Scordisci, the Bessi and other allied Thracian peoples both on the borders of the province (Europus) and beyond (in Thrace).

The period of relative peace and stability that followed came to an end for Macedonia when events on the international scene stirred up the Scordisci and the Thracian

tribes once again. These were (first) the Social War in Italy (91-89 BC) and (secondly and more importantly) the First Mithradatic War (88-85). The man called upon to deal with the general rebellion of barbarian tribes (*omnium barbarorum defectio*, in Cicero's phrase) was the governor, Gaius Sentius Saturninus, who remained in the province from 93 to 87 BC. For three years, starting in 91 BC, Macedonia suffered a series of raids by Thracian tribes, who penetrated into the interior of the province but were driven back by the Romans thanks to their military superiority and the collaboration of its population and their allies the Dentheletae. In a new invasion in 88 BC, kindled by their ally and protector Mithradates VI Eupator, king of Pontus, the Thracians drove through Macedonia to Epirus and the Temple of Jupiter at Dodone, where they were repulsed by Sentius. One year later (87 BC) the Roman legions, under strength and exhausted but still putting up a strong resistance in Eastern Macedonia with the support of the local population, fell back towards Thessaly, abandoning Macedonia to Ariarathes, the son of Mithradates, who annexed it to his kingdom as a satrapy. Roman rule over the region was restored in 86 BC, when Sulla re-occupied Macedonia and began to use it as a base for small-scale military operations against neighbouring tribes (Dardanians, Sinti, Maedi), with the object of pillage as well as training for his troops. Meanwhile, as Sulla was pressing forward into Asia (summer 85), Skordisci, Maedi and Dardanians were once again attacking Macedonia and Greece, reaching Delphi and looting its treasury yet again in the autumn of that year. They were eventually turned back in 84 BC by governor Lucius Scipio Asiagenus, who finally pushed the Skordisci right back to the Danube region.

Over the following decade (70-60 BC) the governors of Macedonia used the province as a base for launching military operations to bring under control the unruly tribes inhabiting the Balkan Peninsula, the most important of these being the Dardanians, the Thracian Bessi and the tribes that had settled in Moesia, e.g. the Bastarnae. During this same period Rome, by then engaged in the Third Mithradatic War (74-66), also brought under its control the great Greek maritime cities of the western shore of the Black Sea previously under the protection of the king of Pontus (Apollonia, Mesembria, Dionysopolis, Kallatis, Tomi, Istrus, Parthenopolis and Bizone). Thus, under Gaius Scribonius Curio (governor 75-72) the Romans, having defeated the Dardanians and occupied a large part of Moesia, for the first time penetrated as far as the Danube; his successor, Marcus Terentius Varro Lucullus (72-71), brother of the famous general Lucius Licinius Lucullus, crushed the Bessi among the crags of Mount Haemus, where they had their hidden strongholds, completed the subjugation of Thrace and Moesia and brought under Roman control the afore-mentioned Greek cities on the western shore of the Black Sea. Rome did not long, however, enjoy the fruits of these military successes, for the incompetence and rapacity of the next governor, Gaius Antonius Hybrida (62-60 BC), resulted in an uprising by the Bastarnae (summoned to the assistance of the Greek cities of Pontus, in revolt against the heavy burden of exactions imposed by Antonius) which ended in his defeat: the northern territories of the province were thus once again pushed back south of Mount Haemus. Despite the military successes against the Bessi of the next governor, Gaius Octavius (60–59 BC), father of Augustus, Rome would not begin to regain control over the lost territories until after Augustus came to power. Two years after Octavius' governorship, and because of the weakness of the notorious (from the infamous invective of Cicero) governor Lucius Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus (57-55 BC), Macedonia was plundered not only by such traditionally hostile tribes as the Bessi and the Dardanians but also by former allies, like the Dentheletae, with the result that fear and insecurity reigned. Similar conditions, but of greater intensity and longer duration, prevailed again some years later, when the so-called Roman revolution entered its final phase and the Republic's greatest generals clashed in the last of its civil wars: Pompey against Caesar, the so-called liberators, Brutus and Cassius, against Antony and

Octavian, and, finally, Antony against Octavian. For the most important battles of these wars were fought on Macedonian soil, with all obvious consequences for the economic and social life of the Macedonians [5].

1.3. The period of the Roman Civil Wars (48-31 BC).

In the spring of 49 BC Macedonia was at the centre of developments as the first great civil war between Pompey and Caesar unfolded. With Caesar having won control of Italy and thus secured his position in the West, Pompey, at the head of the aristocratic (government) party (*optimates*) and followed by both consuls and two hundred senators, set up his government-in-exile in Thessaloniki, the seat of the provincial governor, and, while waiting for his opponent to follow him, exercised his troops (nine legions) on the plains of Berea (Text 5). Early in the following year (48 BC) Caesar led seven legions through southern Illyricum, occupying successively the cities of Oricus, Apollonia, Byllis and Amantia, with reinforcements from Italy (four more legions) following soon afterwards. While the movement of Pompey's army westward into the region of Dyrrachium temporarily relieved Macedonia of the burden of military requisitions, the arrival (spring 48) of two new legions plus auxiliary forces under the command of Quintus Metellus Scipio, former governor of the province of Syria and Pompey's father-in-law, led to an outbreak of hostilities in Upper Macedonia between Pompey and Caesar's seconds-in-command Cassius Longinus and Domitius Calvinus. Cities and villages were looted and burnt by soldiers from both sides. After Caesar's decisive victory at Pharsalus (August, 48 BC), however, the country began to recover from the economic prostration it had suffered as a result of the activities and requirements of the opposing legions and the conscription of its own men.

Five years after these events Macedonia once again found itself caught up in the maelstrom of the second round of Rome's civil wars. Unfortunately for the province, its governor at that time was one of Caesar's assassins and the chief promoter of the conspiracy to kill him, Gaius Cassius Longinus. In 43 BC he raised two legions of Macedonian soldiers, which he trained in the Roman manner for the purposes of a brief campaign against the Bessi. These forces, together with those gathered in Asia Minor and Syria by the other "liberator", Marcus Junius Brutus, met the Caesarian army led by Mark Antony and Octavian in the autumn of 42 BC at Philippi. The victory of the Caesarians heralded the final phase of Macedonia's history in the republican age. During this period Macedonia found itself under the rule of Mark Antony until the naval battle of Actium (September, 31 BC). As expected, and as happened in so many Greek cities, it had to furnish men and pay part of the cost for Mark Antony's campaign against the Parthians and his fateful battle with Octavian (afterwards Caesar Augustus) at Actium. Accommodating themselves to the new political situation, as had the inhabitants of other eastern provinces, the Macedonians adopted the year 31 BC as the beginning of a new system of chronology in their public and private documents: that of the Augustan years (the name being derived from the official title of the emperor) [6].

1.4. The imperial age (30 BC – AD 284)

In the first years of Augustus' rule Macedonia, as the northernmost province in the eastern part of the Empire, continued to serve as a base for military operations to secure Thrace and Moesia and to protect the Roman provinces and their allies throughout this region. Right from the beginning of this new period, the first imperial governor, Marcus Licinius Crassus (30-28 BC), resumed the campaigns against the Dacians, the Bastarnae, the Thracians, the Getae and the Moesians, winning major victories and generally pacifying the region. Smaller scale campaigns continued for the next two decades,

chiefly against the Bessi (who played an important role in the dynastic quarrels in Thrace). Administratively, following the reforms of the year 27 BC historical Macedonia formed, together with part of southern Illyricum, the main core of a small (compared to the republican age) province under the administration of the Roman senate. By 10 BC, however, the province had ceased to play the role of a Roman military bastion in the Balkans, since the legions that had been garrisoned on Macedonian soil were placed under the command of the imperial legate (*legatus Augusti pro praetore*) who ruled the military district (and later province) of Moesia. This change affected not only the duties of the governor of the province but also the life of its people, since save for a few cohorts the region was relieved of the presence of major military units and its inhabitants of the tax burden entailed by their maintenance.

This reform, however, had no direct benefits for the Macedonians, such as, for example, deliverance from the consequences of the misadministration of the province that had until then been concealed under the cloak of military necessity. Thus, in AD 15, at the request of the inhabitants of both provinces, the Emperor Tiberius made Macedonia and Achaea a joint imperial province under the control of the imperial legate who was the governor of Moesia. This administrative change, which lasted until AD 44, when the Emperor Claudius restored the province of Macedonia to its former status as a senatorial province within its 27 BC boundaries, was probably implemented to permit a more effective and a more efficient use of military resources in the defence of the two provinces[7].

From the beginning of the imperial period and until the early part of the third century of the Christian era, Macedonia – like the rest of the East – enjoyed the benefits of the so-called ‘Roman Peace’ (*Pax Romana*), all the more so since it was no longer a frontier province, the boundary of the Roman state having been pushed northwards towards the Danube. Its cities and villages began to recover from the crushing consequences of the successive civil wars, while economic and social stability was gradually restored to the country, especially from the reign of Trajan on. The invasion of mainland Greece by the Costoboci during Marcus Aurelius’ war against the Marcomanni in AD 170-171 was no more than a parenthesis with no serious effect on the situation. The quiet life of the small province that under Antoninus Pius expanded its borders with the addition of Thessaly was only rarely disturbed by imperial visits, such as those of Hadrian and Septimus Severus. The importance of Macedonia, however, and particularly of those of its cities that, like Heraclea Lyncestis and Thessaloniki, were located on major land and sea routes increased in the beginning of the 3rd century with the opening of the front against the Persians.

The peace of the province was shattered again in about the middle of the 3rd century when, because of the numerous Gothic raids, Macedonia was obliged to accept military units on its soil; for these, on some occasions at least, became involved in the dynastic disputes that characterised the so-called period of the military emperors (AD 235–284) and proclaimed their commanders emperor. These commanders were Titus Julius Priscus, who ruled as Emperor for a few months in 250, and Valens, who was called Thessalonicus, perhaps because he was proclaimed in Thessaloniki or because he made that city the centre of his activity, and who was Emperor in the first months of 261. Additionally, in at least one instance the outcome of a struggle for the imperial throne – between Philip the Arabian (244-249) and Decius (249-251) – was decided in favour of the latter in a decisive battle fought near Beroea in September 249. Conditions remained unstable for many more years, on account of the Goths who had settled along the north coast of the Black Sea in the early years of the century and had been troubling the Roman administration of the frontier provinces, particularly those of Dacia and Moesia, since before 250. Now, in the latter half of the 3rd century, the Goths were ex-

tending their raids deeper into Roman territory and attacking more southerly parts of the Empire.

The first Gothic incursion into the province of Macedonia occurred in AD 253, and included a siege of Thessaloniki, whose inhabitants put up a vigorous and very effective resistance. These raids were repeated a few years later, with greater intensity. In one of them (268) a horde 320,000 strong and including other barbarian tribes (Sarmatians, Getae, Gepids and Peucini) attacked Moesia and, encountering insurmountable resistance, divided into two parts. One of these overwhelmed Thrace, while the other took ship for the Bosporus and from there into the Aegean. The invaders sailed along the Macedonian coast and, having dropped anchor in the Singitic Gulf, besieged Cassandria and Thessaloniki. It seemed as though the two great cities would succumb, especially when first group of Goths, who had come down through Thrace, joined the besiegers. But the advance of the Roman Emperor Claudius southwards through Panonnia alarmed the Goths, who, afraid that the Romans would cut off their retreat towards their Danubian homelands, lifted the siege and moved off to the north, laying waste to Pelagonia as they went. The two armies met at Naissus (Nis), where the Goths were utterly destroyed (their losses were calculated at some 50,000). That was the last Gothic invasion of the Balkan countries, as they were subsequently incorporated into the Roman army.

Some years later (AD 297) Diocletian's reforms turned Macedonia once more into a small region confined to its historical territory (that is, without southern Illyria and Thessaly) and belonging to the great province of Moesia, one of the twelve created by that emperor across the Empire [8].

2. The population of Macedonia and its demographic changes

2.1. The population of Macedonia before the Roman occupation

It was natural that the population of a region with the geopolitical position and the history of Macedonia would lack the racial homogeneity of the lands of southern Greece. The presence of non-Greek populations in Macedonia before and after the Roman conquest is attested in a very few instances by ancient writers. Thus, Hecataeus tells us that, on the Thermaic Gulf, Chalastra was inhabited by Thracians and Therme had a mixed population (Greek and Thracian); while Polybius speaks of Thracians settling in the coastal cities of the kingdom in 183 BC and the consequent movement of their Macedonian inhabitants into parts of Paeonia. Livy (based on Polybius) tells us that when Macedonia was occupied there were in Bottiaia "a large number of Galatians and Illyrians, hard-working peasants": colonists, that is, who had been transplanted there by Philip V to renew the population of the area (or, according to another view, prisoners of war from the campaigns conducted against these peoples by the Macedonian kings, perhaps working royal estates) [9].

Information about the composition of the Macedonian population is also provided by inscriptions from the Hellenistic and Imperial periods, chiefly through the names mentioned in them. Inscriptions from Upper Macedonia, for example, contain Thracian names (historical and otherwise), such as Bithys (the name of the mythical ancestor of the Thracians), Cotys (the name of a dynast), Rhoemetalces, Doulis, Dentis, Torkos, and Illyrian names, such as Epicados, Pleuratos and Breucos. These names appear as personal names or as patronyms in combination with a Greek name or both. The use of names of historical figures in the framework of the same family (statistically a small sample) may indicate the existence of a local historical consciousness, which would

have been tolerated by the Roman administration. The same holds true for the use of the names of Paeonian kings, such as Patraos and Audoleon, in inscriptions in regions belonging to the kingdom of Paeonia, which had been Hellenised in the 5th century BC. The use of names that according to some were Thracian and according to others belonged to the so-called pre-Hellenic substratum that was subjugated by the Macedonians as they expanded their kingdom towards the east, names like Alys, Manta and Nano, are found in inscriptions not only from Upper Macedonia but also from Lower Macedonia, including Mygdonia, Bisaltia and Edonis. In all these cases, however, it can be said with certainty that from the social point of view their bearers had been assimilated into the Hellenic environment in which they lived, notwithstanding the fact these kinds of names are in a minority compared to the Greek names commemorated in the inscriptions [10].

Far more numerous and with a decidedly clearer cultural awareness was the Thracian element in eastern Macedonia, although it, too, with the passage of time assimilated to the culturally stronger Greek and Roman environments in which it lived, after the founding of the colony of Philippi [11].

2.2. The Roman presence in Macedonia during the republican age

A new element, this time of Italian origin, was injected into the multiracial society of the Macedonian kingdom some decades after the Roman conquest, but with a certain time lag compared to the rest of the East, since the settlement and active integration of Italian merchants, businessmen (particularly bankers) and – more rarely – farmers in the cities of southern Greece, the islands of the Aegean and Asia Minor dates from the early years of the 2nd century BC. Their presence is attested by various Latin or Greek names and phrases, such as *Italici*, *negotiatores*, *consistentes* / *Romani*, etc.

With regard to Macedonia, while until recently it was believed that the first Roman settlers arrived after the Mithradatic Wars, new finds prove that this must have occurred much earlier, and certainly no later than the final decades of the 2nd century BC: a brief dedicatory inscription from the Mygdonian city of Apollonia, for example, tells us that in the year 106/105 BC, that is, just 42 years after the Andriscus episode, a Roman named M. Lucilius Marcus, called Demetrius, dedicated a gymnasium to Zeus Soter, Hermes and Heracles. What exactly this dedication referred to is not known. However, whether it was the construction of a new gymnasium or the repair of an existing one (the hostilities that marked the governorship of Minucius Rufus make the latter interpretation more likely), the fact remains of particular interest in respect of the history of the Italian communities in the region. The dedication in itself, and also the fact that Lucilius had adopted a Greek name by which he was known in the society of this Macedonian city, show that he and probably others of his compatriots who used the gymnasium must have been living in Apollonia for many years before 106 BC. Inscriptions from the nearby town of Kalindoia that may date from the 2nd half of the 2nd century BC reinforce the probability of the existence of Italian settlers in the region at least in the final decades of that century. The dedicatory inscription from Apollonia also shows that the constant barbarian raids attested in that period did not seem to have discouraged Italian businessmen or farmers from settling in Macedonia, perhaps because they did not all have such serious consequences as our sources would have us believe. Similar early settlements of Italian immigrants are attested in an inscription from 90 BC in the free city of Amphipolis.

The conclusion to which this evidence leads is reinforced by certain more general reflections. It would indeed be curious if, despite the instability prevailing in the region, some adventurous Italians had not wanted to take advantage of the opportunities offered

by the new economic conditions in Macedonia after the abolition of the monarchy, with new opportunities for investment in the former royal lands and forests, the estates of the exiled nobility and the mines. At the same time, the repeated military operations and campaigns – of whatever extent – obviously offered important opportunities for enrichment from the trade in slaves, the spoils of war. The exercise of these types of activity in Macedonia by Italian speculators is confirmed by the famous stele (late 1st c. BC?) commemorating the slave trader Aulus Caprilius Timotheos that was found in Amphipolis, the important city linking Thrace with the Aegean via the river Strymon.

Regardless, however, of the rate at which Italians settled in Macedonia and when the first such settlements began, the sources show that by the middle of the 1st century BC there were already communities of Italians in the bigger cities and the ports, some of whom were veterans of the legions that had served in the province. Examples include the communities established in Beroea, attested in an inscription on the base of a statue erected in honour of the proconsul Calpurnius Piso (57-55 BC), and in Amphipolis, whose members were called to arms by Pompey shortly after the Battle of Pharsalus (August, 48 BC). There must also have been an Italian community in Pella, the ancient capital of Macedonia and capital of the third Roman canton, by the end of the 2nd or the beginning of the 1st century BC, judging by a statue dedicated to Mercury by one Aulus Fictorius Gaius, called Alexander (a member of the same family seems to have occupied in 25-24 BC the office of chief magistrate – duumvir – of the Roman colony). The numerous inscriptions dating from the period between the republican and the imperial periods and showing that the Italians in Macedonia and other parts of the East formed associations of Roman citizens (*conventus civium Romanorum*) with a particular form of organisation attest to the existence of Italian communities in other Macedonian cities as well, certainly in Thessaloniki, Acanthus, Edessa, Styberra and Idomene and probably Heraclea Lyncestis and Stobi. These Roman associations continued to exist, throughout the east, until the end of the 1st century of the Christian era, by which time their members had become fully assimilated into the society of their new homes.

With regard to the origin of these Italian immigrants, the sources provide very little definite information. Funerary inscriptions from Pella, Amphipolis and the region of Cassandria, for example, cite places like Rome, Heraclea in Lucania and Tarentum as the place of origin of certain specific individuals. In most cases, however, determining place of origin is an extremely difficult task, and one that more often than not yields no definite conclusions. The method used is to study the *gens* names (*gentilicia*) borne by the Italian settlers (e.g. Caprilius, Fictorius) and whether and to what part of the Italian peninsula they are indigenous. Research has shown that some at least of the 560 or so *gens* names attested exclusively in inscriptions from various Macedonian cities are indigenous to parts of Latium, Campania and Lucania and even areas of northern Italy (e.g. Aquileia). The geographical distribution of the *gens* names found in the east also indicates that families belonging to the same *gens* settled at simultaneously or moved with time to various cities not only in Macedonia but also in other areas of coastal Thrace and western Asia Minor, and particularly cities lying on the great military road of the Via Egnatia or major ports on the sea routes linking Italy with Asia Minor. Characteristic examples are the *gens* of the Agelilei, members of which settled in Thessaloniki, Thasos and Ephesus, and of the Erennii, whom we find in Dyrrachium, Pella, Dion, Thessaloniki, Europus and later Philippi. Of course, the settlement of Italian emigrants was not effected with the intervention of the state, as was the case with the colonists (see below), nor did they always come directly from the cities and districts of the Italian peninsula. Thus, when in the middle of the 1st century BC the Italian traders on Delos, the largest free commercial port in the eastern Mediterranean, left the island on account of (primarily) the Mithradatic wars, some of them settled in Mace-

donia, chiefly in the great port of Thessaloniki (others resettled in major cities in western Asia Minor, such as Ephesus, Smyrna and Cyzicus) [12].

The number of Romans in Macedonia increased significantly in the second half of the 1st c. BC, with the founding of four colonies – Philippi, Cassandria, Dion and Pella – and, in Upper Macedonia, the *municipium* (autonomous community) of Stobi. Another Roman city (colony or municipium) is attested from epigraphs in the years of the Antonines, on the site of the ancient Greek Mygdonian city of Apollonia. The conditions in which these colonies were founded cannot be determined with any certainty, nor can the exact date of their founding. The earliest colonies were those of Dion and Cassandria, which must have been founded by Quintus Hortensius Hortalus in the year 43 or 42 by order of Brutus (Hortensius had been appointed provincial governor by him early in 44 BC and after the assassination of Caesar attached himself to his nephew Brutus and fought with him against Mark Antony; the opinion that the colonies had been founded in 44 BC by Caesar stems from the fact that he had been Caesar's proconsul). Philippi was colonised by veterans of Mark Antony's army immediately after the Battle of Philippi in 42 BC. As for Pella, the colony there was most probably founded after 30 BC. Philippi, Cassandria and Dion were "refounded" after the Battle of Actium by order of Caesar Augustus. That new colonists arrived in the country at the time of this "refounding" is attested by Augustus himself in his *Res Gestae*, where he cites Macedonia as one of the regions in which he settled his veterans (Text 6), by the appellation of *parens* (that is, father of the colony) ascribed to him by the inhabitants of Dion in an inscription in his honour, and by the use of the official titles *Julia Augusta* on the coins of these colonies.

The founding of colonies was certainly connected with the demographic problem caused by the wide-scale conscription of Macedonia's male population, from the first Mithradatic war to the end of the Roman civil wars, and with the constant warfare in the region, which made it of the most urgent necessity to revigorate the province's economic and social life. But such major events were not, nor could be, caused by a single factor, however considerable. Situated in key positions on the Via Egnatia and the land route between northern and southern Greece, these Roman centres permitted control not only of Macedonia but also of all of the channels of communication leading from the West to the East, rendered all the more essential since the northern Balkan region was still outside the Roman Empire. These colonies could also, and to some extent did, serve as reserves of manpower for the military operations that led to the conquest of Thrace.

It would be a mistake, however, to think that the colonies founded in Macedonia were exclusively military in character. Dio Cassius, for example, tells us that the inhabitants of Dyrrachium and Philippi were supporters of Mark Antony who were deported by Augustus from their homes in Italy to the colonies in Macedonia. Prosopographical studies, moreover, show that Italians already settled in Macedonian cities entered substantially into the formation of their elites, while in some of the colonies an important role was played by their manumitted slaves.

The number of colonists who settled in the colonies of Macedonia is unknown, since the inscriptions do not provide sufficient evidence. The only colony for which there is a satisfactory body of evidence is Philippi, where certain statistics enable us to form a general impression of the size of the various population groups in that colony: out of a total of 1480 individuals whose legal position we are able to determine on the basis of their onomastic type, the Roman citizens, including freedmen, numbered 1032, or 70%, while non-citizens – or *peregrini* – numbered 428 (29%): this latter group included the former inhabitants of the colony, mainly of Greek and Thracian descent. The names of the Roman citizens indicate origins from various regions, including Calabria,

Samnium and Campania (southern Italy), Latium and Etruria (central Italy) and Aquileia (northern Italy)

Colonial settlement did not stop in 30 BC, however, but continued after the Augustan "refounding" in at least some of them, as indicated by the case of Philippi, which after the creation of the province of Thrace (AD 46) was reinforced by veterans of the military campaigns that secured the new province [13].

2.3. Immigration into Macedonia during the imperial age

The influx of Roman citizens continued during the imperial period, particularly into such major urban centres as Thessaloniki and Heraclea Lyncestis, and the colonies of Dion and Philippi. The incomers, however, were no longer first or second generation Romans living in the East: study of their *gens* names shows that in this period it is very risky to speak of a "Roman" immigration, since as a rule the bearers of these names, especially when they appear in the 2nd and 3rd century, are Hellenised descendants of earlier Italian immigrants or descendants of freedmen. This was also a period when the whole migratory horizon altered: as far as we can determine, more immigrants were coming from the large cities of coastal west and northwest Asia Minor (Bithynia, the Troad, Ephesus, Smyrna, etc.) and fewer from the cities and regions of Italy or southern Greece.

The substantial influx of settlers from Asia Minor maybe deduced not only from the number of individuals whose ethnic names attest such an origin but also from their collective expression in private associations where they are referred to summarily as 'Asians'. Such associations, claiming the protection of the god Dionysus, are known from inscriptions dating from the 2nd and 3rd centuries to have existed in Thessaloniki, Lete and Philippi, as well as in other regions and important cities in the neighbouring province of Thrace. The fragmentary data we have at our disposal do not permit us, however, to estimate the volume of migration into Macedonia or to establish the conditions in which it occurred. The fact that some of these incomers from Asia Minor were craftsmen specialising in textiles and purple dye has permitted some scholars to suppose that they may have been artisans and merchants taking advantage of opportunities in the economically underdeveloped Macedonia of the period immediately following the civil wars [14].

Another foreign population group with a strong collective organisation was that of the Jews. For the Roman administration, however, they were not an ethnic but a social group: that is, the Jewish communities were seen as private aggregations of individuals, simple religious associations. On the basis of our knowledge to date, there were Jewish communities in four of Macedonia's major urban centres, namely Philippi, Thessaloniki, Beroea and Stobi (which is the only community of whose synagogue relics have been saved). Precisely when the first Jews settled in Macedonia remains unknown, although some have argued that there had been Jews living in Macedonia since the middle of the 2nd century BC. The first definite information, however, comes from the author of the Acts of the Apostles, who names certain places (Philippi, Thessaloniki and Beroea) in whose synagogues St Paul preached on his first visit to Macedonia in AD 50.

These communities continued to exist at least until the 4th century, the most important being that of Thessaloniki, which may have increased in size and acquired more than one synagogue. Later inscriptional material from Beroea allows us to probe more closely into the organisation of that city's Jewish community, which was governed by an elected council of elders, as was the case with several pagan associations. Despite their incorporation into local society, as is indicated by, for example, the use of Greek

on their funerary monuments and the existence of communal graveyards shared with the other inhabitants of the cities, the Jews were never fully assimilated into their new environment. Their funerary monuments, which are our chief source of information about them, clearly express their religious identity, sometimes with depictions of religious symbols, sometimes stating the institutional role of the synagogue in their life and sometimes simply using the ethnic appellative 'Jew" [15].

3. The administration of Roman Macedonia

3.1. The provincial administration

3.1.1. The mechanism of administration

After 148 BC Macedonia was governed by a Roman official, usually a former general (*praetor*), who was sent out by the Roman senate for one year and who carried with him political and military authority (*imperium*). The provincial governors, who in reality were amateurs and who governed with no professional training, were assisted in the performance of their duties by a small council (*consilium*), which was appointed by the senate in consultation with them. The most important members of this staff were the legate (*legatus*), a sort of deputy governor with professional (administrative and military) experience who could replace the governor in the performance of his duties, and the *quaestor*, who was in charge of the treasury. Other members of the council included his aides (*comites*, *cohors amicorum*), that is, persons of confidence, frequently relatives, probably not more than ten in number, who served primarily as advisors. Finally, the government apparatus included a small number of salaried public servants brought from Rome by the proconsul (known as *apparitores*), clerks and scribes, lictors, messengers, heralds, augurs, and a number of household slaves (cooks, mule-drivers, grooms, etc.).

In about 10 BC the military authority of the governors of Macedonia, who were by this time always called proconsuls, was limited to command over a small number of soldiers attached to his person (*officium*), whom he used as clerks and as his own personal guard. This was due to the fact that the imperial frontier had shifted north and there were no longer any Roman legions in the province of Macedonia. Of course, the proconsul's staff continued to include legates and quaestors, as well as his own personal slaves or freedmen.

There are some administrative discontinuities during the imperial period, that did not occur under the republic. These were due for the most part to personal interventions on the part of certain Roman emperors, including Tiberius and Trajan, who wanted to control the government of the senatorial provinces, of which Macedonia was one, sometimes directly through trusted officials (*legati pro praetore Augusti*) and sometimes sending envoys with special missions who in essence limited the authority of the military governors. By the time of the Severans, and even more so from the middle of the 3rd century on, the governors being sent out in the place of the proconsuls were procurators or even simple equestrian prefects, who assumed the administration of the province and the military forces stationed there because of the threat of Gothic raids. These imperial interventions were extended during the reign of Trajan over the financial administration of the cities through the office of special imperial envoys (*curatores rei publicae*).

A special government apparatus directly under the emperor's control was instituted in the imperial age by the public finances sector to handle the administration of the imperial estates and the direct taxes collected for Rome from the Roman citizens of Macedonia, namely inheritance tax and the tax levied on the manumission of slaves. These services were staffed by experienced members of what was known as the "Emperor's family" (*familia Caesaris*), who were slaves or freedmen and who, as far as we know, worked under equestrian procurators (*procuratores*). The sources, finally, also mention imperial procurators with other than financial responsibilities [16].

3.1.2. The responsibilities of the provincial administration

Under the republic provincial administrations had two main responsibilities: one was to assure military security and peaceful conditions and the other was to collect the taxes and duties payable to Rome. Achievement of the first object meant maintaining the legions sent out to Macedonia each year, as well as the local reserve forces that were garrisoned along the frontier. This was a costly charge, and the burden of their upkeep fell, in the first instance largely and in the second entirely, upon the cities. The inhabitants of the provinces were required, among other things, to provide the legions with grain at a price fixed by the senate; and it is interesting that in the inscription from Lete (mentioned above) its inhabitants praised the quaestor of the province, Marcus Annius, for having dealt with the enemy without burdening the cities with the costs associated with the mobilisation of the Macedonian reserves. In order to do this the Roman governors frequently resorted to extensive conscription, particularly in the period following the Mithradatic wars, the most striking example being Brutus' raising of two whole legions. It is these military responsibilities and duties of the provincial governors of Macedonia that emerge primarily from the available literary and inscriptional sources, and these do indeed to a considerable extent reflect the reality of their situation. They also, of course, had other, non-military, duties, such as the administration of justice, but our information in this regard is minimal.

The second major sector of Roman provincial administration was the management of public revenues. As early as 167 BC the Romans had imposed upon the "free" cities of Macedonia a tax of 100 talents. The sources do not say exactly what this tax represented (nor even if it continued to be exacted), but some historians, based on information from the imperial age, assume that its primary constituents were a land tax (*tributum soli*) and a poll tax (*tributum capitis*). Government revenues also included the customs duties (*portoria*) levied on both imported and exported goods.

As was the case in other provinces of the Empire, these revenues were collected through the mechanism of tax collectors known as publicans (*publicani*). Tax contracts were sold to the highest bidder, often a company representing Roman business interests, whose agents collected the sums required, usually through illegal methods and generally demanding far more than the lawful amount of tax, as often as not with the tacit assent of the provincial authorities. The details of this mechanism, such as for example how the total provincial tax burden was divided up among the cities, we do not know; but the preservation of the four canton system until the imperial age suggests that these also served as tax districts. Nor do we know how the vast royal estates (farms, forests, gold and silver mines), which had become Roman public land (*ager publicus*), were exploited, whether that is they were leased directly to the publicans or to a number of tenants (local or foreign), as was the case during the period of the monarchy. The system of tax farmers, which was the object of constant dispute between Rome's various political factions, was finally abolished by Augustus, when the collection of direct taxes

was assigned to government-appointed officials or minor civil servants (usually slaves or freedmen) under the superintendence and control of the imperial procurators.

The exclusively civic responsibilities of the provincial governors during the Principate were not limited to the dispensation of justice through the system of judicial districts (*conventus*), which seems to have existed in Macedonia as well, but were far more extensive. Governors settled, by decisions that often took the form of edicts, a variety of matters that had to do with, for example, relations between cities (boundary disputes), the maintenance of major public roads and the manumission of slaves in local sanctuaries. The most striking feature of this period, however, is the intervention of the Roman administration in matters of local self-government, in a manner moreover that has led many historians to the conclusion that the cities could do nothing without the governor's prior approval. This view may of course be exaggerated, to the extent that it does not correspond to any sort of legal requirement; but it does describe the "constitutional" reality of the cities where, by reason of the ennoblement of their societies, the system had become ostensibly democratic, with the result that its institutions were frequently unable to resolve even the most minor problems of everyday life. Characteristic of this situation was the case of an edict lately published from Beroea (late 1st – mid 2nd c.): its citizens, being unable to agree on which idle public funds they should use to finance the city's gymnasium (which had had to close its doors), asked the proconsul to step in and resolve the problem [17].

Other similar interventions initiated by the cities through the dispatch of envoys to the emperor are also attested; these concern individual cities as well as the provincial assembly (*koinon*) of the Macedonians. The most eloquent such example has come to our knowledge through a letter written by Antoninus Pius to an unidentified Macedonian city in the eastern part of the province (Paricopolis?), in which the Emperor suggests various ways to improve the city's finances, such as levying a poll tax on the free inhabitants of the city without political rights, raising the number of councillors to eighty and increasing the sum they paid upon assuming their duties, etc. (Text 9).

The direct and indirect Roman taxation levied during the republican period continued in the imperial age as well, but the burden on the cities became very much lighter. One reason for this was that they were no longer required to help maintain the Roman legions garrisoned in the province; their only similar obligation was a contribution (financial) to the operation of the *cursus publicus*, the imperial postal service that provided for the transportation of public officials, army units, public goods and government orders. The primary reason for this change, however, was the improvement in the exercise of public administration on the part of the provincial governors and procurators compared to their republican predecessors, on account of the long experience of public administration that had been amassed in the meantime, the new and fairer way in which taxes were collected and most of all the political stability that characterised the new political regime.

3.2. Government of the cities

Immediately after the Roman conquest the cities of Macedonia were integrated into the Roman Empire as tributary cities (*civitates stipendiariae*), with the exception of Amphipolis, Skotousa and Thessaloniki (in AD 42), which were recognised as free (*civitates liberae*). The difference between these two categories was one of privileges: the free cities were exempt, for example, from the ordinary taxation of the tributary cities, their courts of justice enjoyed a privileged status (they could hear cases in which one of the parties was a Roman citizen), and in general they constituted a part of the province over which the provincial governor had no authority. However, in times of war

these distinctions lapsed, particularly in respect of financial matters, and all the cities were treated alike by the provincial administration, as is evident from, for example, Cicero's famous attack on the governor of Macedonia, Lucius Calpurnius Piso.

Despite the interventions of the Roman administration, the cities of Macedonia continued after the Roman conquest to be governed by the institutions they had had under the monarchy. Each city had its own collective political organs, the *ecclesia tou demou* (the citizen body meeting in assembly) and the *boule* (council), its *archons* (magistrates), its laws (locally applicable) and its own mechanism for the dispensation of justice for specific punishable offences, on condition of course that the parties were not Roman citizens, whose actions were judged by the provincial governor. The power to levy fines for the desecration of tombs, for example, belonged to the cities. The cities also had their own sources of income from real and other property (which, particularly in the years after the 2nd c. AD, when the region became more prosperous, was increased by gifts and bequests from its citizens). In general, Rome was unwilling to make radical changes and thus did not touch the existing institutions, but endeavoured, as elsewhere, to govern Macedonia through well-disposed persons whose political careers it fostered.

From the institutional point of view the Macedonian cities resembled those of southern Greece, and may be said to have been democratic. This assessment is based primarily on the evidence of inscriptions documenting the existence of collective democratic institutions, namely the *ecclesia* and the *boule*, as well as a large number of *archons*. For historical reasons, however, democracy in Macedonia had never functioned otherwise than as a timocracy, and it remained that way until the end of antiquity. The exclusion of descendants of manual labourers from the gymnasium in Beroea (the *gymnasiarch law*, probably dating from the time of the monarchy) and the fixing of property criteria (minimum property requirement of 3000 drachmae in land or cattle) for the admission of youths to the *ephebeia* (final cycle of education) in Amphipolis (*ephebarch law* 23/22 BC) make it very likely that the right to vote and to be elected had already been subject to similar restrictions before the Roman conquest, which continued to be preserved afterwards. The institutional constraints upon the functioning of democracy in Macedonia from the republican age onwards also reflect the exclusive prerogative of the politarchai, the all-powerful body of civic magistrates which existed in all Macedonian cities, to submit proposals to the *boule* and the *ecclesia* for their consideration (according to some scholars, this restriction is also held to have existed under the monarchy, since the institution of civic magistrates was introduced into the Macedonian cities during that period). The progressive ennoblement of society in the Macedonian cities caused by social changes and reinforced by the legal distinctions between its citizens that were introduced by Rome from the late 1st century BC on (between Roman citizens and others initially, between *honestiores* and *humiliores* later), in conjunction with the functional aspect of public office (exercise of which entailed considerable private expenditure), eventually resulted in the total devitalisation of the *ecclesia*: this institution thereafter gradually dwindled into a body that merely rubber-stamped the proposals of the politically all-powerful *boule* and the magistrates, that is, the members of the local aristocracy. This lack of correspondence between society and the formally democratic regime was recognised by the Roman administration, as may be deduced from the afore-mentioned edict from Beroea where the proconsul felt the need to stress in his preamble that his proposed solution had the approval of the *boule* and the "first citizens" of Beroea, that is, the upper stratum of the local aristocracy.

About the composition and operation of the collective civic authorities in the Macedonian cities we know very little. The *ecclesia* was the assembly of all male citizens, and it met whenever it was convened by the *politarchai*, never of its own will. Debates

in the *ecclesia* presupposed the existence of a previously agreed draft (*probouleuma*), which was prepared by the *boule* and introduced for debate and voting by the *politarchai*. In exceptional cases, particularly concerning the awarding of honours to eminent Roman officials or local citizens, the *ecclesia* worked conjointly with the assemblies of the Italian communities for as long as these formed autonomous associations with a legal status.

Unlike the *ecclesia*, the *boule* played a fairly broad role. In addition to its initiatory legislative powers, the sources record a wide range of activities associated with the public life of the cities that were under its direct superintendence. These administrative functions included the education of the ephebes, the athletic training of the young men, the use and management of public resources (derived as a rule from donations and bequests), the organisation of games, the awarding of honours to distinguished members of the community or to foreigners, and the representation of the city through embassies to the Roman central (imperial) and provincial administration. In regard to its composition, the *boule* was as a rule a fairly numerous body, whose members belonged, as has been shown by prosopographic studies, to the local aristocracy. The political importance and authority of the *boule* are indicated not only by its power to legislate alone in certain matters at least (particularly connected with the distribution of honours) but also from the fact that citizens sought the distinction of the title of *bouleutes*, even if only honorary (*super legitimum numerum*). This was true even in the latter part of the 3rd century, by which time membership of this council had become a lifetime post (precisely when this significant change, which so radically altered the institution of a one-year term of office, occurred in the cities of Macedonia we do not know). The general institutional tendency is evident, furthermore, in the appearance during the imperial age in the city of Thessaloniki of a *gerousia*, an aristocratic institution that acted in an advisory capacity thanks to the authority and prestige conferred upon its elderly members by their wealth and experience.

Turning now to the various public offices in the Macedonian cities, the general image given by the sources is one of uniformity, since the civic magistracies in almost all these cities included the offices of *politarchai*, *grammateus*, *agoranomoi*, *tamiai, gymnasiarch*, *ephebarch* and *mnemones* (a kind of public notaries), and possibly others as well. We know, for example, that some cities instituted additional offices, such as those of *sitones* (corn-buyer) and *eirenarches* (police magistrate), either to meet a specific and extraordinary need (e.g. purchasing grain) or to provide a permanent and general service (policing the countryside). The sources also attest to other extraordinary offices, such as that of architect, chief medical officer (*archiatrus*), and the like, as well as offices connected with religious functions and the administration of the treasuries of the local temples and sanctuaries (procurators). Officers and magistrates were elected, by the *ecclesia* (assembly), for a single year.

Two of these offices warrant more particular mention: those of *politarch* and *gymnasiarch*. The office of *politarch*, as we have seen, was the most important in the Macedonian cities, and its importance resided not only in the determinant role its holder played in the preparation of and voting on collective decisions, but also in all the other competences attached to it, thanks to which the civic magistrate was involved in virtually every aspect of the city's public life. That the importance and the sphere of responsibility of this initially two-member body expanded over time may be deduced from the facts that its membership was increased to five and that in Thessaloniki (as we know from the Acts of the Apostles) it had judicial powers (like the judges of the monarchy): it was to these "rulers of the city" that St Paul's friend Jason and his companion were taken by the Jews, who received the complaints laid against them. The office of *gymnasiarch* also acquired increased importance over time, since the generosity of its

holders supplemented the meagre sums available for the purchase of the olive oil that was a rare commodity in Macedonia but was essential to both athletic exercise and to bathing (in the imperial age the gymnasia served more as bath-houses than for their original purpose). Indeed, this office assured the smooth functioning, year round, of a city's social life and the health of its male population.

The institutions of the cities of Macedonia, however, like those of other Greek cities, did not – nor would such a thing have been possible – remain static in the wake of the Roman conquest. The appearance of officials such as the chief priest of the local imperial cult (*archiereus*) is in itself sufficient confirmation of this. Roman influence is also responsible for the introduction of the *summa honoraria*, the amount that candidates for office had to pay in order to assume their functions. It is, however, beyond doubt that the imposition of this custom was due to the fact that it coincided with what had been customary in the Greek cities since the middle of the Hellenistic period, where in the name of *euergetism*, the benefaction that was the creed and ideology of the local aristocracies, public office was synonymous with the assumption of expenses for a variety of reasons. This ennoblement of the citizen body, which was influenced by changes in society, is reflected in such realities as the aggregation of public offices simultaneously in the person of a single individual, the repeated exercise of the same office by the same persons, and the appearance of women and minors among the city authorities [18].

3.3. The local assemblies (*koina*) in Upper Macedonia

The evolution of the civic institutions of Upper Macedonia was, historically, somewhat different to that of the remainder of Macedonia. These differences were due to the lower rate of urbanisation of this mountainous area, which meant that the old tribal groups – the Eordaeoi, the Elimiotai, the Lyncesteis, and the Orestai – preserved their ancient system of organisation based on assemblies, a local confederation of cities and villages, independent of tribes and clans. The autonomy of these assemblies perhaps also explains the fact that the writers of the republican period often refer to Upper Macedonia as "free" (Pliny, however, only applies this term to the Orestai). Recognising this local particularity, the Romans accepted these assemblies as an intermediate mechanism for communication between the provincial administration and its constituent small cities and villages. This option was imposed rather than adopted, given the low degree of urbanisation and the small size of the urban centres in this region.

The constitution of the local assemblies in Upper Macedonia is still a matter of dispute among historians. One view holds that each *koinon* represented a single city, which was its administrative and political centre, and no other settlements larger than a village. Recent inscriptional finds, however, have shown that in certain assemblies some of what were initially believed to be villages were in fact small cities comprising a small urban core surrounded by a cluster of rural hamlets. The *politeia* of the Lycaeoi cited in inscriptions, for example, which grew up around Agios Achilleios on the smaller of the Prespe Lakes, was centred on Lyce, which in more recently discovered inscriptions is described as a city (*polis*). The *koinon* of the Orestai (roughly corresponding to the present-day prefecture of Kastoria) thus included the cities of Argos Orestikon, administrative and political centre of the Koinon, and Celetrum (present-day Kastoria), plus the *politeiai* of the Lycaeoi, the Oblostaeoi and the Battynaeoi, and possibly other *politeiai* and villages as well (for the position of these entities, see below). The other assemblies in Upper Macedonia (those of the Eordaeoi, the Elimiotai, the Lyncesteis and the Derriopes) must have been organised in a similar way (the sources do not permit a clear picture of the organisation of Pelagonia).

From the point of view of institutions, these local *koina* had a *boule* (council) and a primary assembly (*ecclesia tou demou*), and they elected archons where necessary (to provide oil for festivals, for example, the *koinon* of Lyncesteis elected a *gymnasiarch*, a magistrate in charge of athletics for the whole tribe). The collective civic organs also elected ambassadors to represent them and their affairs before the provincial governor. This is clear from inscriptions such as the famous one from the Battynaeoi, expressing the displeasure of the inhabitants of the town and all the Orestai with a group of powerful people who are described as 'provincials' (επαρχικοί) and who had misappropriated communal public land. Finally, much of the work of the *Koinon* was concerned with the cult of the Emperor [19].

Despite the progressive urbanisation that took place during the imperial age, the predominant form of organisation in Upper Macedonia remained, for historical, geographical and economic reasons, the village. The increase in the number of villages, particularly towards the end of the republican age, was at least in part attributable to the population decline consequent upon the aftermath of destruction that followed the Roman civil wars.

Extant inscriptions preserve the names of some Upper Macedonian villages through the presence of people from those places in other regions. Examples include the names of Kolobaissa in Pelagonia, Bistyrros in Elimaea, Krannea in Eordaia. In some, rarer, instances, the name of the village is coupled with the phrase '*koinon* of the such-and-such' (e.g. *koinon* of the Neapolitans): in this form of designation villagers are identified by the name of their village plus that of the local *koinon* to which the village belongs. Thus, for example, an act of manumission from Leucopetra (district of Beroea) describes the manumittor as a Bistyrrian inhabiting Elimaea ("Βιστύριος κατοικών εν Ελιμαία"). This type of designation, stating the *koinon* to which the village belongs, is understandable where it is necessary to specify as precisely as possible the geographical origin of the individual (e.g. in legal documents, such as an act of manumission); but its significance goes far beyond that, to the point where it raises the problem of the possible administrative dependence of the villages upon their *koina*. This is a question that, for lack of information, cannot be answered, especially since the history of the villages of this region is different in each instance (there might, for example, be villages that came from cities that were directly subject to the *koinon* and others that belonged to cities and formed with them the type of *politeia* within the *koinon* mentioned above) [20].

Very little is known about the organisation of the villages in Upper Macedonia. An inscription from neighbouring Lychnidos mentions the office of *komarches*, or village headman, the highest local official judging by what we know from other Greek regions. The inhabitants of the villages could decide upon minor matters of everyday life, chiefly the awarding of honours, through assemblies that must had to be called by the headman. One interesting case is that of the village of Alcomenai (of the *koinon* of the Derriopes), which is mentioned in an inscription as having four tribes. The most probable explanation is that this represents the institutional survival of a once flourishing city (described by Strabo), which had dwindled into a mere village without ever recovering.

A central role in the life of certain villages at least seems to have been played by a temple or sanctuary, the divinity worshipped there being the patron and protector of the village. The temple often filled the role of the village archive, and in this sense the priest must have had clerical duties. Each village had its own sovereign territory, which was demarcated in relation to that of contiguous political entities (villages or cities). Extant inscriptions from the age of Trajan and Hadrian attest to the settlement, by the Roman authorities, of boundary disputes between neighbouring communities, as in the case of the villages of Geneatae and Deb[.]aei in Pelagonia [21].

3.4. The administration of the Roman colonies

The Roman colonies in Macedonia, like the other Roman colonies of the Empire, were governed, on the model of Rome, through an assembly of the people (*populus*, *plebs*), a local council (*ordo decurionum, decuriones*) and magistrates (magistrati). The first step was their initial organisation by a "founder", who bore the title *legatus coloniae deducendae* or simply *deductor coloniae* (we know the names of two *deductores*: Q. Paccius Rufus, founder of Philippi and Q. Hortensius, founder of Cassandria or of Dion). He was the one who appointed, on the basis of wealth and rank, the archons and the members of the council. Thus, for example, he selected the two chief magistrates of the colony (*duoviri iure dicundo*) from among the colonists who had served as chiliarchs or centurions, and the other officers and councillors from among those who had held public office (the *decuriones* in many Roman colonies during the Empire had to have a fortune of 100,000 sesterces). The citizens of the colony received allotments of public land, depending on their office and political position: for example, a councillor might receive up to 100 *jugera* (1 *jugerum* = 25 hectares).

The most important civic organ of the colony, the body that essentially governed it, was the *curia / boule*, or council, which corresponded to the Roman senate. It was an aristocratic body, with a maximum of one hundred members who were elected for life, and renewed from among those who had completed the *cursus honorum*, the entire sequence of public offices (this rule was abandoned after the 2nd century AD). New members were elected either by the assembly or by the *curia / boule* upon the recommendation of two magistrates elected for a five-year term, the *duoviri quinquenales*, the equivalent of the censors in Rome.

In the colonial hierarchy, the most important office was that of chief magistrate (*duovir*). This was an office equivalent to that of consul in Rome, and its responsibilities were judicial. The lowest office, the bottom rung of the political ladder, was that of *aedilis*: there were two of these, and they had a wide range of responsibilities, including: a) public order and policing duties in relation to the market, and more specifically assuring the regularity of the grain supply, as well as maintaining the roads and public buildings; b) financial duties, in relation to the tenants of public lands or the assignment of compulsory public services; and c) ceremonial duties, in relation to the celebration of the games. The remaining political office was that of *quaestor*, the city treasurer. In addition to these there were also a number of minor civil offices, such as those of *eirenarch*, or police magistrate, and priestly offices, particularly those associated with the cult of the emperor. The senior magistrates had a large staffs of clerical and other assistants.

The right to vote and to be elected to these bodies and offices was enjoyed by those colonists (*coloni*) or inhabitants of the colony who had been given grants of land when it was founded (these allotments came either from confiscated lands or from appropriation of sections of the *ager publicus*, or public land). Colonists had full political rights, which they could hand down to their descendants. The citizens of the colonies, with the exception of those of Pella, had the same fiscal status as the inhabitants of Italy (*ius Italicum*), and were thus exempt from the *tributum capitis* and the *tributum soli*, probably because many of them had been landowners in Italy before coming to Macedonia.

The population of the colonies also included the non-Romans who were settled there befoe their foundation (*paroikoi* /*incolae*), that is, foreigners and, primarily, the original Greek and, in the case of Philippi, Thracian inhabitants of the place, who, although entitled to own land, had no political rights and thus lived as "strangers in their own country". These inhabitants paid taxes to the colony both for privately owned land

and for the public land (subcessiva concessa) they leased from it. Within the territory of the colonies there were also villages (*vici*), inhabited for the most by local populations (at Philippi a large number of these were of Thracian origin, but in some cases the village populations were mixed, in the sense that they also included colonists with full political rights). The inhabitants of the villages (*vicani*) retained a degree of administrative autonomy: they took their own decisions on matters of local concern, they had their own property and they enjoyed civic rights; but they were dependent on the colony, in the sense that on the legal and political level they were inferior to the colonists. In some instances the colonies could have small dependent communities outside their *territorium*, in the form of a *civitas adtributa*. These tributary communities, although enjoying local autonomy, were required to pay a collective tax to the colony upon which they were dependent, as was probably the case with Neapolis and Tripolis in relation to Philippi.

Very little information has come down to us regarding the relations between the colonists and the local inhabitants. Although there were ways in which the more dynamic elements of the local population could rise socially and become integrated into the colonial elite through acquisition of the rights of Roman citizenship, the colonial aristocracy remained rather conservative towards the prospect of the incorporation into their ranks of prosperous locals. This situation changed after AD 212, when Caracalla's edict granting Roman citizenship to all free citizens of the Empire made citizens of virtually all the inhabitants of the colony [22].

3.5. The *koinon* of the Macedonians

Alongside their local government authorities, the Macedonians of the imperial age also had a collective institution, the *Koinon* of the Macedonians.

After a brief hiatus immediately following the Roman Conquest, the institution of provincial assemblies, that is, the federated states that had secured the protection of their member cities against the designs of the great kingdoms of the Hellenistic period, now resumed their operation, but with a new content. The provincial assemblies were now federal organs whose members expressed themselves as a single body on, principally, the religious and social level, that is, through games and festivals, and less on the political level, where they served primarily as channels of communication between their aristocracies and the regional Roman administration. These basic features were preserved in the imperial age with one main difference: the focus of their religious and social life was now the cult of the Roman emperors and the festivals that accompanied it.

Our knowledge of the history of the Macedonian assembly is, unfortunately, riddled with gaps. While we know that Macedonia had had a form of federal organisation since the reign of Antigonus III Doson, after the Roman conquest there is no evidence of a Macedonian assembly before the reign of Claudius, while some historians date it no earlier than the reign of Augustus. If for historical reasons a revival of the Hellenistic assembly after 148 BC appears unlikely, nonetheless the division into four cantons (which was, with some modifications, based on the administrative divisions of the monarchical period) was retained in the new *koinon* of the imperial age. This *koinon* continued to exist until AD 424, as we know from a rescript (written answer to a legal inquiry or petition) of the Emperor Theodosius II, which is preserved in the Theodosian Code; but it is obvious that after the adoption of Christianity it must have shed its religious character and developed into a civil administrative body, like the provincial assemblies of the post-Diocletian era.

Given its title, the *Koinon* of the Macedonians, and the absence of representatives or officers from the Illyrian part of the province, it is more probable that the *koinon* embraced only the cities and regions of Macedonia proper, with the exception of the Roman colonies. The seat of the assembly, where the representatives of the Macedonian cities and the officers of the *koinon* met, was Beroea. Here every October games were held in honour of the Roman Emperor; these included both Greek games (sacred and universal), with a programme of contests in athletics and music, as well as gladiatorial combats and *venationes* (staged hunts with wild animals). The focus of these events was the province-wide cult of the Emperor. This was also the reason why the city had been granted the exclusive right for all of Macedonia to build a temple to serve the imperial cult (and was thus granted the title of *neokoros*, or 'custodian') and to be called a metropolis, a privilege accompanied by both prestige and material benefits that fed an unending rivalry with the other major city in the province, Thessaloniki.

As was the case with almost all the provincial assemblies of the imperial period, the principal duties of the *koinon* of the Macedonians were concerned with the cult of the Emperor. This is evident, among other things, from the titles of *archiereus* and *agonothetes* of the Assembly of the Macedonians borne by its president (in the late 2nd and the 3rd century AD the title of Macedoniarch was adopted, perhaps by analogy with the corresponding titles borne by the officials of other provincial assemblies, such as Asiarch, Bithyniarch, Thracarch, etc.). Although the *koinon* had no political organisation it was not detached from the affairs of the province. Inscriptions in honour of Roman and Macedonian officials suggest that if nothing else it played a part in the province's fiscal affairs: it is not unlikely that it helped the provincial administration fix the level of taxation and was responsible for seeing that the receipts were paid promptly into the Roman treasury. Otherwise, apart from the minting of coins and the sending of diplomatic (and other) deputations to the emperors and proconsuls, its authority does not appear to have extended into other administrative areas.

The information we have about its organisation is sporadic and very limited. We do not know, for example, how many members it had, or how they were elected. The representatives elected to the assembly did not live permanently in the city where it met, but gathered there each time it was convened, probably on the occasion of the festivals or some other public business. Extant inscriptions confirm that the assembly voted honours for benefactors of the province, magistrates of the *koinon* and the member cities and representatives of the provincial administration, and allowed a monument to be erected in the meeting-place of the assembly or in the recipient's birthplace.

Through the assembly the *koinon* elected its magistrates. These included, in addition to the chief priest (*archiereus*), who usually also served as *agonothetes*, the hierophant. Like the members of the assembly, they were elected for one year, the only exception being the *ad hoc* office of gymnasiarch, who in any case was elected by Beroea. The need for distinction increasingly demanded by the members of the local aristocracies led in certain exceptional instances to the presidency of the assembly being a position held for life (*διά βίου*). The exercise of this office, as is clear from certain invitations to games in the 3rd century, entailed vast expenditures, among other things for the organisation of gladiatorial combats and *venationes*, which only the very wealthiest Macedonians could afford. This is confirmed by prosopographic studies, which show that those who served on the assembly, not only as president but also as delegate, were consistently the most prominent Macedonians of their day, and always Roman citizens. In reality, the *Koinon* was the institutional framework within which the Macedonian aristocrats could act on a supra-local level and thus aspire to make a name for themselves as a first step to acquiring equestrian or senatorial rank for themselves and their

children: in other words, it was a sort of springboard for social advancement within the society of the Roman Empire [23].

4. Economic and social developments

4.1. Economic developments in the republican period

The impact on the lives of Macedonia's cities of the barbarian raids and, even more so, the Roman civil wars, is recorded, first and foremost, in its archaeological ruins. Although the picture we have is incomplete, excavations have shown that in certain regions urban life contracted substantially, while some cities disappeared entirely. In Eordaea, for example, the ancient city near Petra was laid waste; in Bottiaea, the ancient Macedonian capital of Pella was impoverished and reduced; Philippi shrank to a mere village.

This urban diminishment is also attested in literary sources, one characteristic example occurring in the *Geography* of Strabo (late 1st BC / early 1st c. AD) who, in speaking of the region of Upper Macedonia, observes (7, 327) that, while during the age of the Macedonian kingdom it was a place with cities, urban life had by then wasted away to the point where the principal type of settlement was the village. Dion Chrysostom (33, 27), rhetorician and philosopher from the Bithynian city of Prusa (late 1st / early 2nd c. AD), wrote of Pella that "no one passing by Pella today would see any trace of it, save only for the many broken shards marking its place". If observations of this type – particularly in the case of Dion – contain a degree of exaggeration, due largely to the latent comparison with the glorious past, still, the picture of economic decline, at least in the later republican years, can scarcely be challenged.

The periodic economic difficulties that faced the cities of Macedonia, in some cases even the most important of them, are also revealed by decrees honouring eminent citizens, such as that voted in honour of the Beroean chief priest of the city's divine patrons, Harpalus (late 2nd / early 1st c. BC), which speaks of the city's "diminished fortunes" (ἥττων τύχη) in comparison with the past, or that honouring the gymnasiarch of Amphipolis who in 105-104 BC, that is, one or two years after the operations conducted by Minucius Rufus against the Skordisci, himself supplied the necessary funds for the athletic training of the young men of Amphipolis because the city was unable to furnish, as was its duty, the sum required [24].

4.2. Economic developments in the imperial period

No more than a quick glance at the archaeological finds and the inscriptions from the early imperial period (particularly from the reign of Trajan onwards) is needed to see that the general economic conditions prevailing in Macedonia at that time had improved immensely. For evidence of this turn of affairs we need look no further than the ambitious building programmes carried out in important cities like Philippi, Beroea and Thessaloniki right through the early decades of the 3rd century. These programmes included the construction, repair and/or expansion of large public buildings in their *agorae* or other public places, financed from the public treasury and/or by prominent citizens. The general trend is also indicated by the important increase in the number of donations and bequests from wealthy citizens to their birthplaces on several occasions. These favourable economic conditions are further reflected in the large number of costly festivals that continued to be organised, or were organised for the first time, by cities of all sizes in celebration of a variety of events.

Despite the improvement in the general economic conditions and the increasing urbanisation that took place during the imperial age, the economy of Macedonia remained essentially agrarian. The crucial question of the relationship between large and small landholdings, whether in other words the latter were gradually swallowed up by the former, is for lack of data a difficult one to answer. Recent finds reinforce the image of a period in which wealthy citizens owned vast landed estates (see following section), but we know nothing about their organisation or even what types of properties these were, whether, that is, they were large agricultural estates (*latifundia*) like those we know of, under a variety of names (*tractus*, *saltus*, etc.), from other regions of the Empire. Also unclear is the office of "χωρικός από χωριαρχιών", a title borne by a prominent citizen of Thessaloniki in 240 AD and which, according to some historians, could be an indication of the existence of this type of large landholding. The preeminently agricultural character of the economy of Macedonia is also evident from the fact that, as we learn from an inscription from Gazoros, in the years of the Antonines the government pressed for an intensification of agricultural production via the distribution – on favourable terms – of fallow public lands to the citizens, regardless of their social position. Also unknown is the extent of the imperial estates, which were managed by imperial freedmen or slaves for the Emperor and were subject to the imperial procurator. These estates were lands given by or confiscated from Roman citizens or remnants of the *ager publicus* after the foundation of the colonies.

In the mountainous regions of Upper Macedonia forestry represented a major source of wealth, as is clear from the famous petition of the Battynaeoi, where the inhabitants of the region (*koinon* of the Orestae) asked the provincial governor to protect them from powerful foreign provincials (επαρχικοί) who were encroaching upon their forests and meadows. The sources have nothing to say about livestock-raising or about the probable development of a woollen industry, while Strabo tells us only that fishing was well-developed in the Prespes district.

With regard to mineral wealth, one of the most important sources of revenue for the Macedonian kings, archaeologists have shown that mines were operating in various regions, including Chalcidice, Pangaion, Philippi, Odomantice, Dysoron (Crestonia district) and the region of Stobi. These belonged to the Emperor, as one might reasonably infer from what happened elsewhere, and from a reference in the Theodosian Code (386 AD) to procurators of the mines (*procuratores metallorum intra Macedoniam*). An inscription found near the western boundary of Philippi suggests, however, that they were exploited at least in part by contractors (*conductores*) representing the interests of wealthy local families[25].

For other sectors of the economy, such as trade, we have written information to supplement the archaeological finds. Graves and destruction strata in the cities yield imported luxury products such as pottery and glass vessels, which were intended for a prosperous public and came from the workshops of Italy and Asia Minor. To these may be added such sumptuous grave monuments as the Attic sarcophagi. The written sources also confirm the existence of mercantile occupations, such as vendors of drugs and perfumes and slave-traders. As for the artisanal trades, these do not seem to have gone beyond the satisfaction of local demand. We do, however, know that the manufacturers of purple garments employed skilled workers from Asia Minor, and specifically from the region of Thyatira, which had a long tradition in this trade.

While we do not have the quantitative and numerical data that would allow us to assess these economic conditions comparatively, nonetheless, indicative comparisons of expenditures incurred by prominent Macedonian citizens with the corresponding sums laid out by, for example, wealthy Asians on the organisation of similar festivals leave the impression that the wealthy Macedonians were far less so than their counterparts in

large and more modest cities in the province of Asia. This finding presumably applies to the level of development of the country's economy as well [26].

4.3. The new aristocracy and euergetism

Throughout the period 167-31 BC the cities of Macedonia were faced with both demographic and social upheavals, the result of general instability and often adverse economic developments, as well as of the great losses of manpower ensuing successively from the wars of Perseus and Andriscus, the displacement of the monarchist aristocracy ordered by Rome in 167 BC (Text 2), the elimination of opponents first by Andriscus and later by Mithradates, not to mention the barbarian raids and the Roman civil wars. It is, however, very difficult to estimate the extent of these upheavals and their impact on the social fabric of the cities, since the contemporary sources are exceptionally sparing of detail. The picture of the social changes in the period following the middle of the 1st century BC is somewhat clearer. By this time as many of the old bourgeois families of the *ancien regime* as had survived the turmoil began gradually to constitute, together with the more powerful of the families of incomers (chiefly but not exclusively with the Italians), the new urban aristocracy that would monopolise political and social power in the cities. As we move towards the end of antiquity the relations between these two elements become wholly indissoluble as the incomers became incorporated into the life of the cities, primarily through intermarriage. The activities, the economic profile and the ideology of the new elite will be discussed below. At this point, however, a word is necessary about a theory that has recently been formulated with regard to social developments in certain regions of Macedonia, and specifically in the cities of Beroea and the Mygdonian city of Kalindoia.

This view holds that a comparative study of the names that occur in these cities between the republican and the imperial periods reveals a statistically significant increase in the number of pro-Hellenic names and a corresponding fall in the number of Macedonian, a development that would have to be explained as a sign of the social ascension of those segments of the population of Macedonia that before the Roman conquest had been absent from our sources as constituting a lower social stratum [27]. To the degree that the names it studies are those of young men (*epheboi*), this attractive theory does certainly contribute to signalling parallel social developments with regard to the constitution of the elite in the cities under review (their appearance should be attributed to intermarriages between members of the local societies with different social origins). It should not, however, lead to an overestimation of the phenomenon, since in most instances the social position of the bearers of these names is not remarkable (the inscriptions cited are generally on simple grave markers or votive offerings). On the other hand, the presence of such names shows that in the imperial age even the lower social strata were well enough off to afford decent funerary monuments and to make votive offerings.

The first feature of the new Macedonian urban aristocracy concerns their economic profile. Although the integration into their ranks of the Italian immigrants, who tended to devote themselves to commerce, is in itself enough to show that the sources of wealth of this new aristocracy must have been multiple and varied, nonetheless the land and its exploitation continued to be the solid foundation of their economic power. They were, in other words, landowners, whose estates in many cases must have been extensive. This conclusion is validated by, for example, the appearance of a fair number of managers (stewards or agents) in inscriptions from regions like Philippi, Thessaloniki, Mygdonia, Beroea, Pella and Heraclea Lyncestis, or the ease with which prominent citizens supplied their cities with grain at below market price. In any case, there were also

supplementary sources of wealth, such as livestock-raising in Upper Macedonia, fishing on the Prespes region and shipping investments in, primarily, the great port of Thessaloniki. These wealthy Macedonians may also have amassed fortunes from the lease of the state mines and forests, as we have already seen.

Just how wealthy the members of the Macedonian aristocracy could become is indicated by certain characteristic inscriptions. Thus, in the year AD 1, thirty years after the end of the civil wars, the inhabitants of the Mygdonian city of Kalindoia honoured a young fellow-citizen as a multiple benefactor of the city during his term of office as the priest of the local imperial cult. His name was Apollonios, son of Apollonios and Stratto and grandson of Kertimas. These names (Greek and Macedonian) in themselves show that Apollonios belonged to an old Macedonian family that had survived the upheavals of the republican era. The honorary decree tells us that during his term of office, which lasted for one year, Apollonios had every month offered a sacrifice to Zeus and to the divine protector Augustus, followed by a public banquet for all the citizens of Kalindoia. In the official celebration offered by the city in honour of these two gods he had himself ornamented the procession with all manner of spectacles, had organised lavish games, had assumed the cost of the sacrifices offered by the city, sacrificing oxen, had repeatedly entertained the entire citizen body at banquets, and had erected a statue of Augustus, actions for which his fellow-citizens honoured him and his parents with the exceptional right to statues erected in the most important part of the *agora*, the cost of which was in the end borne by Apollonios himself (Text 7).

Even more impressive is the image of wealth that emerges, a century later (*circa* 98), from another inscription, recording the honours paid by a tribe from Beroea to one of its citizens. The citizen in question was the chief priest for life (*archiereus dia biou*) of the *Koinon* of the Macedonians Quintus Popilius Pytho, an important figure with a prestige that went beyond the boundaries of the city, if we judge from the fact that he successfully conducted a diplomatic mission to the Emperor asking that Beroea be allowed to retain the exclusive privilege of custodianship (*neokoria*) of the imperial cult (see the chapter on administration, *Koinon* of the Macedonians). This inscription enumerates divers benefactions similar to those performed by Apollonios, but for the far more numerous spectators of the games and festivals of the *Koinon*, and including banquets, distributions of money and food, organisation of athletic games and even gladiatoral combats and *venationes*, for which he imported exotic animals. He also, apparently, and this is what is truly astonishing, performed public services that must have entailed the outlay of huge sums of money, including repairing roads, supplying grain at below the market price, and paying the poll tax due to the Roman treasury on behalf of the cities in the *Koinon* (it is possible, for the brevity of the inscription makes it impossible to determine, that Popilius, as the official responsible to the Roman authorities, paid out of his own purse the part of the total tax that for whatever reason had not been collected and not the entire poll tax owed by the cities of the *koinon* for their thousands of inhabitants) (Text 8). Popilius Pytho was, we know, a member of an Italian family that had settled in Beroea a hundred years before.

The cases of Apollonios and Popilius Pytho were certainly not isolated instances. Hundreds of inscriptions from all the cities and many of the villages of Macedonia show that their life in all its manifestations was bound up with the wealth of the members of their upper classes. Wealthy citizens supplied the market with grain in years when the harvests were poor, provided basic foodstuffs at low prices, contributed to the cost of building or repairing fountains and even aqueducts to assure their city's water supply, organised free distributions of meat and other foodstuffs on various occasions, particularly during festivals. They also had a care for the quality of life in their communities, making repeated donations to ensure or improve the operation of the gymnasia and the

baths (public exercise, health and leisure facilities), enriched the public libraries and enlivened daily routine with athletic, drama and music competitions as well as the gladiatorial contests and *venationes* that represented the new aesthetic of the spectacle that had been introduced by the Italian immigrants. In a fair number of cases, including the games organised by the *Koinon* at Beroea or the pan-provincial games held at Thessaloniki, these games contributed as much to the local economy as to the entertainment of the people, since they were essentially festivals that attracted thousands of people from other cities in Macedonia and neighbouring regions.

Part of the expenditures incumbent upon the members of the upper classes had to do with relations between the cities and the Roman authorities. The local communities, and therefore chiefly their wealthier members, were responsible for maintaining the *cursus publicus* (ensuring food, shelter and transport for groups or individuals who were entitled to make use of this imperial postal service) and for travel expenses of delegations to the provincial governor and the Emperor in Rome. However, the area in which these prominent citizens spent most lavishly was the construction and maintenance of public buildings of every sort – fountains, aqueducts, odeums, theatres, basilicas, baths, gymnasia, etc. Through these works, some of which took years to complete, they provided necessary public facilities and amenities as well as embellishing their cities, particularly when it came to ambitious or extensive complexes. In the case of the rival cities of Beroea and Thessaloniki, such benefactions were inspired by the desire to secure the precedence of position among the cities of province, with all the economic benefits that accrued to their inhabitants from such a distinction.

This type of behaviour on the part of members of the upper classes was, of course, not unique to Macedonia: in reality it was an expression of the institution of *euergetism*, the system of moral duties and legal obligations that emerged in the Greek city-states early in the Hellenistic period and required the local aristocracies to assume, at their own expense, most of the financial burden of running them. The obvious counter-consideration was the political supremacy of these aristocracies, as we have already seen. The image of the public benefactor that emerges from the inscriptions is, of course, an idealised one, due to the laudatory nature of these texts, since not infrequently political and social power was used – and sometimes abused – for personal profit. These sources are also misleading in another way, and that is with regard to the extent to which the cities themselves contributed to their own running costs: this is downplayed or ignored in honorific inscriptions precisely because of their laudatory nature. In any event, *euergetism* must be considered the preponderant reality of the social and political life of the cities of Macedonia (including the colonies), as it was throughout the Empire.

The ambitions of these urban upper classes were not always confined to the narrow boundaries of their own city. The most prominent of them aspired to a place in the imperial aristocracy through the mechanisms available to them for climbing the social ladder. The basic precondition for achieving this ambition was to secure the rights of Roman citizenship, which entailed a set of legal obligations and privileges. By the time the Emperor Caracalla issued his edict granting Roman citizenship to all free inhabitants of the Empire (*Constitutio Antoniniana*, AD 212), the members of the upper social classes in Macedonia's cities appear to have virtually universally acquired Roman civic rights. This explains the fact that more Roman citizens (60% of the total of known cases from the province, excepting the colonies) came from the familiar cities of Lower Macedonia, especially Thessaloniki and Beroea, while in Upper Macedonia with its limited urbanisation the proportion was just 27%. The large number of Roman citizens from Thessaloniki and Beroea specifically is not surprising, given the procedure for acquiring Roman citizenship: this involved submitting an application, complete with all the pre-

scribed supporting documents, to the appropriate imperial office, together with a letter of recommendation from the provincial governor. Logically, distinguished citizens of Thessaloniki and Beroea were better placed to set the mechanism in motion, their cities being respectively the seats of the provincial government and the Assembly of the Macedonians [28].

Backed by their Roman citizenship and their great wealth, a fair number of Macedonians succeeded in gaining admission to the Roman equestrian class, and took up administrative positions in various parts of the Empire. A much smaller number (both absolutely and in comparison with other larger and economically more developed provinces, such as Asia and Achaea) succeeded in achieving Roman senatorial rank. With regard to the Macedonian senators, we know that initially they came from the colonies and specifically from Philippi and the *municipium* of Stobi, while it was not until the 3rd century that descendants of some of the most prominent families in Thessaloniki managed to scale the ranks of the Empire's highest social order[29].

4.4. The other social orders

In contrast to the dominant urban social order, members of the other classes in the cities appear only incidentally in the written sources. Thus, for example, although slaves constituted the bulk of the population of Macedonia, since farming and stock-raising relied on a slave-owning system of production, they are very rarely mentioned. Characteristically, however, some slaves, profiting from the improvement in living standards and the prosperity enjoyed by the province in the imperial age, succeeded, thanks to the important positions entrusted to them by their masters, in amassing enough money to make votive offerings in the temples and to acquire their freedom. From a number of acts of manumission that have been found in various rural sanctuaries in central and western Macedonia, and chiefly in Leucopetra (near Beroea), we know that slavery continued to exist in Macedonia until the beginning of the 4th century AD[30]. Most of the freedmen we know about, however, were former slaves of Roman citizens. With their freedom they acquired political rights and entered the middle class, chiefly in the cities (*plebs urbana*).

The composition of the middle class was extremely varied. The funerary inscriptions, it is true, rarely commemorate labourers, artisans, small traders or actors – more often veterans of the Roman army. Relatively few Macedonians served in the Roman army, and they appear on the rolls primarily in the period of the civil wars and the first decades of the empire. Most of these soldiers came from the colonies and the poor regions of Upper Macedonia, and they served in legions and, chiefly, in the cohorts of the Praetorian Guard. This army service gave the inhabitants of Macedonia Roman political rights [31].

A closer look at some aspects of the social life of the middle and lower classes in some regions at least is offered by the associations. We know of around eighty of these in Macedonia, the overwhelming majority of which date from the imperial age, and particularly the 2nd and 3rd centuries. The activity of most of these (more than 80%) was centred in cities like Thessaloniki, Philippi and Beroea. Some of these societies were professional associations, such as those of the purple-dyers of Thessaloniki and the money-changers of Philippi, but their number was limited. Most of the Macedonian societies represented themselves as cult associations, in the sense that they were organised around the cult of their patron divinity (chiefly Dionysus, Heracles, Silvanus and some few others), even when their membership included practitioners of similar or different trades. In major urban centres, such as for example Thessaloniki, the growth of this

phenomenon was fuelled by massive immigration, with the result that at least some of these societies were founded by foreigners.

The activities of these associations, whose membership generally numbered a few dozen only, were multiple: they satisfied their members' needs in respect of social life, with dinners and festive events associated with the cult of their patron god; metaphysical anxieties, based on a collective perception of the existence of an afterlife, especially in some of the Dionysian bands; and practical problems, providing mutual assistance through the solidarity that developed among the members and addressing specific problems such as defraying the cost of a decent funeral and burial (the phenomenon intensified during the economically difficult years of the 2nd half of the 3rd century). These associations, despite their egalitarian organisation, had a hierarchy of offices similar to that of the cities.

The popularity of these new alternative forms of collective organisation should be attributed first of all to the gradual loss of role and importance of the city's institutions as a result of the progressive depoliticisation of the city-state, particularly through the system of *euergetism*. The societies offered their members the possibility of self-determination through these more familiar and more cohesive collectivities, a sense of superiority in relation to the indeterminate social whole, and an opportunity for social display and advancement through the assumption of official duties, insofar of course as they had the means to do so. Those who used the societies as a channel for social advancement were very often people of humble origins who had succeeded in substantially improving their economic position (cf. the large number of freedmen in the society of followers of Silvanus at Philippi). The fact that in Macedonia the common bond in the formation of these associations was in the main a cult and not, for example, a trade, even in purely urban areas, should be seen as an indication of the significance of religion for the common man of the ancient world as a basic element of his identity, and also of the pre-eminently agrarian character of that province's economy [32].

Notes

1. For the measure taken by the Romans after the Battle of Pydna, see Kanatsoulis, *Historia*, 88 ff; Papazoglou, *Η Μακεδονία υπό τους Ρωμαίους* [Macedonia under the Romans], 192 ff; and, for a different view, E. Gruen, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome*, California 1984, vol. II, 423 ff.
2. For the rebellion of Andriscus, see J. M. Heliesen, *Andriscus and the Revolt of Macedonians 149-148 BC*, Wisconsin 1968, and MacKay, *Studies in the History of the Republican Macedonia (168-148 BC)*, Berkeley 1964 (with a detailed study of the numismatic evidence).
3. For the legal status of Macedonia up to the beginning of the 70s, see R. Kallet-Marx, *Hegemony to the Empire. The Development of the Roman Imperium in the East from 148 to 62 BC*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, California 1995, 11 ff.
4. For the Macedonian risings after 167 BC, see Papazoglou, *Μακεδονία*, 193.
5. For the barbarian raids against Macedonia during the republican era, see F. Papazoglou, *The Central Balkan Tribes in Pre-Roman Times*, Amsterdam 1978 passim and Papazoglou, *Quelques aspects*, 312-321.
6. For the Roman civil wars on Macedonian soil, see Kanatsoulis, *Ιστορία*, 95-97 and Papazoglou, *Quelques aspects*, 321-325
7. For the administrative reforms of Tiberius, see Sarikakis, *Ρωμαίοι Αρχοντές* [Roman Rulers] II, 13 and Papazoglou, *Μακεδονία*, 196.
8. For the political and administrative history of Macedonia under the Empire, see Kanatsoulis, *Ιστορία*, 97 ff and Papazoglou, *Μακεδονία*, 196 ff.

9. See F. Papazoglou, *Laoi kai paroikoi. Recherches sur la structure de la société hellénique*, Beograd 1997, 234.
10. For the population structure of Macedonia on the basis of the personal names attested in inscriptions, see F. Papazoglou, "Structures éthniques et sociales dans les régions centrales des Balkans à la lumière des études onomastiques" in the *Actes du VIIe congrès international d' épigraphie grecque et latine*, Constanza 9-15 Sept. 1977, Bucharest-Paris 1979, 153-169; Hatzopoulos – Loukopoulou, *Recherches sur les marches orientales des Téménides*, passim; and Sverkos, *Συμβολή στην ιστορία της Ανω Μακεδονίας* (Contribution to the History of Upper Macedonia), 115 ff.
11. For the Thracian element in the region of Philippi, see Kanatsoulis, "*Η Μακεδονική Πόλις...*" [The Macedonian City], *Makedonica,* 6 (1964-1965) 23 ff.
12. For the Italian traders in Macedonia, see Rizakis, "L' émigration romaine en Macédoine … ", 109-132.
13. For the Roman colonies in Macedonia, see Rizakis, "Recrutement et formation des élites dans les colonies romaines de la province de Macédoine…", 107-129.
14. For the emigrants from Asia Minor into Macedonia during the imperial age, see P. M. Nigdelis, Epigraphica Thessalonicensia, *Συμβολή και Κριτικές στην πολιτική ι-στορία της Αρχαίας Θεσσαλονίκης* [Inscriptional Contributions to the History of Thessaloniki], Thessaloniki 2006, passim.
15. For the Jewish communities in Macedonia, see Nigdelis, "Synagoge(n) und Gemeinde der Juden in Thessaloniki…", 297–306 and A. Koukouvou, "Η εβραϊκή κοινότητα της Βέροιας στην αρχαιότητα. Νέες επιτύμβιες επιγραφές." [The Jewish community in Beroea in Antiquity. New funerary inscriptions], *Tekmeria,* 13 - 31.
16. For the Roman administration in Macedonia during the republican and imperial ages, see Sarikakis, *Roman Rulers* I, 5 ff. and II, 13 ff.
17. See P. Nigdelis – G. Souris, *Ανθυπατος λεγει. Ένα διάταγμα των αυτοκρατορικών χρόνων για το γυμνάσιο της Βέροιας.* [By act of the proconsul. An edict of the imperial age on the gymnasium in Beroea], Thessaloniki 2005.
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Texts

Text 1: *The arrangements of Aemilius Paullus and the Senate for Macedonia after the Battle of Pydna. The Congress of Amphipolis (Livy, Ab urbe condita, XLV).*

First of all it was resolved that the Macedonians and Illyrians should be free peoples, so that it might be clear to all the world that the arms of Rome did not carry slavery to the free, but on the contrary freedom to the enslaved; and also that amongst those nations which enjoyed liberty, the security and permanence of their liberty rested under the protection of Rome, whilst on the other hand those who lived under the rule of kings might be led to believe that their kings were all the more just and merciful through the respect they felt for Rome, and if ever their sovereigns began war, the issue of the war would bring victory to Rome and liberty to the people. It was also resolved to abolish all contracts for working the mines of Macedonia, which afforded a considerable revenue, and also all leases of the royal domains; these could not be carried on without the tax-farmer, and wherever the tax-farmer flourished either the law lost its authority or the subjects their liberty. Nor were the Macedonians able to work them themselves, for where those in charge found plunder ready to their hand there were never lacking causes for quarrels and riots. The national council was suppressed, lest some unprincipled flatterer of the mob should turn the safe and reasonable liberty which had been granted into a dangerous and fatal licence. Macedonia was to be divided into four cantons, each to have its own council, and the tribute to Rome was to be half what they had been accustomed to pay to the king. The same regulations were made in the case of Illyria. The other measures were left to the generals and commissioners, as they would be dealing with matters on the spot and would be able to make more definite arrangements (18).

Aemilius gave notice for the councils of ten from all the cities to assemble at Amphipolis and to bring with them all archives and documents wherever they were deposited, and all the money due to the royal treasury. When the day arrived he advanced to the tribunal, where he took his seat with the ten commissioners, surrounded by a vast concourse of Macedonians. Though they were accustomed to the display of royal power, this novel assertion of authority filled them with fear; the tribunal, the clearing of the approach to it through the mass of people, the herald, the apparitor, all these were strange to their eyes and ears and might even have appalled allies of Rome, to say nothing of a vanquished enemy. After the herald had called for silence Paullus, speaking in Latin, explained the arrangements decided upon by the senate and by himself in concert with the ten commissioners; Cnaeus Octavius, who was also present, translated the address into Greek. First of all it was laid down that the Macedonians were to be a free people, possessing their cities and fields as before, enjoying their own laws and customs and electing their annual magistrates. They were to pay to Rome half the tribute which they had been paying to the king. Secondly, Macedonia was to be broken up into four separate cantons. The first would embrace the district between the Strymon and the Nessus, and in addition, beyond the Nessus to the east, the forts, towns and villages which Perseus had held, with the exception of Aenus, Maronea and Abdera, and beyond the Strymon to the west the whole of Bisaltia together with Heraclea, which district the natives call Sintice. The second canton would be bounded on the east by the Strymon, exclusive of Sintice, Heraclea and Bisaltia; and on the west by the Axius, including the Paeonians, who dwelt to the east of the Axius. The third division would be the district enclosed between the Axius on the east and the Peneus on the west; the Bora range shuts it in on the north. This canton was increased by the addition of the part of Paeonia which extends westwards beyond the Axius; Edessa and Beroea were assigned to this division. The fourth canton lay on the other side of the Bora range, bordering Illyria on the one side and Epirus on the other.

Aemilius then designated the capital cities where the councils were to be held in the different cantons; Amphipolis was fixed for the first, Thessaloniki for the second, Pella for the third, and Pelagonia for the fourth. There the councils for each canton were to be summoned, the tribute deposited, and the annual magistrates elected. His next announcement was that all intermarriage between the inhabitants of the different cantons was forbidden, as also the possession of land or houses in more than one canton. The gold and silver mines were not allowed to be worked, but permission was given in the case of the iron and copper mines. Those working the mines would have to pay one half of the royalty which they had paid to the king. The use of imported salt was also forbidden. The Dardanians were laying claim to Paeonia on the ground that it once belonged to them, and they had a common frontier; the consul told them in reply that he was granting political liberty to all who had been under the rule of Perseus. As he had refused them Paeonia he granted them the right to purchase salt and ordered the third canton to carry its salt to Stobi, fixing, at the same time, the price at which it was to be sold. He forbade the Macedonians either to cut timber for ship-building themselves or to allow others to do so. He gave permission to those cantons whose frontiers were contiguous to those of the barbarians to maintain armed forces on their borders (29). The congress of the Macedonians which had been interrupted by these proceedings was again convened. First of all the status of Macedonia was defined. Senators, who were known as "synedri," were to be elected to form a council for the administration of government…. The laws which Aemilius gave to the Macedonians had been so carefully and considerately drawn up that he might be thought to be giving them not to vanquished enemies but to allies who had rendered good service, and not even after a long practical experience - the only safe guide in legislative reform - have they been found to need amendment. (32).

Text 2. *The deportation of the royal aristocracy (Livy, Ab urbe condita, XLV)*

…Then a list was read out of the names of those Macedonian leaders who it was decided were to go in advance to Italy with all their children over fifteen years of age. At first glance this seemed a cruel measure, but it soon became apparent to the Macedonians that it was done to protect their liberties. The names on the list were those of the friends and court nobles of the king, the generals of his armies, the commanders of his ships and garrisons accustomed to servile submission towards him and dictatorial insolence towards others. Some were exceedingly wealthy; others whose fortunes did not equal theirs lived quite as extravagantly; their table and dress were on a regal scale; they had no idea of citizenship, and were incapable of submission to law or to a liberty equal for all. Every one, therefore, who had been employed in the king's service, even those who had been sent as envoys, were ordered to leave Macedonia and proceed to Italy, and whoever refused obedience was threatened with death….(32).

Text 3: *The Rebellion of Andriscus (Diodorus, Polybius).*

Andriscus heard that Teres, the king of the Thracians, had married a daughter of the Macedonian king Philip V. This was enough to send him haring off to Thrace… and he reached Teres, who received him with honour and gave him one hundred soldiers and a diadem. Teres presented him to other (Thracian) rulers from whom he received another hundred soldiers. Then he went on to the king of the Thracians ..... whom he persuaded to take part in the expedition he was planning and to place him on the throne of Macedonia, arguing that the kingdom of the Macedonians belonged to him by right of inheritance. … After being initially defeated by the Macedonians the false Philip fled into Thrace. In the end, however, he seized control of the cities of Macedonia. (Diodorus 32, 15, 5-7).

In the beginning people seemed to give little weight to the talk about the false Philip; what had happened was that there had appeared in Macedonia someone claiming to be Philip, indifferent to the opinions of the Macedonians and the Romans and with no reasonable basis for this action, since the real Philip was known to have died at the age of about eighteen two years before his father Perseus in the town of Alba, in Italy. After about three or four months, however, when Andriscus had made a name for himself, having defeated the Macedonians in battle beyond the river Strymon in Odomantice, some began to speak of him, but others were still dubious. Finally, not long afterwards, when the news arrived that he had defeated the Macedonians on this side of the Strymon and that he had become the master of Macedonia and the Thessalians began to send letters and ambassadors to the Achaeans begging them to come to their aid and saying that they were in great danger, then the matter appeared wonderful indeed and at the same time very curious. For there was no probability nor was it tenable that this should have an auspicious outcome. (Polybius 36, 10, 1-7).

Text 4: *Votive decree of Lete, 119 BC, honouring the quaestor of the province Marcus Annius (Syll^{3}, 700).*

Decree of the 20th of the month of Panemos (= June) of the 29th year, proposed by the civic magistrates, on the basis of the draft edict approved by the council: Marcus Annius, son of Publius, a good and virtuous man, who was sent out by the Roman people as quaestor for the province of Macedonia, did incessantly throughout his term of office perform his duties to the benefit of all the Macedonians and did further did have a care to the particular interests of our city, displaying exceptional zeal and enthusiasm. Moreover in the recent crisis, when the nation of the Celts did assemble and take to the field with a great military force in the region of Argos and the soldiers lost courage, because it happened that the governor Sextus Pompeius was killed in the pitched battle he was fighting against them (the Celts), he did take the field against them with the forces he had under his command: he

routed the adversary, gathered up the bodies of the dead soldiers, killed many of the enemy, captured large numbers of horses and weapons, and, providing for the safety of the soldiers garrisoned in the region, took them into his own camp. A few days later, when even more Celtic horsemen had assembled and had been joined by Tipas, the leader of the Maedi, with another great force, Annius stood against the barbarian attack with only the soldiers he had in his camp, that is, without calling up reserves from the Macedonians, for he did not want to burden the cities with their pay and preferred to leave the people to their (agricultural) occupations. He, without avoiding any danger or hardship, drew up his soldiers in battle array, defeated the enemy in battle with the divine providence of the gods, killed many of them in hand-to-hand combat, took others prisoner and captured a large number of horses and weapons. Acting with such gallantry Annius brought matters under his control and in this way sought to hand over to his successors a Macedonia with its population intact and in a peaceful and prosperous condition, actions that were worthy of his homeland, his ancestors, his fame, his courage and of the responsibilities assigned to him. For these reasons the council and the people of Lete have resolved to commend Marcus Annius, son of Publius, quaestor of the Romans, and to crown him with a wreath of olive and to institute in his honour an equestrian contest in the month of Daisios (= May), when the games in honour of the other benefactors are held. They have also resolved to elect a deputation whose members shall go to him and, having greeted him on behalf of the city and offered our congratulations for that he and his men are in good health, shall hand him this decree and shall pray him to be pleased to accept the esteem of our people and always to do good to our city. (They did also resolve that) the decree and the (honorific) wreath should be carved on a stone column to be placed in the most formal position in the agora, and that the civic magistrates and the quaestor of the city should see to the erection of this column. This was ratified by vote taken on the 20th day of Panemos (= June) of the 29th year, and Adaios son of Adaios, Lyson son of Philotas and Amyntas son of Dieos were elected to form the deputation.

Text 5. *Pompey in Macedonia (Dio Cassius, Plutarch).*

The next year the Romans had two sets of rulers….. \Those in Thessaloniki (contrary to what occurred in Rome) did not hold elections, although there were assembled there, as some say, about two hundred senators and the consuls and they had instituted a district of Thessaloniki public Roman soil for the official rites, so that it would appear that everything had been done in due form and that thus both the people, through them, and Rome were there … (Dio Cassius, 51, 43).

In the meanwhile Pompey had assembled a large military force …. His cavalry was mixed and in need of training; he worked them at Beroea, not taking his ease, but training with them as if he were in the flower of his youth. And those who saw him thus despite his fifty-eight years contending with the foot soldiers in full battle gear and then on horseback drawing his sword at full gallop without disturbing his steed and finally replacing it in its sheath without difficulty drew great courage from it … He continued to receive visits from kings of nations and dynasts and sufficient distinguished Romans to furnish a complete senate (Plutarch, *Pompey* 64) .

Text 6. *The founding of the Roman colonies (Dio Cassius, Augustus).*

He (Augustus) also obliged those living in Italy who had sided with Antony to leave the country, granting their cities and fields to his soldiers; as for the exiles, he allowed most of them to settle in Dyrrachium and Philippi, and promised the rest that he would compensate them for their land …. (Dio Cassius 51, 4, 67).

I founded military colonies in Africa, in Sicily, in Macedonia and …. in Achaea (Augustus, *Res Gestae* V, 356).

Text 7. *Votive decree honouring Apollonios, from Kalindoia in Mygdonia. (SEG 35, 1985, 744 and Année épigraphique 1992, 1525)*

Decree of the year 148 (= AD 1): proposed by the *politarchai* to the people, following the preliminary decision by the council and the convention of the assembly of the people. Apollonios son of Apollonios and grandson of Kertimas was a good and virtuous man and worthy of every honour, for, having voluntarily assumed the office of priest of Jupiter and of Rome and of Caesar Augustus, the son of God, he displayed such great magnanimity and a generosity worthy of the virtue of his ancestors and his own, that he would allow no one to surpass him in expenditures concerning the gods and the fatherland. Specifically he offered from his own purse all year the monthly sacrifices performed in honour of Jupiter and Caesar Augustus, distributing costly honours to the gods and holding banquets and offering sumptuous feasts to the citizens at public dinners, corporately and (separately) in *triclinia*. He also during the (annual) festival made the procession varied and spectacular and organised lavish games in honour of Jupiter and Caesar Augustus, worthy of the gods and of Rome, providing not only for the needs of the banquet but also for the spectacles and the recreation and entertainment of the spirit, to the benefaction of the citizens. He also at his own request privately supplied the sacrifices to Jupiter and to Caesar Augustus and to the other benefactors of the city that are celebrated during the (annual) civic festival, at his own expense sacrificing oxen and throughout the duration of the festival receiving each and every citizen in his dining rooms and made splendid largesse to all the tribes, so that they could fare sumptuously, wherever they wished, by his grace. In brief, and disregarding all expense, he paid from his own purse for a statue of Caesar to be made and dedicated it as an eternal reminder of the benefits of the Augustus to mankind, thus offering an ornament to the fatherland and to the god due grace and honour. For the above reasons the council and the people have resolved to commend the splendour of his spirit and his benefactions to the fatherland and to crown him with a crown of leaves and to erect a stone statue of him and of his father Apollonios and of his mother Stretto, one for each. (It is further resolved) that these statues and the decree shall be set up in the most formal position in the agora that he shall prefer as *agonothetes*, so that the other citizens seeing them may desire the recognition of the city and make benefactions to the fatherland. With the approval of this resolution Apollonios accepted the honours and the recognition of the nation, but discharged the city of the burden of the expenditure. Voted on 14 Daisios (= May).

Text 8. *The action of a chief priest of the imperial cult (EKM I, 117).*

The Peukasteke honours the benefactor Quintus Popilius Pytho, chief priest for life of the imperial cult and *agonothetes* for the Koinon of the Macedonians, for that he succeeded in his embassy to the Emperor Nerva that (our city) Beroea should continue alone to enjoy the privilege of serving the cult of the Augusti and to bear the title of metropolis (of Macedonia); for that he also during his priesthood paid the poll tax due from the province and at his own cost repaired the roads; further, for that he proclaimed and organised games equivalent to the Actian Games for the prize of one talent, drama and music competitions and athletics, combats and *venationes* with animals of every kind, domestic and exotic, and also gladiatorial combats; for that in addition when times were difficult he sold grain cheaply or below the (market) price, and that throughout his priesthood he received the inhabitants of the province, at every assembly (of the *Koinon*) distributing food or money to all; (finally) for that during his service as gymnasiarch he always placed himself at the disposal of the whole community and was affable in private with his fellow-citizens. This monument was erected by Dioscurides son of Alexander

Text 9. *Letter from Antoninus Pius to a city in Eastern Macedonia (IGBulg IV, 2263)*

….. the foreigners …. for their land, when you the citizens pay so much for [….] and the slaves and silver plate that are not intended for your use. If in respect of

this matter I should learn that something is being done that you should know about, I will inform you. I give my consent to your levying a tax of one denarius on each free inhabitant of your city (who is not a citizen, however) who is of an age to be subject to this tax, that it may serve as revenue for your needs. Let the number of your councillors be eighty and let each one give five hundred Attic drachmas, so that on the one hand the size of your council may increase the prestige of your city and on the other the monies thus paid may constitute additional revenues. The foreigners who have acquired property in your land shall be subject to the jurisdiction of your magistrates for cases up to two hundred and fifty denarii either as plaintiffs or as defendants. The envoys were Demeas son of Paramonus and Crispus son of Toscus, whose travelling expenses will be paid, unless they promised to pay them themselves. May you prosper. Written and filed when the civic magistrates were Valerius Pyrrhus and his associates in the year 189 (= AD 158).

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IV. Byzantine Macedonia (324-1025)

by Theodoros Korres

1. Macedonia from the 4th to the 6th century

Although the majority of modern historians date the monocracy of Constantine the Great from 324, the beginning of the history of the Eastern Roman Empire, which was later to be called Byzantium, must take us back to the period of the Tetrarchy, when there occurred many significant events which were to prove decisive for the future of Macedonia.

During that time, Galerius Caesar transferred his administrative seat from Sirmio in Pannonia to Thessaloniki, which he effectively established as the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire, and built the Rotunda, a luxurious, palatial complex, and the triumphant arch which bears his name. This brief return to the time of Galerius is imperative for another, perhaps even more important reason. This is because at that time, there occurred the notorious persecution of Christians, among whom the Roman officer, Demetrios, was martyred in 305. And it is widely known how closely connected with the history of the city and especially with the attempts to defend it against the various enemies which threatened it, is the name and worship of the martyr Demetrios, who from the 6th century has been recognized as the patron saint of Thessaloniki.[1]

The administrative reforms of Diocletian were continued by Constantine the Great and the diocese of Moesia was divided, probably before 327, into the administrative areas of Dacia and Macedonia, as stated in Notitia dignitatum, a source from the 5th century. In the new administrative form, the province of Macedonia was further divided into Macedonia prima and Macedonia secunda.

As a result, the boundaries of Macedonia in the 4th century extended as far east as the River Nestos , as far north as present-day Velesa (Titov-Veles), as far west as Epirus Vetus, and as far south as Thessaly. It is worth noting that the boundaries of Macedonia change continuously in the centuries that follow.[2]

The importance of Thessaloniki as an administrative center was realized by Constantine the Great, who made it the base of his military campaigns during the period 322-23. According to the 5th century historian, Zosimus, Constantine constructed a square artificial harbour in the north western corner of the city, where the ships belonging to the fleet he had gathered to transport his army to Asia Minor for his confrontation with Licinius could moor[3]. The ‘dug’ harbour of Constantine the Great was to play an important role in the commercial activity and economic growth of Thessaloniki in Byzantine times, as referred to in sources from the 10th and 12th centuries. Let it be noted that, following his defeat, Licinius was conveyed to the prison in Thessaloniki, where he remained until his execution in 325.

In 379, half a century later, Theodosios the Great (379-395) also chose Thessaloniki as the base of his military campaigns against the enemies of the empire, the Goths, who, after their victory at Adrianople in 378, where they slaughtered the Roman army and Emperor Valens himself, invaded the western sector of the Balkans and the Greek mainland looting and wreaking destruction. Although the evidence from the sources is scant and vague, it would appear that Theodosios ordered a general mobilization of the army in the area and, with the help of Goth mercenaries, managed in the summer of 379 to defeat the Goths and their allies, the Alans and Huns, who were pillaging Thrace, and finally repulsed them to regions beyond Mt Haimos. The emperor returned to Thessa-

loniki, where he remained until the summer of 380 reorganizing his army. During this time he strengthened the city's fortifications, as evidenced by an inscription on a tower along the eastern walls which reads "*Ormisdas built walls around the city that could not be captured*"[4].

During his stay, Theodosios was baptized a Christian by the Metropolitan of Thessaloniki. With the zeal of the neophyte, Theodosios issued from Thessaloniki an edict which recognized the doctrine of the First Ecumenical Council of Nicaea as the only authoritative one and followed this a year later by decreeing Orthodox Christianity as the official religion of the Empire and implementing strict measures against idolaters as well as non-orthodox Christians.

Despite the military successes of Theodosios, the Goths continued to cause trouble in the provinces in the north Balkans and the emperor attempted to solve the problem by signing a peace treaty in 382, under which he sanctioned the settlement of Goths in the areas of Dacia and Thrace and their induction into the Roman (Byzantine) army as foederati, or allies. This policy of his met with opposition, which reached a climax in Thessaloniki in 390, when citizens, in reaction to the arrest of a well-known charioteer by Vouterih, the commander of the Goth garrison, instigated disturbances which resulted in the murder of the commander. The emperor's reaction was swift and severe. The citizens of Thessaloniki were summoned to the hippodrome, where seven thousand of them were trapped and slaughtered by the Goth mercenaries. Later, in response to pressure from Ambrosios, bishop of Mediolanum (Milan), Theodosios was forced to ask publicly for forgiveness for his actions. It is worthwhile noting that the hippodrome was never again used and with the passing of time fell into a state of ruin[5].

A few years later in 395, the Visigoths led by Alaric turned towards eastern Macedonia, which they pillaged, failing, however, to overrun the walls of Thessaloniki.

During the period 473-483, Macedonia was attacked by the Ostrogoths. Philippi and Thessaloniki were endangered and were saved through the intervention of emperor Zeno (476-491) himself. Other Macedonian towns such as Pella, Edessa and Heraclea near Monastir, which was completely destroyed, were less fortunate. Macedonia was finally relieved of the Goths when, in 488, Zeno deflected their attentions towards Italy. However, this period of relative peace for Macedonia was short lived.

1. Avaro-Slavic invasions of the 6th and 7th centuries

The 6th century is known to have been particularly difficult for the Byzantine empire and especially for its Balkan provinces. This is so because, while the Byzantines were fighting the Persians in the east and attempting to achieve the reconquista in the west, it was necessary simultaneously to check the intense aggressive activities of the Huns and Slavic tribes, who, with their predatory forays, were plaguing Macedonia as well. The situation in the Balkans deteriorated at the end of the reign of Justinian (527-565) with the appearance of seasoned Avar soldiers. An Asian people, they moved towards Europe creating a powerful state which spread from the Danube to the Dneiper and Baltic and began to plunder the northern provinces of the empire with the help of Slavic tribes which they had subjugated.

At this time, emperor Maurice (582-602), who was being kept busy by the Persians on the eastern front, did not have a sufficiently large military force to repulse the Avaro-Slavic invaders and was compelled to pay an annual tribute in order to secure peace in the region. However, when in 591 the Byzantines signed a pact with the Persians, Maurice transferred his forces to the Balkans, and having crossed the Danube, surprised the Slavs and won "a victory the Romans were proud of". Unfortunately for

the empire and the inhabitants of the area, however, the fall of Maurice and the rise of Phocas (602-610) upset the balance. The Byzantine-Persian war was resumed, the Avaro-Slavic forces invaded unobstructed and, having occupied cities and areas of present-day Bulgaria and Serbia, arrived in 597 at the walls of Thessaloniki[6].

In connection with the attempts of the Thessalonians to defend themselves against their enemies at that time, there has been created a rich tradition which has as its central hero the "*mirovlitis* (the myrrh-exuding one), *kallinikos* (the glorious victor), *philopatris* (lover of the homeland) Demetrios" who intervenes and saves the city from the invaders. This tradition is preserved until today in the hagiologic texts of the "Miracles of St Demetrios", a collection of celebratory speeches which were delivered by the metropolitans of Thessaloniki on the occasion of the feast of St Demetrios and constitute the only source which refers to the sieges laid to Thessaloniki by Avaro-Slavic forces. It is worth noting that the purpose of reciting the "Miracles of St Demetrios" was not to record the events. They aimed only to stress "that it is only from God and nowhere else that salvation came to the city". It is in any case acknowledged how difficult it is to search for historical truth in hagiologic texts. The text of the "Miracles" presents additional difficulties because it describes events of the 6th and 7th centuries which are not referred to in any of the scant sources from the period.[7]

During the 6th and mainly the 7th centuries, the Avars and the Slavs attempted on five occasions to occupy the city of St Demetrios. The first attack took place in September of 597 and, according to what is mentioned in the "Miracles", it was the first time that the Thessalonians had seen the Avaro-Slavic forces at close quarters, testimony which refutes the assumption that the Slavs had settled in the area from the end of the 6th century. Despite the exaggerated number of 100,000 which is referred to in the source, the city was successfully defended after the miraculous intervention of the myrrh-scented patron saint of the city, who appears "*in the shape of a warrior who struck with his lance the first of the barbarians who climbed the ladder*" and forces the khagan of the Avars, Vaino, to lift the seven day siege and return to his base beyond the Danube.

The second attempt took place in 604, during the reign of Phocas (602-610) on the eve of the feast of St Demetrios. This time, the small number of Avaro-Slavic forces, which totalled 5,000, arrived unnoticed and would have succeeded in surprising the Thessalonikians, who were gathered in celebration in the church of the patron saint. However, the "city-saving" Demetrios persuaded a Byzantine officer to dispatch the armed citizens to the walls and in this way the surprise attack was foiled. The following day, as soon as it was confirmed how few attackers there were, the citizens successfully attempted a break out and pursued them.

The third attempt in 615, during the reign of Heraklius, was better organized and more dangerous. Bands of Slavs who had settled in Macedonia and Thessaly laid siege to Thessaloniki from the sea using innumerable dugouts, while their families waited for them on the neighbouring plain with all their belongings in order to settle in the city after its capture. At dawn on the fourth day after their arrival, the Slavs attempted to assault the city and take it over. However, while the battles were raging along the sea-wall, St Demetrios appeared "*wearing a white chlamys (cloak)*" walking along the walls and on the surface of the sea evoking "*a wind which had a divine aura*", which began to blow in the gulf and destroyed the dugouts of the besiegers, staining "*the whole sea with the blood of the barbarians*". Owing to the heroism of its citizens and the southwesterly winds which blew at the crucial moment, Thessaloniki avoided capture and destruction yet again[8].

In the summer of 618, the Avaro-Salvic forces attempted once again to capture the bride of the Thermaic Gulf. Armed with siege engines they tried for thirty-three days to destroy the walls. The city was finally spared because of the heroism of its residents and the inexperience of the Avaro-Slavic forces in the use of the siege engines. They repeated the attempt two years later, at a time when Thessaloniki had suffered heavy damage from a strong earthquake. Not even this time did they manage to take the city. This in fact was the last time that the Avars and the Slavs joined forces to lay siege to Thessaloniki because the Avars, after their failure to capture Constantinople in 626, ceased to be a threat to Byzantium.

The final and perhaps most dangerous attempt against Thessaloniki took place in 676-678, when bands of Slavs who had settled in the surrounding area tried to take the city. The Thessalonians stoutly defended themselves strengthened by their faith in the myrrh-exuding Demetrios who "in the shape of a warrior" intervened to save the city in the crucial hours. And it is this faith which I believe led them to put up a strong defence instead of panicking, which, otherwise, would have driven them to defeat and destruction. Emperor Constantine IV (668-685) was not able to help the co-capital because at that time Constantinople itself was under siege by the Arabs. However, immediately after the Arab forces were crushed, the siege of Thessaloniki was lifted because the emperor turned his attention and his forces towards undertaking a powerful confrontation with the "rebellious" Slavs[9].

However, it is acknowledged that Byzantium was a multi-national political entity and resorted to the use of arms in confronting foreigners only when they came as aggressors. In fact, they tolerated and often assisted the settlement of foreigners on their soil when they asked to be granted permission by the emperor. From the vague information provided by sources from that time it would appear that we have two categories of Slavic settlers:

I. On the northern borders of the empire beyond the Danube, there was a relatively dense settlement of Slavs, whose smaller units were independent and autonomous and did not have any obligations towards the emperor.

II. On the other hand, other bands of Slavs exploiting the general upheaval which they created with their raids in the Balkans, ventured further south and formed enclaves of permanent settlements, known as 'sklaveniai', on Byzantine soil paying "pakta" in other words tribute[10].

Let it not be concluded that the emperors of Constantinople remained indifferent and abandoned Macedonia and its capital to its own fortunes. On the contrary, there were Byzantine garrisons in all the towns of Macedonia and especially in Thessaloniki, and campaigns against the Slavs were carried out. In 658, Constans II "*marched against the sklaveniai and subdued many*", in 688, Justinian II defeated the Slavs and resettled many of them in the Asia Minor theme of Opsikion, and finally, in 783, during the time of Irene, the "Logothetes", Staurakios, having defeated the Bulgars and the Slavs in Thrace, "*advanced in the direction of Thessaloniki and Greece, subjugated the enemy and made them pay tribute to the empire.*" [11]

As referred to above, bands of Slavs had already arrived in Macedonia and Thrace at the beginning of the 7th century and established settlements in marshy or semi-highland regions, which the Byzantines called sklaveniai. Such bands or tribes were the Drougouvitai and Sagoudatai, who lived between Veria and Monastir, the Velegezitai in the area of Dimitriada in Thessaly, the Strymonitai in the higher lands around the River Strymon close to Rentina and the Smoleanoi in the higher lands of Rhodope. Although these bands had their own princes or *reges*, they were obliged to pay taxes to the Byzan-

tine empire, which is the reason why they often revolted. On such occasions, the Byzantine army intervened and restored peace[12].

As time passed, the interaction with Slavs who had settled on lands within the Byzantine empire became friendly. The newcomers began to develop commercial relations and gradually adopted and followed the Byzantine way of life. One such case is that of the "prince" of the Rynchionoi Perboundos, who dressed like the Byzantines, spoke Greek, associated with wealthy Thessalonians and, most importantly, preferred to live in the city on the Thermaic Gulf instead of with his subjects. In this way we can observe that with time, the superior Byzantine culture attracted the Slavs, who were finally christianized "having accepted baptism from God" and made a part of Byzantine society.[13]

The Avaro-Slavic raids and the successful defence put up by the Macedonian capital are certainly the most significant events in the history of the region during the 6th and 7th centuries. There is, however, something of equal importance that needs to be specially stressed. That is the fact that with the sparing of the city, a cultural tradition which spanned centuries and which would have been broken if the Slavs had taken the city of St Demetrios, was saved and maintained. It is of course natural that the city's continual struggles for survival did not offer the most suitable conditions for spiritual and cultural activities. However, the store of knowledge and culture which had been amassed over the centuries was sufficient to allow the city to radiate its light and play a leading role, especially during the 9th century, in the culturalizing and christianizing of the Slavs who settled beyond the boundaries of the empire. This subject, however, will be addressed later.

2. The "theme" system in the Balkans

In the 7th century it appears that the administrative map of the region changes once more. The Byzantine empire is divided into new military administrative units called "themes", as referred to in sources from the period. This new administrative system assigned to the same officer, the general, both the political and military administration of the "theme" and replaced the mercenary forces with native soldiers, who received in return for their services an allocation of land which they were able to cultivate. The plot of land allocated was subdivided and transferred to their male offspring together with the obligation to serve in the army.

The new institution of "themes" was also applied in the Balkans. Between 680 and 681, the theme of Thrace was established and at the end of the 8th century, that of Macedonia, with its capital in Adrianople, possibly in the years of the monocracy of Irene of Athens (792 – 802). At the start of the 9th century, the themes of Strymon and Thessaloniki were established. Thessaloniki, the former capital of Illyricum, becomes from this point on "*the capital of the western themes*"[14].

3. Establishment of the Bulgarian state. Byzantine-Bulgarian wars (680 – 820)

The reforms to the existing administrative system in Byzantine Macedonia appear to have dictated the conditions which prevailed after the arrival and settlement in north-eastern Thrace of a new people, the Bulgars, who proved to be the greatest enemy of the Byzantines. Around the middle of the 7th century, Bulgar tribes led by Asparuch settled in the northern part of the Danube delta and began to plague the neighbouring Byzantine provinces with their pillaging raids. Constantine IV (668 – 685) crossed the Danube

with a powerful military force in 680 in an attempt to engage the Bulgars. However, the marshy region hindered Byzantine efforts to deploy their forces and achieve a swift victory. The emperor fell ill and his withdrawal was followed by the disorderly retreat of his entire army. The Bulgars crossed the Danube in pursuit of them and, whereas the Byzantines fled in panic "without being pursued by anyone", they settled in the area of Varna, having subjugated the Slavic tribes who lived there. From their new base, the Bulgars began raiding towns and forts in the region. The emperor tried in vain to repel these new enemies and was finally compelled to buy the peace which he had been unable to enforce with the use of arms[15].

In 685, Justinian II (685 – 695), son of Constantine IV, ascended the Byzantine throne on the death of his father. Justinian, young, inexperienced and ambitious, was unable to tolerate having to pay an annual tribute to the Bulgars. Consequently, he marched against the Bulgars and Slavs in Thrace, north of Haimos, and defeated them before turning his attention northwestwards in the direction of Thessaloniki and subjugating all the Slavs who had revolted. However, when he began his return journey to the capital he was ambushed by the Bulgars, probably in the gorge of Philippopolis or Roupel and "with the slaughter of many of his soldiers in the gorge of Kleisoura and the injuring of many more, he was able to proceed with great difficulty". The next campaign undertaken against the Bulgars near Anchialos in 708 by Justinian , during his second reign (705 – 711), was equally unsuccessful[16].

Implacable enemies of the Byzantines, the Bulgars attempted in every possible way to undermine the empire. As a result, when in 719 and during the reign of Leo III (717-741) a movement headed by former emperor Artemius- Anastasius II, who had been exiled to Thessaloniki, was started, the Bulgars joined forces with the usurper. Of course their expectations to be able to precipitate a civil war among the Byzantines never materialized because Leo crushed the movement from the very start.

The Byzantine-Bulgarian conflict continued during the reign of Leo's successor, Constantine V (741-775). In 719 a terrible pestilence, originating in Sicily, broke out and quickly spread over the mainland of Greece, to the islands and finally reached Constantinople in 747. Areas in Thrace and the capital were badly affected by the pestilence and were deserted. That is why the emperor was forced some time later to re-populate them by bringing people from Syria, Armenia as well as "*from the islands and mainland Greece*", in anticipation of any moves that might result from the expansive intentions of the Bulgars. The Bulgars, however, reacted by invading Thrace and reaching the suburbs of Constantinople[17]. Before turning towards the Bulgars, the emperor conducted a campaign in the theme of Macedonia and subjugated all the rebellious sklaveniai in the region. In 759, after campaigns which wavered between victory and defeat, Constantine V managed to vanquish the Bulgars in a battle near the Marcellae fortress and force them to sue for peace, which, however, did not last long.

Three years later in 762, Telez, the new leader of the Bulgars, resumed the raids against the empire and Constantine V once more began a campaign against them. The two armies met near Anchialos in the summer of 763 and the Bulgars suffered a crushing defeat, an event which Constantine V celebrated with great triumph in the hippodrome of Constantinople. Despite the defeats which they had suffered, the Bulgars remained the most significant enemy of the empire in the Balkans and especially Macedonia, as we shall see later, since they continued to be a threat to the long-suffering northern Byzantine provinces until the 11th century [18].

The next round of the Byzantine-Bulgarian war begins in 809 in the region north of the Strymon River, when the Bulgars ambushed Byzantine forces during the time they were being paid and, having slain the officers and soldiers, escaped taking with

them the chest which contained 1,100 litres of gold. In the same year, the Bulgars led by Krum used cunning to take Sardica (Sofia), forcing emperor Nikephoros I (802-811) to turn his attention towards them as soon as conditions permitted. Indeed in the summer of 811, at the head of the military forces of the theme, the emperor crossed the Haimos and invaded Bulgaria. Despite their initial successes, the Byzantines were finally trapped by Krum and suffered a crushing defeat with a large number of casualties. Among the dead was emperor Nikephoros I himself. The war continued on the plains of eastern Thrace during the reigns of Nikephoros' successors with raids on and pillaging of towns in the theme of Macedonia until the autumn of 813, when Leo V (813-820) managed to surprise and destroy the Bulgar army near Mesembria. A few months later, the capable Bulgar leader Krum died and Byzantine was able to feel relief for a short time from its dangerous northern neighbours[19].

4. The towns of Macedonia (6th-9th century)

During the period from the 6th until the 9th century, the Macedonian countryside suffered in every possible way from the Avaro-Slavic and Bulgar raids and the oppressed populations sought refuge within the walls surrounding the towns in the vicinity. The Macedonian towns managed to survive and remain centers of commerce and culture. When in fact they were coastal towns which had ports, as in the case of Thessaloniki, their importance grew.

Thessaloniki was the worthy capital of Macedonia and the second largest city in terms of size and importance (*the first after the first*) after Constantinople. Built in an advantageous position, a military and commercial center, it played an important role during this time because it was before its land and sea walls that the attacks of the enemies of Macedonia broke out and eventually died down. In any case, their persistence in attempting to capture Thessaloniki confirms what is provided by the sources, which record that the city was the wealthiest and most important one in the region.

The information which we have on the other towns of Macedonia is scant and derives mainly from the registers of the bishoprics and the minutes of Councils. The most important are Stoboi, Kaisareia, (northwest of Kozani), Vargala, walled Veria, a center of important cultural tradition, Servia, also fortressed and next to the River Aliakmon, Edessa, Serres, which is referred to in the 9th century as the capital of the theme of Strymon and a bishopric seat, Christoupolis (Kavala), a powerful military base with the second largest harbour in Macedonia after Thessaloniki, Amphipolis and Philippi[20] .

5. Christianizing of the Slavs

Thessaloniki earned its fame as the foremost city of Macedonia not only because over the centuries in question it managed to remain an impregnable fortress and bulwark of Macedonia, but because in this way it saved the cultural heritage of centuries and was able in the 9th century, as mentioned, to radiate its light upon the Slavic world beyond the frontiers of the empire.

It was in Thessaloniki that the brothers Methodius and Constantine-Cyril, who preached Christianity in Moravia, translated liturgical tracts into the Slavic language and developed an alphabet capable of rendering the sounds found in the language, were born and first schooled. They were the sons of a *droungarios*, a low-ranking military officer, in the Theme of Thessaloniki. Methodius, who was born around 815, studied in Thessaloniki and was later appointed administrator of the sklaveniai of Strymon. The younger Constantine was born in either 825 or 827 and after his comprehensive studies

went in 843 to Constantinople, where he studied under the patriarch Photios, and Leo the Mathematician. His progress was rapid. He became secretary to Photios and teacher of rhetoric at the Magnaura school. In 863, when Prince Ratislav of Greater Moravia asked Michael III (842-867) to dispatch preachers to teach Christianity to his subjects, the patriarch Photios and Bardas, the regent of Michael III, assigned the brothers Methodius and Constantine to carry out the mission because they had diplomatic experience and knew the Slavic language as well. Their mission most certainly offered opportunities for furthering political interests because, apart from christianizing, they had the opportunity to establish Byzantine culture as well and extend the influence of the empire in central Europe. The brothers from Thessaloniki accomplished their mission with great success. They did not only provide the neophytes with the alphabet they had devised but also a translation of the Bible and other liturgical texts into old Slavonic, and, most important of all, they produced the first works of Slavic literature. Justifiably, therefore, Methodius and Constantine-Cyril are honoured as apostles of the Slavs, and Thessaloniki very rightly takes pride in the fact that the two Byzantine apostles of the Greek-Christian cultural heritage that was passed on to the Slavic world, were born and nurtured in its cultural milieu.[21]

As a result of the peace that reigned after the christianizing of the Slavs who lived within the bounds of the empire, Macedonia and especially Thessaloniki experienced remarkable economic growth. A cosmopolitan centre of international commerce, crossroads of the road network that connected Constantinople with Italy and the route which led to the shores of the Aegean and the regions of the Danube, Thessaloniki rapidly reached its enviable position.

John Kameniates, who was later to describe some of the most tragic hours of the bride of the Thermaic Gulf, speaks of the "*abundance of agriculture*" and the "*offerings of commerce*", about "*silk fabrics*" and "*treasures full of precious stones*" which the residents of the city possessed and flooded its market place with, a market place full of a "*mingling of local and foreign people who were to be found there*". However, these very riches and the city's fame appear to have been the reasons behind its unexpected misfortunes[22].

6. The siege and capture of Thessaloniki by Arab pirates in 904

We find ourselves at the beginning of the 10th century after Leo VI (886-912) had ascended the throne. The enemies who were threatening the empire during this period were the Arabs on the Asia Minor front and the Bulgars in the Balkans. However, apart from these, there existed for the coastal areas of the empire, a permanent threat from Saracens pirates, who with their base of operations in the ports of Crete and Syria plundered the islands of the Aegean. From 902-903, they plundered Attica and destroyed Dimitriada and Limnos where "*they took most of the people prisoner* ". Crete was captured in 824 by the Arabs and despite the attempts of the Byzantines, it remained in their hands at the time. The fleets from the Byzantine themes patrolled the Aegean, but the pirates struck with such speed and daring that the Byzantine ships arrived after the events and simply witnessed the extent of the destruction which had been wrought by the pirates[23].

This was the situation in the Aegean when, in the summer of 904, an enormous naval force of Saracen pirates, comprising 54 warships, "*on board which there was a desperate rabble of all sorts of people, a bloodthirsty rabble with the characteristics of animals*", set sail from the port of Tarsus. The renegade, Leo of Tripoli, known for his

naval accomplishments and his terrifying harshness, was its commander. What was to happen thereafter we learn from the work of John Kameniates, the cleric from Thessaloniki who, having lived through the siege and capture of Thessaloniki, was taken prisoner and later returned to his city when the pirates exchanged him for Arabs that had been captured by the Byzantine forces.

When news reached Costantinople that Leo of Tripoli's fleet had put to sea, Leo VI dispatched the imperial fleet to hunt down the pirates. However, the Byzantine force was not strong enough and the fleet returned to its base empty-handed. The pirates, having first sailed all the way to the Sea of Marmara in a show of strength, left the straits and headed towards the city of St. Demetrios. The Thessalonians were informed of the bad news and tried in every way possible to strengthen the city's defences. However, there was no time and, consequently, the only thing they managed to do was repair, in a makeshift way, the half-destroyed sections of the seawall and construct several wooden towers on top of it. They also closed the entrance to the big harbour built by Constantine the Great using an iron chain. It should be noted that Thessaloniki did not possess a remarkable garrison to defend it, and many of the residents did not have either weapons or experience of war. Furthermore, there was not even a small force of warships in port at that crucial hour for the city[24].

At dawn on 29th July 904, the Saracen fleet appeared at the entrance to the Thermaic Gulf and anchored before the seawall in the small harbour called Kellarion. There were 54 large vessels full of wild pirates, Arabs, Syrians, Egyptians, Ethiopians and others, who totaled 10,000. On the first day of the siege, the pirates searched for vulnerable points in the seawall and attempted to scale and breach them using wooden ladders which they carried there. However, the defenders fought with courage and were reinforced by Sklavenoi bowmen who had come to help their Thessalonian neighbours repulse the attackers.

The following day, the pirates turned their attention towards the southern section of the eastern land wall and set up their stone-throwing siege machines, under the cover of which they attempted to take the wall. However, once again, the Thessalonians repulsed them. Then, enraged by their failure, the pirates tried to enter the city by setting fire to the gates at Roma and Kassandreotiki, but failed yet again. Disappointed, Leo turned his attention once more to the seawall. Consequently, the following night, the Saracens used another ploy. They lashed their vessels together two at a time and fastened wooden towers, which were higher than the seawall, between their masts.

As soon as dawn broke on the third and fateful day, the 31st of July, the pairs of ships approached the seawall as far as the depth of the water would allow. Atop their wooden towers, the pirates howled like demons and threatened the defenders who, numbed into silence, gaped from the embrasures. At this juncture, a group of defenders lost their courage and slowly began to desert their positions and take refuge in the higher parts of the city. Soon after this, a pair of ships that had been lashed together approached the exact point in the seawall where this had happened. From the top of the wooden tower, the pirates fired a shower of arrows and stones at the few remaining defenders, who no sooner panicked and abandoned their positions.

They did not fire only arrows and stones. According to Kameniates, apart from the large stones which they hurled at the besieged defenders, the Saracens "*having propelled fire through tubes, and having hurled within the walls some other devices which were full of liquid fire, they brought so much confusion and panic to those who were guarding the ramparts that they deserted their positions fear-stricken and fled leaving the ramparts unguarded*". However, it would appear from the description in the quote that the defenders of the city were surprised by the fact that the pirates were using in-

cendiary weapons similar to their own "liquid fire" and lost heart when they saw the flames beginning to encircle them and completely consuming the wooden parts of the seawall, which they had constructed in haste. The combination of surprise and the fear of the fire brought panic with the result that they abandoned their positions on the ramparts[25].

"At this point it is already 9 o'clock in the morning," writes John Kameniates, "the Saracens, half-naked as they were, began to flow like an violent stream through the streets of the city with their spears in their hands in pursuit of their victims, who like frightened sheep do not know where to go. Men, women with babes in arms, parents, children, relatives, friends, fell into each others arms in a desperate attempt to protect themselves and be saved. Others, who appeared to have completely lost their senses, stood like lost souls and stared with the apathy of an onlooker at the horror which surrounded and threatened them. Many ran and hid in their houses, some sought refuge in churches, others made their way towards the gates. The upheaval and confusion was such," stresses Kameniates, "that words alone are unable to describe.Wherever they went, death followed them"[26].

The Saracens spread throughout the city and began a barbaric, ruthless and indiscriminate slaughter. There were many casualties, mainly at the western gates, because many gathered at these gates in an attempt to break out. Only a few managed to escape and then only by leaping from the western seawall. Thousands were taken prisoner, among them Kameniates and his family, who managed to save themselves by buying their lives with money and jewellery, as well as generals Niketas and Chatzilakios, who were conveyed in the worst possible way to the harbour together with the budding youth of Thessaloniki. They were loaded into the holds of the ships, literally piled like animals one on top of the other, where, apart from other things, they suffered the torment of hunger and thirst.

The Saracens remained in the city for ten days plundering and scouring it for hidden treasures. They were on the point of setting fire to the city but were made to change their minds by Symeon the imperial secretary, who prevented the burning of the city by paying them many *kentenarion* (a kentenarion=100 litrai, with 1 litra equivalent to approximately 320 grammes) of gold, which was originally destined for the Bulgars. However, another imperial envoy, Rhodophilis, who happened to be in Thessaloniki on his way west carrying a large amount of gold to pay the Byzantine troops who were fighting against the Arabs in Sicily, refused to surrender the gold to the Saracens and paid for his loyalty to the emperor with his life.

Before beginning his return journey, Leo of Tripoli sold many prisoners back to their relatives who had gathered outside the city, and returned to the imperial representative, the imperial secretary Symeon, two hundred prisoners after having first obtained a written guarantee that the Byzantines would release 200 Arab prisoners.

On the tenth day, the ships hoisted their sails and set off. In their holds the conditions the prisoners faced were abominable. Literally thrown on top of each other, they could not even breathe. Characteristically, Kameniates reports that there were 800 prisoners and 200 pirates on the ship which was carrying him. Furthermore, the voyage was endless with them calling in at Kassandra, Euboia, Andros and Naxos because fear of the Byzantine navy forced the pirates to wander and hide among the countless barren islands of the Aegean. Finally, after a voyage which lasted 16 days, they arrived in Crete on the 26th of August.

The tragic conditions during this voyage resulted in the deaths of many prisoners. Despite this, when they arrived in Crete, the number of prisoners, according to the information provided by Kameniates, totaled 22,000. A large number were sold in the

slave market in Crete, while the majority were transported to Leo's homeland, Tripoli in Syria, from which they were dispersed throughout the Muslim world. Only a small number of 1,200 Thessalonians, among whom was Kameniates, reached Tarsus in Cilicia, where they were exchanged for Saracen prisoners. The news of the capture of the "first after the first" city of the empire caused a tremendous reaction in the capital. The emperor himself wrote a piece on the capture of Thessaloniki, in which he accepted the responsibility apportioned to the central authority for all that had happened in the city[27].

The capture and looting of Thessaloniki also shocked the learned patriarch, Nicholas Mystikos, who in a sermon from the pulpit of the Church of St. Sophia, laments the tragedy which struck the city of St Demetrios and wonders, in rhetorically addressing the *mirovlitis* (the myrrh-exuding one*)*, "*What happened, Demetrios, martyr, to your unbeatable alliance with Thessaloniki ? How could you tolerate having to see your own city being occupied? How could you, the patron saint of the city, tolerate having to see Thessaloniki, which from the day the sun first laid eyes on it had remained impregnable, being taken by the enemy who scorned your sacred protection. How could you tolerate and endure all of this?*" He concludes with the only explanation that the mind and soul of the loyal Byzantine Christian could accept: "*for our sins*"[28].

The blow to Thessaloniki was terrible but not fatal. This is because despite the adverse repercussions which there were for a time on the economic life, it did not have serious effects on the future development of the city. Already from the 10th century, the bride of the Thermaic Gulf becomes "*the capital of the western themes*" and the seat of "*the sole commander of the west*". And this is so because, as H. Ahrweiler rightly observes, the destruction of Thessaloniki in 904 halted the growth of the city for a while but perhaps expedited a decision from Constantinople to establish a serious military and political centre in the area which had been captured by the Slavs, which the Bulgars had been in contention for, and which the Arab pirates included within the range of their activity[29].

7. Christianizing of the Bulgars

At this point we shall return again to the second half of the 9th century to follow what was happening in the Balkan region. The relationship between the christianized Moravia and the emperor, as the Byzantines had expected, had had political extensions. Just as the negotiations between the Franks and the Bulgars had forced Prince Ratislav of Greater Moravia to turn towards Byzantine, so had the Bulgar leader, Boris, felt threatened after the christianizing of Moravia. The insecurity that the Bulgars felt was exacerbated by the movements of Byzantine army, which marched towards the Bulgarian border, and those of the Byzantine fleet, which sailed along the Bulgarian coast and up the Danube. Not having any other recourse, Boris was forced by the Byzantines to accept his own conversion to Christianity along with his people. In 864, he was baptized and took the name of the Byzantine emperor, Michael, at the same time making peace with the Byzantines. Of course, the relationship of the neophyte Bulgars with Constantinople were not entirely harmonious and, between 866 and 867, Boris-Michael tried to involve the Franks in the hope of securing the independence of the Bulgarian church, which Constantinople was not willing to agree to. Concessions were made by both sides and, in this way, relations between the two nations were peaceful for the twenty years that followed[30].

8. New Byzantine-Bulgarian war in Macedonia. Tsar Symeon

Things changed when Boris-Michael abdicated in 889 and his son, Symeon, ascended the throne. Although he was educated in Constantinople, the new tsar did not have friendly feelings towards the Byzantines. On the contrary, having been acquainted at close quarters with the weaknesses of the Byzantine empire, he ceased to feel awe towards it and did everything possible over the course of his life to destroy it.

According to Byzantine sources of the time, from the moment he ascended the throne, Symeon sought a pretext to break the peace which had lasted since 864. This pretext was provided when the Customs station which levied duties on Bulgarian goods was relocated and moved in 894 from Constantinople to Thessaloniki and a higher tariff (kommerkion) was imposed on Bulgarian merchants. In the opinion of A. Christophilopoulou, the purpose behind the relocation of the Customs station was to monitor more closely the movement of personnel and goods from Bulgaria and to establish a permanent transit centre in Thessaloniki, with the ulterior motive of consolidating the role of Thessaloniki as the economic hub of the region. Symeon's protests brought no results and he declared war, which, in any case, is what he had been aiming at. In the clash which followed on Macedonian soil, the Byzantines were routed and Symeon took many prisoners, among whom were men of the imperial guard, whose noses he had cut off before sending them back to the capital "which was a disgrace for the Romans"[31].

Despite their defeat, the Byzantines could have deployed new troops from the populous themes of Asia Minor to meet the Bulgarian threat. However, once more the war against the Arabs did not permit the depletion of forces on the eastern front. The emperor therefore resorted to the usual alternative, a combination of arms and diplomacy. Using gifts and promises, Byzantine ambassadors persuaded the Hungarians to attack the Bulgarians from the north while the new commander-in-chief (domestikos) Nikephoros Phocas attacked from the south. The combined attack was a success, and Symeon was forced to sue for peace. Leo VI accepted his request; however, the Bulgarian leader used the truce as a time to reconstruct his army and search for allies, obviously applying all that he had been taught while at the Imperial court in Constantinople. With the Pechenegs as allies, he defeated the Hungarians and then turned his attention towards the Byzantines.

In order to confront him, the emperor mustered a large force by transferring Asiatic troops from the theme of Macedonia. It would appear that his subsequent choice of a new military commander, Leo Katakalon, who was assigned to lead the campaign, was a mistake. The confrontation took place at Bulgarophygon near Adrianople in 896, and resulted in a crushing defeat for the Byzantine army.

After his victory, Symeon turned his attention towards the region occupied by the themes of Thessaloniki and Dyrrachium and stormed many Byzantine forts. However, he left his own country in a vulnerable position and the Byzantines, in a diversionary move, invaded Bulgaria in 899-900 and forced him to accept peace. However once again, despite the treaty, the Bulgarian leader continued to conduct a military campaign against Macedonia and keep the Byzantine forces occupied, in this way preventing the emperor from dispatching reinforcements to Thessaloniki, which was coveted, besieged and finally captured by the Saracen pirates led by Leo of Tripoli. Finally, with the mediation of the experienced diplomat, Leo Choerosphactes, Symeon was forced to sign a treaty with the Byzantines, which appears to have brought a peace that lasted until the death of Leo VI in 912[32].

The new emperor, Alexander (912-913), did not posses the prudence of his predecessor and refused to pay the Bulgarians the annual tribute which had been agreed to under the treaty of 896. It was, in any case, burdensome and insulting for the Byzantines

to pay tax to the ‘barbarians” and was seen as a solution which had been reached as a last resort. That is why as soon as they considered they could impose their will with the might of weapons, they attempted to do so. Of course, the Bulgarians reacted and had begun to muster their forces when the sudden death of Alexander resulted in Symeon’s deferring the campaign while he awaited developments in Constantinople.

The developments were not positive for Byzantine. The internal conflicts, the intrigues and the upheaval which occurred in the interim before the faction which supported the eight-year-old Constantine VII and headed by the patriarch, Nicholas Mystikos prevailed, gave Symeon the chance he had been waiting for. He invaded Thrace once more and went this time as far as Constantinople, which he encircled closely with his army from Vlachernai to the Golden Gate, hoping he would capture the city easily. However, when he found himself before the impregnable fortification system of the walls of the capital, he changed his mind and sought negotiations, which the Byzantines happily agreed to. The negotiations ended in agreement and Symeon withdrew, taking valuable presents and spoils with him and after meeting outside the walls with the patriarch, Nicholas Mystikos, who in fact blessed him by placing his own vestment (epirrhiptarion) on Symeon’s head[33].

However, Symeon once again violated the agreements and taking advantage of the internal disagreements of the Byzantines in connection with the question of the tutelage of the minor, Constantine VII, he invaded Thrace in September 914 and treacherously took Adrianople. The Byzantines recaptured the town almost immediately and mustered a strong force, led by the military commander, Leo Phocas, to march against Symeon. A decisive battle took place in August of 917 with victory for the Bulgarians, who slaughtered the Byzantine troops and owed their success to the strategic abilities of Symeon.

Symeon was undoubtedly the protagonist of the events during this period and it would appear that he did not have only military abilities but also political ones. Of course his successes were not unconnected with everything that was happening in the capital. The political intrigues and conflicts, which appear to have been transferred to the battlefield, did not cease because the new and inexperienced Constantine VI could not control things and, consequently, Symeon met with a divided enemy which was without strong and determined leadership. The civil conflicts did not cease even when Romanos I Lekapenos (920-944) ascended the throne. Symeon continued his pillaging raids and in 924 arrived on the outskirts of Constantinople having looted and destroyed along the way. In the years that followed, he who had been the bad demon to the Byzantines continued to plague the Byzantine provinces in Thrace and Macedonia and only his death in 927 finally rid the empire of a capable and particularly dangerous enemy[34].

The death of Symeon and the dynastic disputes that ensued weakened the Bulgarians, who, having once more invaded Macedonia, rushed to negotiate with the Byzantines. Peace was finally sealed with the marriage of the son of Symeon’s successor, Peter, to the Byzantine princess Maria, niece of the emperor. In this way, the protracted Byzantine-Bulgarian war, which had brought so much suffering and destruction to the warring sides, came to an end for a time. Although the confrontations did not always take place in Macedonia, it was considered expedient to comment briefly on them, because they affected to a large extent the ability of the Byzantines to protect the wider region from enemies who coveted her, like, for example, Thessaloniki was in 904 by Leon of Tripoli, and also because they foreshadow what the Bulgarians were to do in Macedonia in the years to follow.

9. Byzantine-Bulgarian conflicts during the time of Nikephoros Phocas and Ioannis Tsimiski

The forty year period of peace between the Byzantines and Bulgarians which followed was interrupted in the winter of 966-67, when Bulgarian envoys arrived in Constantinople to collect the taxes which Byzantium had apparently been paying all those years. Emperor Nikephoros Phocas (963-969), the brilliant general who recaptured Crete from the Arabs and had succeeded Emperor Romanos II, was on the throne at the time. The emperor, who had achieved so many victories against the Arabs, unaware of the difficulties and complexities of a Byzantine-Bulgarian war, dismissed the envoys in the worst possible way saying to them that "I, the respected emperor of the Romans, will not forever pay tribute to a poverty-stricken and detestable nation." Following this, he marched against Bulgaria in 967, but, being the experienced general he was, did not penetrate deep into enemy territory because he obviously remembered the defeat suffered by Byzantine forces in 811. However, instead of becoming personally involved, he persuaded the Russ prince, Svjatoslav, to invade Bulgaria in 968 in return for fifteen *kentenaria* of gold. The Bulgarians were routed, large areas of the country were sacked and destroyed, and the Russ forces withdrew with rich spoils. The catastrophe was so great that Tsar Peter fell ill and died in 969. However, the danger posed by the Russ had not passed. Six months later, they invaded Bulgaria once again, destroyed whatever remained, took Tsar Boris, who had succeeded his father Peter, hostage and subjugated the country. It was clear that the problems which the Byzantines had unwittingly created for themselves would be solved only by resorting to arms.

Nikephoros Phocas, however, was not the one who would undertake the difficult task of expelling the Russ from Bulgaria but Ioannis Tzimisces, who succeeded him on the Byzantine throne in 969. The attempt of the new emperor to force the Russ to withdraw peacefully met with a brash refusal and threats from Svjatoslav to march against Constantinople. The Russ leader fulfilled his threats a few months later when he invaded the themes of Macedonia and Thrace at the head of a powerful force of Russ, Patzinaks, Hungarians and Bulgars, who had already joined forces with him. The Byzantines withdrew before the superior enemy forces and the army of Svjatoslav reached as far as Arcadiopolis, which was being defended by the experienced general Bardas Sclerus, pillaging and destroying on their way. Sclerus managed to draw the Russ into a war in which his military abilities overcame the superior numbers and resulted in the slaughter of the invaders, who were forced to withdraw from areas in the themes of Macedonia and Thrace[36]. The campaign which Tzimisces planned against the Russ and the Bulgarians temporarily delayed the insurgency headed by Bardas Phocas in Asia Minor, during which time the enemies plagued areas in the theme of Macedonia with pillaging raids. Finally, in the spring of 971, Tzimisces reached Adrianople with a large military force while Byzantine naval forces patrolled the estuary of the Danube in order to surround the Russ forces. At the head of an elite military force, the emperor unexpectedly passed through the unguarded passes of the Haimos and appeared at Greater Preslav. The surprise attack was successful and after a brief but intense battle, Tzimisces captured the town and took the Bulgarian king, Boris, and his family prisoner. This success turned the Bulgarians against the Russ, and Svjatoslav, who had taken refuge in Dorostalon after fighting desperately, was forced to sign a peace treaty and withdraw from Bulgarian soil.

The Byzantine victory resulted in many difficulties for the Bulgars. Tzimisces forced Boris to give up his throne and designated him *Magistros*, a high-ranking position. Bulgaria was absorbed into the empire and ceased to be an independent state, which took the Byzantine frontier as far as the Danube. Finally, the Bulgarian patriarchate ceased to exist or be recognized. In this way, Tzimisces felt that he had solved the

Bulgar problem and secured peace in the Balkan region. However, as I. Karagiannopoulos has already observed, "*weapons do not constitute permanent foundations and healthy solutions*" and that in the subjugating and breaking up of the Bulgarian state by Tzimisces are to be found the reasons behind all that was to transpire in the Balkans during the reign of Basil II[37].

10. First phase of the new Byzantine-Bulgarian war Basil II - Samuel

The death of Ioannis Tzimisces in 976 marked the beginning of important developments which were destined to plague Macedonia for the next forty years. As already referred to, the invasion of Bulgaria by Tzimisces was directed mainly at the Russ invaders, whom he managed to expel from the country. The Bulgar people, although they had been dealt a powerful blow, did not bend but sought a new person to replace the leader they had been deprived of by Tzimisces when he took Boris prisoner and ousted him from power. The found the leader they were seeking in the person of the young and active Samuel, the son of count Nicholas, who, immediately after the death of Tzimisces, revolted after having been appointed head of western Bulgaria. The Byzantines tried to control the situation which had been created by sending Boris back to Bulgaria. However, Boris was killed and the leadership of the rebels remained in the hands of Samuel, who appears to have been planning the re-establishment of the Bulgarian state. His ambitions plans included the expansion of his state in the direction of Thessaloniki, and both central and southern Greece. Therefore, taking advantage of the problems that the new emperor Basil II (976-1025) was facing in Asia Minor, especially with the insurrection by Bardas Sclerus, during the first years of his reign, he began raids not only against the themes of Thrace, Macedonia and Thessaloniki, but also against those of Greece and the Peloponnese.

The consequences of the expansive policies of Samuel were felt by the garrisons of Thessaly and finally Larisa, whose residents were relocated and resettled, after its capture, in the Bulgarian hinterland, while those who were in fighting condition were obliged to serve in his army. Finally, he transferred the remains of the patron saint of Larisa, St Achilleos, to Prespa where he had established his palace. Thereafter, he proceeded in the direction of south Greece pillaging and destroying everything in his path, while the generals of the themes of Thessaloniki and Greece struggled in desperation to save the large urban centers. However, when everything appeared to indicate that the Bulgars were preparing to invade the Peloponnese, they suddenly turned north and withdrew for fear of a possible Byzantine counterattack[38].

The first moves of the Bulgar leader revealed that unlike Symeon, who dreamed of seizing the Byzantine imperial crown, Samuel aspired to reconstructing the Bulgar state and incorporating within it all lands belonging to Greece.

Meanwhile, the young Basil II continued his struggle to remain on the throne facing opposition from within the palace. After he had managed to crush the insurrection of Bardas Sclerus and exile his intimate, Basil, (985), he turned his attention to the Bulgarian problem and began preparations for a campaign against the dangerous enemy. In the summer of 986, he crossed into Bulgaria with a powerful force intending to capture Sardica (Sofia). The siege of Sardica did not bring the desired result because the defenders resisted strongly and the Byzantine generals of Basil's army proved incapable. Under these conditions, the emperor ordered a withdrawal. However, Samuel was biding time and when the Byzantines attempted to pass through the Pillars of Trajan, he

attacked and managed to force them into a disorderly retreat with heavy losses in both men and armaments[39].

This new success of Samuel severely damaged the integrity of the emperor and ignited a new cycle of opposition against him. In August 987, the military forces of Anatolia proclaimed Bardas Phocas emperor, while at the same time the rebellious general Bardas Sclerus, who had been exiled, escaped and was also proclaimed emperor. Bardas Phocas, who proved to be the more capable of the two pretenders to the throne, captured Sclerus before turning his attention towards Constantinople.

11. Christianizing of the Russ

In the battles which followed, Basil II managed with the assistance of Russ warriors to defeat Phocas, who was killed in battle. A decisive role was played in Basil's struggle against Phocas by the assistance he received from the Russ, which he secured in exchange for marriage of the emperor's sister, Anna, to Vladimir, the leader of the Russ. The marriage took place on condition that Vladimir himself and his people would be converted to Christianity. Vladimir, bedazzled by the Byzantine princess and the prospect of becoming related to the Byzantine emperor kept his promise. Ann with a large retinue of metropolitans, bishops and monks set out in October 989 for her new homeland. The christianizing of the Russ not only placed them under the spiritual guardianship of the patriarchate of Constantinople but also within the sphere of Byzantine political and cultural influence. For those reasons, the christianizing of the Russ was truly an historic event[40].

12. Second phase of the war. Defeat of the Bulgars and break up of the Bulgar state

Samuel and his army continued to bide time and Basil began a new campaign against them in the summer of 990. He traversed Thrace and Macedonia with his army and reached Thessaloniki, whose defence system he strengthened. The emperor remained in the area for a long period of time taking care of the areas that were threatened by the expansive policy of Samuel and campaigning against the enemy. However, once again, urgent problems on the front in Anatolia forced the emperor to leave hurriedly for Syria in 994. He left the magister of the theme of Macedonia, Gregory Taronites, in charge of the armed forces in Macedonia and responsible for the safety and protection of the region.

The departure of the emperor and his protracted absence from Macedonia provided Samuel with an opportunity to invade Byzantine soil and move against Thessaloniki. In the battle which followed, Gregory Taronites was killed and his son, Asotios was taken prisoner. Despite his victory, Samuel did not dare to lay siege to Thessaloniki because its strong walls discouraged such an undertaking and so, passing through the Vale of Tempe, he invaded Thessaly, Boiotia and Attica, which he savagely looted. Next, encouraged by the absence of the Byzantine army, he entered the Peloponnese, where he continued the looting and destruction[41].

The emperor sent Nicephorus Uranus to fight against Samuel. Ouranos passed through Thessaloniki, which had become in those years the staff defence centre for the region, reached the long-suffering Larisa, crossed the plain of Pharsalos and camped on the banks of the Spercheios, which had been flooded after the rains. Camped on the opposite bank was the Bulgar army, which was returning to Bulgaria loaded with loot and prisoners that they had gathered by pillaging the Byzantine countryside. The great vol-

ume of water that had been brought down by the Spercheios convinced Samuel that the Byzantines would not be able to cross and he eased the guarding of his camp. However, on this occasion, the outcome of things was the result of the perseverance and daring of general Nicephorus Uranus. Shown the way by locals, he managed to cross the river with his army during the night and attacked the Bulgars who were sleeping and therefore caught unawares. The surprise attack was a complete success and Samuel's troops were slaughtered. The Bulgar leader himself just managed to escape wounded with his son, Romanos, and travellling by night, managed to flee by way of the Pindos mountains and reach Bulgaria. After his brilliant victory and having freed all the prisoners, Nicephorus Uranus returned in 997 to Thessaloniki[42].

The defeat at the River Spercheios was shocking and foiled Samuel's plans for the conquest and annexation of Greek lands to the Bulgar state. Not having sufficient military forces to continue his aggressive policy against Byzntine, Samuel resorted to political evasions and turned his attention and energies towards the northwest. In his attempt to retain control of the area of Dyrrachium, he married the captive Byzantine, Asotios Taronites, who he had taken prisoner in the battle for Thessaloniki, to his daughter, and, believing he had ensured his devotion, appointed him head of the garrison at Dyrrachium. However, Asotios, who remained loyal to the emperor, defected with his wife and persuaded the residents to surrender the town to the Byzantines.

Knowing that Samuel no longer had forces to threaten the Byzantine provinces, Basil II began the gradual reoccupation of the forts in Macedonia which remained in the possession of the Bulgars. The fort at Verroia was surrendered to the Byzantines by the Bulgar commander and this was followed by the forts in Servia and Vodena (Edessa). From Servia, the emperor went south to Thessaly, captured all the forts which still remained in Bulgar hands and re-located their garrisons in Voleron, near the estuary of the River Nestos. At the end of the campaign, Basil II returned to Thessaloniki in 1003 to spend the winter[43].

The following year, the emperor headed towards the north Balkan area and laid siege to a town by the shores of the Danube called Vidin, which he captured after a period of many months despite the diversionary attempt which Samuel carried out against Adrianople on the 15th of August, 1004. On his return, Basil reached the River Axios near Skopje, where he found Samuel and his army "camped nonchalantly". The Axios was flooded and Samuel once again made the fatal mistake of believing that the river would safeguard his position. However, once more the Byzantines crossed the flooded river and surprised the Bulgars. A massacre ensued and Samuel had a narrow escape. Skopje was delivered to Basil by its commander, Romanos, and in 1005 the emperor returned in triumph to the capital[44].

Sources from the period make little reference to what happened on the Balkan front over the next decade. From the brief reference in the chronicles of Ioannis Skylitzis it would appear that the Byzantines continued the war of attrition against the Bulgars and that Basil "did not allow a year to pass without invading and pillaging Bulgaria destroying everything in his path"[45].

This tactics of the Byzantines must have been effective because they drove Samuel to consider that there was a need to fortify the passes that led into Bulgaria with walls in order to stop the annual incursions into his country. The most important of these passes led through the valley of the Strymon river as far as its confluence with the river Stroumitsa and across its valley in the heart of Samuel's Bulgaria between Skopje and Ochrid. At the narrowest point of the Stroumitsa valley, the Bulgarians fortified the Kleidion pass with dams and moats waiting for the Byzantines to attempt a crossing. In fact in the summer of 1014, Basil II arrived at the pass and attempted to break through

the resistance posed by the Bulgarians. His efforts were futile, however, as the Bulgarians fought with determination and, safe as they were within the forts, placed the Byzantines in a difficult position. The daring maneuvers of the Byzantine general, Nicephorus Xiphias of Philippopolis, who, by leading his men along difficult paths, was able to encircle the enemy and "suddenly attacked the Bulgars from the rear, yelling and making a frightening noise", in this way, saving the Byzantine army from the defeat which they appeared to be on the point of suffering. Taken by surprise, the Bulgarians panicked and attempted to escape. A violent battle ensued which ended in the slaughter of a large number of Bulgarians and the capture of many more. Samuel just managed to flee and reach Prilep. After negotiations, the impregnable fortress of Melenikon was also handed over to Basil[46].

The brilliant victory of the Byzantines was, however, marred by an act of unprecedented savagery, a single act which comes in blatant contrast with what all we know about the general behaviour of the Byzantines, and that of Basil in particular, towards enemies they had vanquished. It was an act which, according to what I. Karagiannopoulos has already observed, did not express anything more "than the degree of savagery which had been reached as a result of the protracted and ruthless war". On the orders of the emperor, the Byzantines blinded a large number of Bulgarian prisoners leaving them with one single eyed man for every hundred blinded prisoners to lead them back to Bulgaria. Aik. Christophilopoulou observes that on this occasion, the Bulgarians were treated as insurrectionists and not foreign prisoners, and as such punished according to what was dictated by Byzantine law[47]. When this pitiful phalanx of blind soldiers reached Bulgaria, the grief it aroused was so great that Samuel, the steeled Bulgarian leader, suffered a heart attack and died two days later on the 6th of October, 1014. He was succeeded by his son, Gabriel who "surpassed his father in bodily strength but lacked his wisdom and shrewdness", as is characteristically referred to in Byzantine sources.

After the death of Samuel, the Bulgarians continued to do battle, but the character of their military campaigns changed. Large battles no longer take place, but the Byzantines attempt to capture the forts occupied by the Bulgarians, while the Bulgarians defend themselves desperately. It is by now clear that the war is nearing an end, but the end was not going to come as quickly as the Byzantines would have wished.

In the spring of 1015, Vodena (Edessa) revolted and, setting out from Thessaloniki, the emperor captured the town, which capitulated as soon as the Byzantine forces encircled it. The people of the town were resettled in Voleron. The next objective of Basil was the fort of Moglena Almopia, which was captured and destroyed by the Byzantines after a hard battle.

These victories of Basil's generated confusion among the Bulgarians and rekindled dynastic differences which culminated in the murder of Gabriel by Samuel's nephew, John Vladislav, who on assuming power vowed to show "*the due servitude and respect towards the emperor*". Despite the promises and dynastic disputes, the war continued and Basil was forced to resume campaigning, later capturing Ochrid[48].

The campaigns continued in the following years (1016-1018) with incursions by the Byzantines, some of which successful and others not, aimed at capturing fortified towns and forts. In the spring of 1018, the death of John Vladislav in a battle before Dyrrachium meant an end to this terrible Byzantine-Bulgarian war, which had lasted about forty years. This is because on hearing of his death, the Bulgarians realized they had not only lost their leader but also every hope and desire to continue their struggle against the empire. In this way, almost all at the same time, the Bulgarian nobles began to declare obedience to the emperor, who had already reached Serres. The Bulgarian

commanders of the more important forts which had surrendered, including Krakras, the brave defender of the fortress of Pernik, had also reached the town. Basil proceeded as far as Stromnitsa, where he met with David, the archbishop of Bulgaria, who had had brought letters from Tsarina Maria in connection with the proposition and terms of her submission. In continuation, he reached Ochrid, where he accepted the surrender of the royal family and other Bulgarian nobles and distributed among his soldiers the treasure he had found in the royal palace.

The war which had so tormented the two rival sides had ended and Basil, having toured the battlegrounds of Macedonia and Sterea (central Greece), reached Athens, where he conducted magnificent celebrations and doxologies in the Church of the Virgin Mary, which was built on the Acropolis, expressing in this way his gratitude to the Ypermacho Stratigo (name meaning “advocate general” used to refer to the Virgin Mary). Following this, he returned to Constantinople, where he celebrated his rightfully won and glorious triumph.

The effect of Bulgarian allegiance to Constantinople was catalytic. The enemies of the empire in the region, including Croats, Bosnians and Serbs, began one after the other to recognize Byzantine suzerainty. Only the commander of Sirmium tried to react, but was beaten and killed by the Byzantine general of the region[49].

13. Administrative organization of occupied Bulgaria

Basil proved to be equally capable in the stabilization and preservation of peace. With political insight, he distributed political office to Bulgarian nobles and, in this way, secured their tolerance of the administrative changes he was preparing to effect. The occupied areas of Bulgaria were divided into two large administrative districts or themes: the theme of Bulgaria and that of Paradounavio or Paristrio. The theme of Bulgaria comprised the western areas of the former Bulgar state (Sardica, Naissus, Eutzapolis) and had Skopje as its administrative seat. The theme of Paradounavio comprised the northeastern areas and had its administrative seat in Silistria (Dorostalon) The Bulgarian areas which were to be found between Mt Haimos and Rhodope were divided into the themes of Thrace, Macedonia, Strymon and Bulgaria[50].

The emperor did not bring any changes to the internal administration of the subjugated Bulgarian people, and, especially, did not change the existing tax system which allowed taxes to be paid in kind. In this way he succeeded in reducing the possibility of meeting with dissatisfaction from the conquered Bulgarians.

The measures which Basil took to organize the Bulgarian Church on new lines were equally successful. He limited its power and authority without, however, affecting its independence in connection with the Patriarchate of Constantinople. Although we do not know exact details of the relevant sigillion (an official document confirmed by a seal), it would appear that the Bulgarian Patriarchate was abolished and replaced by an independent Bulgarian archdiocese with its seat in Ochrid. The monk, John, was appointed the new Archbishop of Bulgaria. With a series of sigillions, Basil determined the number of clerics in each bishopric of the new Bulgarian church and placed the bishoprics which belonged to the old Bulgar state of Peter and Samuel together with those of Servia, Verroia and Stagoi under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Ochrid. It is worth mentioning that the archdiocese of Bulgaria was brightened by the presence of eminent scholars such as Theophylact, Demetrios, Chomatinos and John Kamateris, who formed a nucleus of Greek cultural brilliance in Ochrid[51].

In December of 1025, Basil II, one of the ablest emperors of the period between 565 and 1025, died and with his death, as I. Karagiannopoulos rightly observed, “there

ended one of the most glorious reigns in Byzantium. His reign was indeed the peak, both external and internal, which characterizes the years of the Macedonia dynasty. However, the seeds of decline had already made their appearance and would show themselves clearly and dangerously during the reigns of his successors."[52].

Notes

1. A.E. Bakalopoulos, *History of Thessaloniki*, p. 59 ff.
2. G. Theocharidis, *History of Macedonia*, p. 45 ff. – Aik. Christophilopoulou, *Byzantine Macedonia*, pp. 224-225.
3. Zosimos II.22 (p. 78.17 ff.). – Ch. Mparkirtzis, «Fortification of Thessaloniki», p. 289 ff.
4. Bakalopoulos, *History*, p. 75 ff.
5. I. Karagiannopoulos, *History*, vol. I., p. 184 ff. – E. Chrysos, «Slaughter of Thessalonians», pp. 93-105.
6. Theophylaktos Simokatis 220.18 ff. - I. Karagiannopoulos, *History*, vol. II, p. 47 ff.
7. P. Lemerle, *Miracles*, vol. I, p.133 ff.
8. Lemerle, *Miracles*, vol. I, p.177 ff. - Th. Korres, «Some remarks on the First Two Major Attempts of the Avaroslavs to Capture Thessaloniki (597-614)», *Vizantina*, 19 (1998), p. 171 ff.
9. Lemerle, *Miracles*, vol. I., p. 211 ff. - Korres, «The Fifth Siege», p. 153 ff. – Theocharidis, *History of Macedonia*, p. 161 ff.
10. Aik. Christophilopoulou, «Byzantine Macedonia», p. 144 ff.
11. M. Grigoriou-Ioannidou, «The Campaign of Justinian», II p. 111 ff.
12. A. Stavridou-Zafraka, «Slav Invasions», p. 168 ff.
13. B. Papoulia, «Infiltration», p. 255 ff. – M. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, «Slavic Campaigns», p. 28 ff. – Korres, «The Fifth Siege», p. 140 ff.
14. Christophilopoulou, «Byzantine Macedonia», p. 150 ff.. – Stavridou-Zaphraka, «First City of Thessaly», p. 65 ff. – By the same author, «The Theme of Strymon», p. 307 ff.
15. Theophanis 357.27 ff.
16. Theophanis 364.15-18. – Karagiannopoulos, *History*, vol. II., pp. 97-98 and 108. - Grigoriou-Ioannidou, «The Campaign of Justinian», II, p. 111 ff.
17. Theophanis 429.23-24.
18. Karagiannopoulos, *History*, II., p. 142 ff.
19. Th. Korres, «The Slaughter of Nikephoros», I, p. 167 ff. – By the same author, «Leo V», p. 87 ff.
20. Christophilopoulou, «Byzantine Macedonia», p. 261.
21. Karagiannopoulos, *Apostles of the Slavs*, p. 141 ff.
22. I. Kameniates 10.9 ff.
23. Karagiannopoulos, *History*, II, p. 326 ff.
24. For the events of the siege see I. Kameniates 16.35 ff. – G. Tsaras, The Capture of Thessaloniki, p. 53 ff.
25. I. Kameniates 32.43 ff. – see Th. Korres, «Liquid Fire», p. 100 ff.
26. I. Kameniates 33.68 ff.
27. I. Kameniates 56.47 ff. – G. Tsaras, The Capture of Thessaloniki, p. 113 ff.
28. Nikolaos Mystikos 10 ff.
29. H. Ahrweiler, Byzantine Macedonia, p. 278.
30. Karagiannopoulos, *History*, II., p. 279 ff.
31. Io. Skylitzis 176.83. – Aik. Christophilopoulou, *History*, B_2, p. 60.
32. Karagiannopoulos, *History*, II, p.317 ff.
33. A. Stavridou-Zaphraka, *The Meeting between Symeon and Nikolaos Mystikos*, p. 143 ff.
34. Karagiannopoulos, *History*, II, p.348 ff.
35. Leo Diakonos 61.23 ff.
36. Karagiannopoulos, *History*, II, p. 417 ff.
37. Karagiannopoulos, *History*, II, pp. 423-425.
38. Christophilopoulou, *History*, B_2, p. 160 ff.
39. Christophilopoulou, *History*, B_2, pp. 162-163.
40. Karagiannopoulos, *History*, II, pp. 440-443.
41. Christophilopoulou, *History*, B_2, pp. 163-164.
42. Christophilopoulou, *History*, B_2, pp. 165.
43. Karagiannopoulos, History, II, p. 452 ff.
44. Christophilopoulou, *History*, B_2, p. 167.

45 . o. Skylitzis 348.9 ff.
46. Karagiannopoulos, *History*, II, pp. 459-460.
47. Karagiannopoulos, *History*, II, p. 460. – see Christophilopoulou, *History*, B_2, p. 162.
48. Theocharides, *History of Macedonia*, pp. 268-269.
49. Christophilopoulou, *History*, B_2, pp. 171-172.
50. Karagiannopoulos, *History*, II, p. 469 ff.
51. Theocharides, *History of Macedonia*, pp. 275-276.
52. Karagiannopoulos, *History*, II, pp. 460-463.

V. Macedonia from 1025 to 1430

by Alkmini Stavridou-Zafraka

1. Macedonia from 1025 to 1204

1.1. The 11th-century crisis

The death in December 1025 of Basil II, the emperor who had spent AHforty-two of the fifty years of his reign waging wars against Samuel's Bulgarians – hence his epithet *Bulgarslayer* – was a turning point in the history of Byzantium. The Empire had reached its greatest expanse and prosperity, holding sway over the Balkans from the Adriatic to the Danube.

Basil's firm leadership was followed, however, by a series of inept Emperors who, closed up within the walls of Constantinople, the Queen of Cities, were unable to confront external enemies successfully. They instead willingly blinded themselves to reality and indulged in the pursuit of pleasure and the satisfaction of their own personal ambitions, in purposeless building projects and in the unrelenting taxation of rural populations already worn out by the constant wars. Basil II's policy against the great landowners was overturned, thus destroying the smallholders, whilst the soldiers of the *themata* were replaced by foreign mercenary armies, thanks to the new war tactics. The moral crisis of the cultural world was palpable.

Internal and external factors led the Empire to a crisis in the 11th century, and the changes in social and military organisation were a forewarning of the decline that Byzantium was to experience in the following centuries.

It did not take long for the results of the policies of the government and of bureaucratic circles in the capital to surface either in the form of rebel movements led by ambitious and outraged military officers, or as revolutions on the part of rural populations, Greek and foreign, against the state's economic policy, with negative consequences in Macedonia as well.

One of the most dangerous was the Bulgarian revolution of 1040. Basil II had here implemented a far-sighted policy, preserving the system practiced under Samuel whereby the rural population paid their taxes in kind. By contrast, John the Orphanotrophus, the brother of Emperor Michael IV (1034-1041) and a selfish and greedy man who was always thinking up new taxes, demanded that the peasants pay their taxes in cash. Moreover, after the death of the ethnic Bulgarian Archbishop of Bulgaria (Ochrid), Orphanotrophus appointed Leo, the Greek *chartophylax* of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, to succeed him.[1] In 1040, Peter Deljan, who appeared on the scene as the grandson of Samuel, proclaimed a revolution against Byzantium in Belgrade and descended towards the south, to Naissus and Skopje, spreading death and desertion in his wake. Michael IV, who suffered from epilepsy and so had gone to Thessaloniki to pray at the tomb of Saint Demetrius, rushed back to Constantinople. Deljan did not move against Thessaloniki, most probably because it was well fortified. A general of his did however take Dyrrachium, whilst another section of his army descended further south, temporarily taking Demetrias, and being met by the fervent resistance of the Thebans. Totally by surprise, however, the inhabitants of the *thema* of Nikopolis in Epirus (except for Naupaktos) joined Deljan's movement, not so much out of sympathy

with the Bulgarian rebel, but because they were angered by the heavy taxes and the oppressive behaviour of the tax collector who had been sent over from Constantinople.[2]

Deljan's rebellion took another turn when Alusjan, a nephew of Samuel's who had been a *patrikios* and general of Theodosioupolis in Asia Minor, turned up on the scene. Alusjan had been unjustly accused of treason and was imprisoned, whilst Orphanotrophus requested an extortionate sum to free him. Alusjan managed to escape from Constantinople and reach Macedonia. He met with Deljan at Ostrovos in West Macedonia, who, worried that the Bulgarians might accede to Alusjan, named him co-regent and even assigned him to conquer Thessaloniki. Alusjan, with 40,000 troops, besieged the city, which put up a strong resistance. After six days of siege and an all-night vigil in the church of the Saint Demetrius, the city's patron saint, the Thessalonians attempted an exodus, "*with the martyr leading the way*,"[3] and crushed the enemies. Many of the Bulgarian prisoners even said that they had seen "*a young horse rider… leading the Roman [Greek] phalanx*."[4] After this defeat, Alusjan, frightened that Deljan might accuse him of treason, trapped Deljan, blinded him and fled to the Emperor at Mosynopolis in Thrace. In exchange, he was given the honorary title of *magistros*. Michael reached Thessaloniki and campaigned from here against the Bulgarians as far as Prilep. He arrested their general Ivatzis and, having restored order in Macedonia, returned with Deljan and Ivatzis to the Queen City of Constantinople, where he led a Triumph at the Hippodrome.

Things, however, became worse for Byzantium when Constantine IX Monomachos (1042-1055) ascended to the throne. As the historian John Skylitzes wrote '*from the reign of that Emperor and his extravagances, the affairs of the Romans started to worsen*.'[5] In October 1042 George Maniakes, a most able general who had scored brilliant victories against the Arabs in Asia Minor and against the Franks in Italy and Sicily, was recalled by the Emperor. Fearing for his life, he proclaimed himself Emperor and crossed over with his army to Dyrrachium. On his way to Constantinople, at a battle that took place near Amphipolis against the imperial troops, he was fatally wounded and his army collapsed.

With George Maniakes's rebellion and his departure from Italy, the Normans found the perfect opportunity to attempt raids on Southern Italy and thus to establish themselves there. Joint action between Byzantium and the Pope against this common enemy of theirs in Italy was not possible due to the schism of 1054 between the Church of Constantinople and the Pope.

Yet whilst the threats from external enemies were increasing, with the Hungarians and Pechenegs in the North, the Seljuk Turks in the East, and the Normans in the West, the Emperors were unable to comprehend the seriousness of the dangers and take the right measures. They attempted to distance the danger by bribing the barbarian leaders and ignoring their armies, something that only increased the enemies' power and intensified the lack of protection of the provincial populations and their alienation from the capital.

In 1064 the Hungarians took Belgrade, whilst the Pechenegs and the Ouzes crossed the Danube. The Ouzes raiders, around 600,000 of them (a surely exaggerated figure) defeated the Bulgarians and Byzantines in North Thrace and reached as far as Thessaloniki and Central Greece. They were however forced to withdraw to their bases due to the oncoming winter, whilst an epidemic that had broken out decimated them. Those who survived went over to the Byzantines and were given land to cultivate in North Thrace.[6]

A few years later, in 1071, Emperor Romanos IV Diogenes's tragic defeat at Mantzikert by Alp Arslan's Seljuks left the field open for the spread of the Seljuks throughout Asia Minor. In the West, the Normans, led by Robert Guiscard had taken Bari, the last Byzantine city in Southern Italy. In the Balkans, the revolutions of the Croats, Serbs and Bulgarians were put down violently, whilst the Pechenegs and Hungarians continued their destructive raids. The economic crisis during the reign of Michael VII Doukas, as a result of the economic measures of the eunuch Nikephoritzes and the introduction of the state wheat monopoly, led local populations to despair because of the high price. Rebel movements arose, such as that of the general of Dyrrachium Nikephoros Bryennios who, via the Egnatia Way, reached his hometown of Adrianople and pronounced himself Emperor in November 1077. Another rebellion was that of the general Nikephoros Botaneiatis in the East; with supporters also inside Constantinople, he was able to take the throne.

At Dyrrachium, however, Nikephoros Basilakios, the *doux* of Dyrrachium who succeeded Nikephoros Bryennios, also rebelled. He gathered an army of Greeks, Franks, Varangians, Bulgarians and Albanians, and reached as far as Ochrid. Here, he wanted to be pronounced Emperor, but was prevented from doing so by the Archbishop of Ochrid. When he reached Thessaloniki and was informed that Nikephoros III Botaneiatis (1078-1081) had ascended to the throne, he sent a letter to Nikephoros declaring his allegiance to the new Emperor; at the same time, however, he came to an understanding with the Pechenegs.[7] The Emperor, although he was aware of Basilakios's movements, sent him a chrysobull and awarded him the title of novelissimos in order to appease him. Basilakios did not change his plans, however, and general Alexios Komnenos was sent against him. Alexios took Basilakios's fortress at Peritheorion (today's Porto Lagos) and set up a military camp outside of Thessaloniki, near the Axios river. Basilakios attacked at night, but his plan had been betrayed and he was thus forced to flee to the acropolis of Thessaloniki. Alexios, with the support of the Thessalonians, arrested him and sent him bound to Constantinople.[8]

The situation inside the Empire, however, was becoming worse and worse. The loss of the largest part of Asia Minor deprived the Empire of taxes, and things had become tight in the western provinces, resulting in a large drop in funds in the public purse. It was then that the Emperor began to counterfeit the currency: '*since the money was scarce, the gold coins were counterfeited,*' wrote a Byzantine historian.[9] Thus, the *solidus*, the gold coin that had been introduced by Constantine the Great and which had maintained its value for so many centuries, was adulterated in the years of Nikephoros III Botaneiatis, a symptom of the state's declining economy.

In April 1081 Nikephoros III Botaneiatis was overthrown by Alexios Komnenos, scion of a military family who had made his mark in the quelling of the rebellions of Nikephoros Bryennios and Nikephoros Basilakios, ushering in a new era in the history of Byzantium.

1.2. The era of the Komnenoi and the Angeloi, 1081-1204

Alexios I (1081-1118), a brave general with diplomatic skills, able to set major goals and perform great works (*ambitious and magnificent*),[10] had to confront the threat of the Normans in Italy immediately on ascending to the throne. He straightaway set to reorganising the army and strengthening the cities and fortresses of the western provinces. He signed a peace treaty with the Seljuks and, in June 1081, a treaty with the Venetians, whose interests were also at stake with the Norman presence in Southern Italy and for whom freedom of shipping through the straits of Otranto was of vital importance.

In the following years, both Macedonia and Epirus became the theatre for military conflicts between the Normans and the Byzantines. The aim of the Normans was not simply to pillage and take the coastal areas of the Ionian islands, but to destroy the Byzantine state. '*He longed for the imperial authority of the Romans*,' says Anna Komnene of Robert Guiscard, King of the Normans.[11] His aim was to occupy Illyria and Macedonia and to proceed through the Byzantine realm to Constantinople.

The advance party was led by Robert's eldest son, Bohemund, who took Canina and Aulona, whilst Robert himself sailed from Brindisi to Dyrrachium and took Corfu. On 17 June 1081 he reached Dyrrachium with a fleet and an army and besieged the city. The Emperor was thus forced in December 1081 to campaign against the Normans, going first to Thessaloniki and from there proceeding to Dyrrachium. His army, however, was crushed and Alexios fled to Ochrid and then to Thessaloniki. In February 1082 the inhabitants of Dyrrachium gave up their city. Alexios was forced even to sell the holy vessels of the Church to raise money.[12] He conscripted new soldiers, who were trained in the vicinity of Thessaloniki, and also issued a bull granting trade privileges to Venice for its help against the Normans. These privileges marked the beginning of Venice's rise as a great trading power, and also contributed to the commercial and economic decline of the Byzantine Empire.

Seeking to create a diversion, Alexios came to an agreement with Henry of Germany, who invaded Italy, forcing the Norman king to return to Apulia. Bohemund continued his campaign in Greece. With Kastoria as his base of operations, he conquered Ioannina, where the Byzantine army was again routed and Alexios was forced to return to Constantinople. The Normans then proceeded further north, occupying Skopje, Moglena, the Asprai Ecclesiai near the River Axios and Pelagonia (today's Monastir). They were not, however, able to take Ochrid, Ostrobos, Servia and Berroia. Bohemund crossed over to Thessaly, took Trikala and on 3 April 1083 began to lay siege to Larissa. The general Leon Kephalas put up a heroic resistance and the siege eventually lasted for six months. Alexios rushed to Thessaloniki and, taking a detour around Tempe, he managed with this ruse to beat the Normans, who terminated their siege and returned to Kastoria and from there to Aulona.[13] In the summer of 1083 Alexios returned to Constantinople. In the autumn of the same year, he returned to Macedonia and continued his mopping up operations, taking Kastoria, the Normans' main foothold in Macedonia, in October. The Normans surrendered, and the terms of the ensuing treaty were agreed upon in Thessaloniki. Despite all this, the military campaign was continued by Guiscard and his sons, who were however defeated by the joint Byzantine-Venetian fleet near Corfu. Moreover, the epidemic that broke out in the winter of 1083-84 decimated a large section of their army. Guiscard himself set sail for Cephallonia, where he died on 17 July 1085.[14] His death marked the end of the bloody four-year war against the Normans. A rebellion that broke out against the Normans in Dyrrachium, at the instigation of the Byzantine Emperor, allowed the Byzantines to regain the city, and thus ended the first great Norman campaign against Byzantium.

The plans of the Normans to destroy Byzantium were revived twenty years later by Bohemund. As one of the leaders of the First Crusade, he took Antioch in Syria in early June 1098. He subsequently refused, however, to return the cities that the Byzantines would recapture, despite the vow that the Crusaders had made to the Emperor. On 15 July 1099 the Crusaders took Jerusalem. Bohemund founded his own personal Crusader state and took other cities from the Turks, Laodikeia and Germanikeia. He was captured by the Turks in August 1100, but purchased his freedom in 1103, fleeing to Corfu and from there to Apulia. Here he put his father's plan into action, at the same time spreading rumours about the Emperor Alexios, accusing him of being an ally of the atheists and an enemy of the Christians. As Anna Komnene wrote, Bohemund '*was*

going round to all the towns and villages decrying the Emperor and loudly proclaiming him a pagan who was assisting the pagans with all his might'.[15] It was perhaps as a result of Bohemund's actions that 'the myth of the perfidious Greeks (*perfidia Graecorum*) was to a great degree created and spread, which became the rallying cry of the Westerners during their attacks against Byzantium.'[16]

In October 1107 Bohemund disembarked at Aulona and began to lay siege to Dyrrachium. Alexios I reached Thessaloniki in the spring of 1108. He avoided clashing with Bohemund, however, instead reinforcing the garrisons at the passes and using the Byzantine navy to cut off supplies coming from Southern Italy to his rivals. Bohemund was forced to surrender. The two leaders met at Deabolis, where the so-called Treaty of Deabolis, which Anna Komnene includes in her work,[17] was signed in September 1108. Bohemund swore that he would remain faithful to the Emperor, and Alexios granted him the fiefdom of Antioch and its surrounding areas. Bohemund however died a little later in 1111 and his nephew Tancred, whom Bohemund had appointed as his successor at Antioch, did not recognise the Treaty. The long wars had, however, driven into poverty and worn down the populations of West Macedonia, from whence the Archbishop of Ochrid Theophylaktos would send letters of despair to the Emperor.[18]

The Normans were to march against Byzantium again, under Roger II in 1147. They pillaged Corinth and Thebes, from where they transported male and female silk workers to Sicily.

The political developments in Byzantium following the death of Manuel I Komnenos in 1180, along with the slaughters and expulsions of the Venetians and other Latins from Constantinople, gave the external enemies the opportunity to invade Byzantine territory. Hungarians and Serbs pillaged and destroyed cities in Dalmatia and in regions to the south of the Danube. The Norman king William II (1166-1189) also took action against Byzantium. In May 1185 a fleet of two hundred ships led by Admiral Margaritone, the notorious corsair, and 80,000 troops laid siege to Dyrrachium, forcing the city to surrender. The infantry then marched along the Via Egnatia towards Thessaloniki, whilst the fleet sailed around the Peloponnese, reaching the city's port on 15 August. The besiegers focused their attention on the south section of the east wall, which was the most fragile section. The ships could not approach as, it being summer, the tides had been pulled back and the waters were shallow. Unfortunately, the governor of the city, David Komnenos, was not able to rise to the occasion and acted treacherously. Not only did he deliberately provide the Emperor with misinformation on the situation in his letters, he also let rich citizens leave the city in good time. Moreover, he gave an order to let the water flow from Hortiatis to the great cistern at the Acropolis when the requisite number of days had not passed since it had been cleaned, resulting in the plasters dissolving and the water being made unusable. As a result, the inhabitants were not able to escape to the Acropolis.[19] A military force from the Peloponnese and Alani mercenaries rushed to help, many of the latter however defecting to the enemy. Military units from Constantinople were also sent, although they had been given the order to remain outside the walls. The residents put up a stiff resistance, with even the women helping to transport water, stones, and food to the fighters, and sometimes even fighting themselves.[20] At dawn on the ninth day of the siege, the enemy entered through the crack made by the catapult near the tower of Hamaidrakon in the east wall. On 24 August the enemy flooded into the city. A frenzied slaughter, with rape and pillaging, followed. The description of the siege and fall of the city included in the writings of the metropolitan Eustathius gives the full sense of the destruction. The city that had been blessed land, he writes, was filled with the unburied corpses of men, women and the old. Of this beautiful, great city he wrote '*that nothing remained of its old beauty*'.[21]

The Normans even broke into the church of Saint Demetrius and hacked the coffin of the Saint to pieces with axes, removing the silver and gold. They took over the mansions and houses, and the Thessalonians wandered around homeless in the streets of the city whilst the hostages were gathered in the dockyards. Alongside them was the Metropolitan Eustathius who, although he could leave, stood by his flock, giving it courage and attempting to take stock of the ordeal of the fall.

The fall of the Empire's second city filled the Byzantines with outrage and anger. The Emperor Andronikos I Komnenos persecuted David Komnenos's relatives in Constantinople. A climate of fear spread, as Andronikos attributed the defeat to a secret deal between his rivals and the Normans.

The Normans left a garrison in Thessaloniki and proceeded to march against Constantinople. A section went on to take Serres, whilst the main section reached Mosynopolis in Thrace. The Norman fleet was already stationed outside Constantinople.

A chance event that took place on 15 December 1185 led to the overthrow of Andronikos I and his terrible death. The new emperor, Isaac I Angelos, ushering in the Angelos dynasty, was able to put together a battle-worthy army that, led by general Alexios Branas, attacked the Normans and took Mosynopolis. The Normans were completely routed on 7 November 1185 to the east of the river Strymon and were forced to abandon Thessaloniki and, later in the spring of 1186, Dyrrachium and Corfu. The Norman fleet also suffered losses during its retreat from the attacks of the Byzantine navy, and from storms and disease.

Once the Normans had withdrawn, Isaac attempted to forge alliances throughout the Balkans. He took the young Margaret, daughter of Bela, the king of Hungary, as his second wife. The imposition of extraordinary taxes to pay for the wedding celebrations provoked protests, primarily from the Bulgarians and the Vlachs around the Haemus. Led by the Asen brothers, they revolted against Byzantium. Repeated campaigns against the Bulgarians could not quell the uprising, and the Bulgarians founded a second Bulgarian state with its capital at Tirnovo (1187). They even built a church in honour of Saint Demetrius, pronouncing that the martyr of Christ Demetrius had abandoned Thessaloniki and his church there, and had come to Tirnovo in order to help them overthrow the yoke of the Romans (the Greeks).[22]

After the overthrow of Isaac II Angelos in 1195 by his brother Alexios III (1195-1203), the Vlachs and Bulgarians attempted raids in Macedonia near Serres. The Vlach Dobromir of Chrysos, governor of Stroumitsa, attempted to gain autonomy, taking Prosek, an impenetrable fortress on the river Axios, and, briefly, Pelagonia and Prilep. The situation became even more dangerous for Byzantium in 1197 when Peter Asen was killed and was succeeded by his brother Johanitza (Kalojan or Skyloioannis), who set as his goal the expansion of his state at the expense of Byzantium.

Bad government and the dynastic crisis in the Byzantine Empire under Alexios III gave the Crusaders of the Fourth Crusade the opportunity to take Constantinople, which fell to the Franks and Venetians on 13 April 1204. Alexios III barely put up a resistance, and had already abandoned the City on the night of 17 July 1203, fleeing to Philippopolis and later to Mosynopolis in Thrace, taking with him the royal treasury.[23]

2. Macedonia during the period of Latin rule (1204 – 1261)

2.1. The Lombard Kingdom of Thessaloniki (1204-1224)

The fall of Constantinople to the Crusaders in 1204 is a watershed in the history of Byzantium. The Empire collapsed and its place was taken by the Latin Empire of Constantinople, with a Frank Emperor and Venetian Patriarch. Its remaining lands were adjudicated with the agreement of March 1204, by which the Byzantine state was divided up among the other leaders and Barons as well as Venice. Nonetheless, three Greek states were established: that of Trebizond under Alexios and David Komnenos; the Empire of Nicaea in Bythinia by Alexios III's son-in-law Theodore Laskaris; and the Despotate of Epirus by the cousin of the Emperor, Michael Doukas. Their aim was to retake Constantinople and establish the Byzantine Empire once more.

Candidates for the position of Emperor were Baldwin of Flanders and Boniface of Montferrat in Lombardy. With the support of Dandalo, the Doge of Venice, Baldwin was pronounced Emperor and was crowned in Hagia Sophia on 16 May 1204. Boniface was given Asia Minor and the Peloponnese. He also, however, contested the Empire's second city, Thessaloniki, and its environs, and even claimed inheritance rights, since the revenues from the region had been promised to his brother Renier, when he married the daughter of Emperor Manuel I Komnenos in 1179. Baldwin accepted, but the protests of the Barons created a rupture between these two protagonists.

Baldwin pursued the Emperor Alexios III, who had headed for Thessaloniki from Mosynopolis. Setting off from Adrianople, he reached the environs of Thessaloniki and requested that the city submit to him. Just as the cities of Thrace had proclaimed allegiance to the Frank Emperor to avoid pillaging and destruction, the residents of Thessaloniki agreed with the term that his army would not enter the city and that its privileges, which had existed from very early on, be recognised. Baldwin ratified the agreement with a bull: '*he agreed with the Thessalonians and handed them a bull signed in red ink, confirming for the city all the old customs.*'[24]

Baldwin's entrance into Thessaloniki provoked Boniface's rage, who rushed to take Didymoteichon and besiege Adrianople. He even secured the acceptance of the Greeks, having married the widow of Isaac II, Margaret-Mary and pronouncing that he would have her first-born son Manuel crowned Emperor, whom they acclaimed as the King of the Romans. Civil conflict was avoided thanks to the intervention of Enrico Dandolo, who called for a Council at Constantinople in October 1204, which vindicated Boniface and recognised him as the king of Thessaloniki.

In October of 1204 the Byzantine Empire was divided up on the basis of the pact made in March of that year. However, in the final document, known as the *Partitio Romaniae*, although all the other provinces of the Empire were included, Thessaloniki and the regions of East Macedonia (Serres, Christoupolis, Amphipolis, Philippi, Melnik) and an area of Thrace as far as Mosynopolis, which had been given to Boniface, were not mentioned.[25] Boniface entered Thessaloniki and was crowned King in early 1205. He divided the most luxurious houses amongst the knights of his court and appropriated the money and properties of the Thessalonians, displeasing and disappointing the residents.[26] He proceeded immediately with the appointment of a Latin Archbishop and handed over the churches and revenues of Saint Demetrius and Hagia Sophia to the Latin clergy. The church of Hagia Sophia remained the metropolitan church.[27] It appears that the revenues of the monasteries of Philokalos and Akapnios were also given to the Latins.

Having secured his power base in Thessaloniki, Boniface set off with an army to conquer south Greece and the Peloponnese, and divide the lands that he would capture as fiefdoms for the Crusaders. He left a regency behind in Thessaloniki, comprised of Lombard nobles and headed by his wife Maria. Descending southwards, he took cities and castles such as Kitros, which he gave over to Wirich von Daun, and Platamon, which went to Rolando Piscia. Reaching Thermopylai, he came up against the resistance of the nobleman of Argos and Nauplion, Leon Sgouros, who had reached as far as Larissa, and who was ultimately obliged to withdraw to Acrocorinth.[28]

Things, however, evolved dangerously for the Latins in Thrace. The inhabitants of the cities of Thrace, disappointed by the oppressive policies of the Franks, revolted. When Baldwin besieged Adrianople, its inhabitants sought help from the Bulgarian Tsar Johanitza, whose authority had increased after his coronation at Tirnovo by a representative of the Pope in November 1204. The Bulgarian Tsar jumped at the opportunity to invade Thrace. On 13 April 1205 Baldwin, laying siege to Adrianople, was ambushed by the Bulgarians, taken captive and beheaded. The Tsar then demanded that the Adrianopolites hand over their city, but they refused. He was not, however, able to capture it because, as the historian George Akropolites wrote that 'the Bulgrians were not capable in siege warfare', as they did not use siege machinery.[29] Frenzied, the Bulgarians then spilled out into Thrace, destroyed many cities and taking many captives into the Danube regions.

Johanitza's next target was Thessaloniki. A Vlach general of his, Etzuismenos (Sisman), governor of Prosek, came to an understanding with the Thessalonians, who had rebelled, entering the city himself and laying siege to Queen Maria in the Acropolis. Boniface rushed back to Thessaloniki and punished the ringleaders. The Emperor Alexios III, who was in Thessaloniki with his family, may also have been in on the conspiracy, and was thus expelled. Alexios descended further south and met with Leon Sgouros, who then married his daughter Eudokia.[30]

Johanitza, who styled himself *Romaioktonos* (Romanslayer), as a counterpart to Basil II the *Bulgaroktonos*, or Bulgarslayer,[31] marched westwards, took Serres, slaughtered the Latin garrison and much of the population, and reached as far as Berroia, taking other cities of Macedonia. The Bulgarian raids brought slaughters, captivity and movements of populations to safer castle-cities.[32]

Boniface was not able to retake Serres. He did, however, come to an understanding with the new Latin Emperor, Baldwin's brother Henry of Flanders (1206-1216), for a joint campaign against the Bulgarians. Henry even married Boniface's daughter Agnes. In September of 1207 Boniface fell victim to a Bulgarian ambush at Rhodope and died from haemorrhaging. His death was a blow for the Latins, and gave Johanitza the opportunity to rush to Thessaloniki and take the city. He was, however, killed in his tent during the siege, on 26 October 1207, the feast day of Saint Demetrius. The Thessalonians attributed the salvation of the city to their patron saint, and this is why many icons portray the Saint on horseback, lancing the Bulgarian Skyloioannis.[33] The death of Johanitza brought much relief to both the Greeks and the Latins, given all the destruction that he had spread.

After Bonifaces's death, there was much confusion and civil conflict in Thessaloniki. His then underage son Demetrius had been appointed successor to the throne, with his mother Maria as regent. However, the Lombard barons, led by Umberto of Biantrate, wanted to invite Demetrius's half-brother William of Montferrat, over from Italy as his father's heir. Emperor Henry arrived in Thessaloniki in December 1208 and came to an agreement with Biantrate at Chortaites Monastery (today's Chortiates). The Lombards, however, asked for all of Greece from Dyrrachium as far as Thrace, and

from Corinth as far as Philippopolis. Henry, taking into account the feelings of the people of Thessaloniki and the opinion of Queen Maria, annulled the agreement and crowned Demetrius king on the feast day of the Epiphany, 1209. With the help of the Greek inhabitants, he captured Serres and Christoupolis and expelled their Lombard garrisons, went down to Thessaloniki and obliged the Lombards to hand over Larissa and then Thebes. Henry led his army as far as Athens, where he accepted the surrender of Godfrey Villehardouin, prince of Achaia, and acknowledged him as a vassal. And, although he was to turn against Epirus, its leader Michael Doukas declared his vassal status and proposed the marriage of his daughter with Henry's brother Eustache, with one-third of his territory as dowry. Henry accepted this proposal and left for Constantinople, leaving Eustache behind in Thessaloniki as a second regent for Demetrius.[34]

In 1212 the Flemish Guérin was elected Archbishop of Thessaloniki, assuming the privileges that the Archbishop of Thessaloniki enjoyed as a legate of the Pope before the submission of Illyricum to the Patriarchate of Constantinople (mid-8th century). Eleven dioceses were included in the Archbishopric: Kitros, Berroia, Kampania, Vardar, Servia, Petra, Platamon, Langada, Ardamereis, Ierissos and Kassandreia. A synodic decision of the Archbishop of Ochrid, Demetrius Chomatenos (1236), indicates that the Greek Bishops were kept, and they even judged various cases in the presence of Dux George Frangopoulos in the church of the Acheiropoietos, thanks to the lenient ecclesiastical policy of Queen Maria.[35]

Yet, with an underage king and without strong military forces, the Lombard Kingdom of Thessaloniki began to shrink. And its very existence was threatened by the military activities and ambitions of the Despots of Epirus, who had set as their goal the recapture of Byzantine territory and the reformation of the Byzantine Empire.

2.2. The collapse of the Lombard Kingdom and the foundation of the Empire of Thessaloniki (1224-1246)

The struggle against the Bulgarians and Latins in Greece was assumed by the founder of the Despotate of Epirus, Michael I Doukas. Doukas was the cousin of the emperors Isaac II and Alexios III, and served in the army of Boniface of Montferrat after the fall. He sped however to Epirus when the governor of the theme, Nikolaos Senachereim, invited him to help him confront a rebellion. His second marriage was to the daughter or widow of Senachereim, and, with his base at Arta, he followed an ambitious and autonomous policy. He took part in the struggle of the Peloponnesians against the Franks, and, in a diplomatic move, declared himself a vassal to Emperor Henry in 1209. In 1210 he signed an agreement with Venice, but quickly broke these agreements, taking Dyrrachium from the Venetians in 1212 and Corfu in 1214. He liberated Larissa in 1212. After his murder in 1214/15, his policy was continued by his brother Theodore Doukas, an experienced and ambitious general who occupied territories in Macedonia and tightened the noose around Thessaloniki. Emperor Henry, worried about the situation in Thessaloniki, returned to the city, where he died suddenly in May 1216. The next year, Theodore Doukas scored an impressive victory in capturing the new Latin Emperor Peter of Courtenay in the mountains of Albania, thus increasing his status. Courtenay was the husband of Henry's sister Yolanda and had been crowned in Rome by Pope Honorius III in April 1217. With 160 cavalrymen and 5,500 infantry, Peter had crossed in Venetian ships from Brindisi to Dyrrachium, aiming to capture this important port for the Venetians, whilst his wife and her escort travelled by sea to Constantinople. Dyrrachium, however, put up a fierce defence, and Courtenay was ambushed whilst traversing the mountains to take the Via Egnatia, and imprisoned along with the Pope's

representative Cardinal John Colonna. The Latin Emperor disappeared, whereas, after pressure from the Pope, the Cardinal was freed in 1218.

From 1216-1219 Theodore liberated Ochrid, Pelagonia, Prilep, Prosek, Skopje and Stroumitsa from the Bulgarians, and from 1217-18 he liberated Neopatras (Ypati), Lamia, Grevena, Kastoria, Platamon, Berroia, Serres, Servia and Christoupolis from the Latins. He was thus able to isolate Thessaloniki and cut the city off from any assistance that it might receive from the Franks from Constantinople or south Greece.[36]

In 1222 the young King of Thessaloniki, Demetrius, travelled to the West to request from the Pope that a new Crusade be mounted to save Thessaloniki. In early 1223, Margaret-Maria returned to her homeland of Hungary, whilst the defence of Thessaloniki was assumed by the Marquis of Boudonitsa, Guy Pelavicino. Pope Honorius III attempted to mobilise the western powers and gather money and armies for the Crusade, at the head of which was appointed William of Montferrat. Theodore Doukas laid siege to Thessaloniki in 1223 and made a triumphant entrance into the city in December 1224.[37] The Crusade that the Pope had organised was being delayed, and the Crusader armies reached Pteleos in Thessaly in the summer of 1225, only to be decimated by dysentery in the Thessalian plains. William died. The attempted Crusade collapsed.

When the danger from the West was extinguished, Theodore Doukas, having moved his troops into Thrace, was acclaimed Emperor in 1226. He was most likely crowned '*King and Emperor of the Romans*' on the day of the Pentecost 1227.[38] The Metropolitan of Thessaloniki, Constantine Mesopotamites, refused to crown him, wanting to remain true to the Patriarchate and Emperor of Nicaea, and he abandoned the city. The coronation was performed by the Archbishop of Ochrid Demetrius Chomatenos, provoking the protests of the Patriarch of Nicaea, who sent letters accusing Demetrius Chomatenos of damaging the unity of the Patriarchate. There was great suspicion that, along with the *Kingdom* (= empire), a new Patriarchate would also be created. The acclamation and crowning of Theodore Doukas was considered by Nicaea as a usurpation of imperial power and contrary to the political ideology of the Byzantines for the exclusivity of the Empire.[39]

With its recovery, Thessaloniki was made into a capital city (*vasilevousa*) and the Despotate of Epirus became the Empire of Thessaloniki. Theodore organised his court according to Byzantine models and granted the title of Despot to his two brothers and other honorary titles to leading officials. At the Thessaloniki mint he had coins cut portraying himself along with the city's patron saint, Hagios Demetrius.

Light is shed upon the inner workings of the state through the archives of Demetrius Chomatenos and the Metropolitan of Naupaktos John Apokaukos. We can identify the administrative divisions of Theodore Doukas's state on the basis of an imperial bull issued by Alexios III in 1198 and addressed to Venice, in which all the provinces of the state in which the Venetian merchants were to be granted commercial facilities and privileges are given. We also have the Pact for the division of the Empire, the *Partitio Romaniae* of 1204. The state was divided into *themata*, small judicial and tax districts under the governorship of a Dux. The *themes* of Vagenitia, Berroia, Deabolis, Ioannina, Koloneia, Nikopolis, Skopje, Stroumitsa, Thessaloniki, Acheloos, Dyrrachium, Ochrid, Prespa, Kastoria, Pelagonia and Servia are listed.[40]

Immediately on conquering a city, both Michael Doukas and Theodore would replace the old Metropolitans and Bishops. If they had died they would give an order for the election of new ones, requesting the approval of the Patriarch only afterwards, incurring the fierce protestations of Nicaea.[41] Another major ecclesiastical issue, which arose primarily in West Macedonia was that of the presbyters and the deacons who had

been ordained by the Bulgarian Bishops during the Bulgarian occupation. A compromise solution was given by the Synod of the Archbishopric of Ochrid in 1219: it deposed the Bulgarian Bishops without the possibility of recall, restored the legal Bishops who had been expelled, and proclaimed empty the Dioceses of those who had died. It kept those prelates who had been ordained, imposing certain penances.[42] The question of the Bishops was exceptionally important because, in addition to their work with their flock, the local synods would judge different cases of family law, property differences, etc. The synodical court of the Archbishopric of Ochrid under Demetrius Chomatenos (1217-1236) was particularly influential.

Demetrius Chomatenos, '*Archbishop of Justiniana Prima and All Bulgaria*', the official title of the Archbishop of Ochrid, was distinguished for his education and legal training. Through his legal work he emerged as 'one of the greatest jurists of his era'.[43] Leaders, such as Stephen Nemanja of Serbia and Theodore Doukas, officials and even ordinary people from various places, even outside of the jurisdiction of the Archbishopric, would resort to the synodical court, requesting the judgment of Chomatenos, before embarking upon a judicial case.

After the capture of Thessaloniki, Theodore Doukas continued his campaigns to the East, reaching the walls of Constantinople in 1228. Some skirmishes took place, but ultimately a yearly truce was signed with the representatives of the Regency of Constantinople, as well as a commercial agreement, which was also ratified by the Senate of Venice. In the spring of 1230, the Emperor of Thessaloniki again moved against Constantinople. He wanted, however, to secure his tracks, and when he reached the river Evros turned northwards against the Bulgarian tsar John II Asen, but suffered a crushing defeat near the village of Kolokotinitsa on the Evros. Theodore and many of his generals and officers were taken captive to Tirnovo, where a little later Theodore was accused of conspiracy and blinded. Asen then captured a number of cities in Thrace and Macedonia, placing Bulgarian generals in them and dispatching tax collectors to collect the taxes.[44]

Rule of this reduced empire of Thessaloniki was assumed by Theodore Doukas's brother, the Despot Manuel, who had married an illegitimate daughter of John Asen. Manuel attempted to form alliances and pursued an autonomous foreign policy. He restored relations with the Patriarchate and the Emperor of Nicaea, which had been damaged by the coronation of Theodore Doukas, and he sent the Metropolitan of Corfu George Bardanes to Italy for talks with the Pope and the German Emperor of Sicily, Frederick II Hohenstaufen.

In 1237 the widower John II Asen married Irene, daughter of Theodore Doukas, who had accompanied her father into captivity. Asen freed Theodore, who returned secretly to Thessaloniki and assumed power there, whilst Manuel fled to the court of Nicaea. Theodore had his son John crowned king, although in reality it was he who wielded the reins of power. Manuel swore an oath of allegiance to John II Vatatzes, the Emperor of Nicaea, who supplied him with six ships in his effort to regain power. In 1239, he set anchor at Demetrias and took Pharsala, Larissa and Platamon. He eventually came to an agreement with his brother, and a civil war was avoided. Manuel became ruler of Thessaly, whilst Theodore was installed at Edessa and had the control of two castles in West Macedonia, Ostrovo and Staridola.[45]

Manuel and John II Asen both died in 1241, and an important chapter in the history of Bulgaria came to a close with the death of the latter, who was succeeded by his son Kaliman. The whole political situation favoured the plans of the Emperor of Nicaea, who marched against Thessaloniki in 1242. With the intervention of Theodore Doukas, his son John stood down as Emperor and continued to rule with the title of Despot. Af-

ter his death in 1244 he was succeeded by his brother Demetrius, who was given the title of Despot by the Emperor of Nicaea. During this period, Thessaloniki was essentially a vassal of Nicaea. In the summer of 1246, John III Vatatzes campaigned against Bulgaria, which was governed by Michael, underage half-brother of Kaliman and son of Irene. He took Serres, the region of Meleniko as far as Velbuzd (Kujstendil), Stypion (Istip), Skopje, Velesa, Prilep, Pelagonia and Prosek. During his return, and whilst he was at Meleniko, a conspiracy against Demetrius was uncovered in Thessaloniki by a pro-Nicaea faction. In late November, Vatatzes set up military camp outside Thessaloniki and took the city. Demetrius was exiled and died in Asia Minor. The ephemeral Empire of Thessaloniki fell and the whole of Macedonia was incorporated into the Empire of Nicaea.[46]

2.3. Efforts for the establishment of Nicaean rule in Macedonia (1246-1261)

Rule of Thessaloniki and the newly-conquered cities was assumed by the *megas domestikos* Andronikos Palaiologos, whilst his son Michael took control of Serres and Meleniko.

The interests of Nicaea in Macedonia were however to come into conflict with those of the ruler of Epirus Michael II Doukas, who had returned to Arta from the Peloponnese, where he had fled after the murder of his father Michael. Michael II exploited the anarchy that reigned in Bulgaria after the death of John II Asen to regain territory in the regions of Dyrrachium, Albania and West Macedonia. In 1246 Epirus and Nicaea for the first time gained a common border in the region of Ochrid and Prilep, whilst Michael controlled the greater part of Thessaly and Epirus, considering himself the only living contestant to the imperial throne.

In the next years, Macedonia was to be the field of military conflict between Michael II and the Emperor of Nicaea. In 1251, along with his uncle Theodore Doukas, Michael unsuccessfully attempted to take Thessaloniki. In spring 1252 John Vatatzes reached Thessaloniki with sizeable military forces, taking Edessa, Kastoria and the greater part of Albania. Michael was forced to come to an agreement, handing over his uncle Theodore and his son Nikephoros as hostages. Theodore was led to Nicaea, where he died, whilst Nikephoros had also been engaged to Maria, the granddaughter of the Emperor since 1249, returned to Epirus with the title of Despot.

After the death of John III Vatatzes in 1254, the Bulgarian Tsar Michael I Asen (1246-1257) took the region from the river Axios as far as Albania, which had previously been captured by the Emperor of Nicaea. The new Emperor Theodore II Laskaris (1254-1258) campaigned in Thrace and Macedonia, restoring Byzantine rule, whilst in May 1256 Michael Asen signed a treaty abandoning the territory that he had occupied.[47]

The crushing victory of the Emperor of Nicaea cut short the plans of Michael II of Epirus. On the initiative of his wife Theodora, who had travelled along with her son to the military camp of Laskaris on the river Evros, the marriage of Nikephoros with the daughter of Laskaris was decided upon. The wedding was held in Thessaloniki in October 1256 by Patriarch Arsenios, in the presence of the Emperor and Theodora. Michael was forced to offer Dyrrachium and Servia as a wedding gift to the bridegroom. Laskaris returned to Nicaea, leaving the historian George Akropolites as general governor. In December 1256 Akropolites started off from Thessaloniki and toured all the regions of Macedonia, reaching Dyrrachium and Kria. Michael II could not, however, forgive the way in which he was coerced to give up Dyrrachium and Servia, and, in collaboration with the Serbs, inspired a rebellion in Elbasan, taking Berroia and Kastoria and laying siege to George Akropolites who, with a few troops, had fled to Prileps. With the

fall of Prilep, Akropolites was led captive to Arta, whilst the governors of many cities were handed over, with the result that all of West Macedonia came under the control of the Despotate of Epirus. Thessaloniki was garrisoned by Michael Palaiologos, who was, however, recalled having been accused of treason.[48]

Dramatic events unfolded in Nicaea. Theodore II Laskaris died in August 1258, leaving his underage son John IV Laskaris on the throne. During the novena, the regent George Mouzalon was assassinated by members of the aristocracy, with Michael Palaiologos assuming the role of regent.

Michael Doukas, in order to promote his plans, formed alliances with Manfred of Sicily (who married Michael's daughter and took Aulona and other cities that he had captured along the Epirus coast as dowry) and with William II Villehardouin (who married Michael's second daughter). These alliances worried Nicaea. On 25 December 1258 Michael VIII Palaiologos was crowned Emperor and the minor John IV Laskaris was crowned co-Emperor.

The decisive battle between the two rival sides took place in the summer of 1259 on the plain between Pelagonia and Kastoria, where the armies of Michael Doukas, Manfred and Villehardouin were routed by the army of Nicaea led by the brother of Michael Palaiologos, the *sebastokrator* John. After the battle of Pelagonia, the castles of Macedonia, Edessa, Ostrovo, Prespa, Kastoria, Prilep and Ochrid fell one after the other and the area as far as Dyrrachium and Berat came under the control of Nicaea.[49]

The political situation was completely overturned on 25 July 1261 when the general of Nicaea Alexios Stratigopoulos, who had been sent to guard Thrace, recaptured Constantinople, which he found almost completely unguarded. On 15 August Michael VIII Palaiologos entered the City triumphantly and was crowned in Hagia Sophia as a new Constantine, inaugurating the dynasty of the Palaiologoi on the throne of Byzantium.[50]

3. Macedonia in the years of the Palaiologoi (1261-1430)

With the recapture of the capital in 1261, the Byzantine Empire was refounded in a fractured capital city and with a plethora of internal and external problems. In addition to the coasts, the Empire had lost almost all of Asia Minor to the Turks, and the threat from the West was constant, as the Franks did not cease to push for Constantinople. Rule of the seas by the Italian republics of Venice, Genoa and Pisa, and the privileges that had been granted by the Byzantine Emperors damaged Byzantine trade, which was no longer competitive. The loss of the fertile areas of Asia Minor led to reduced revenues whilst the costs of the army had increased, as defence depended on units of foreign mercenaries. The appearance of new enemies in the Balkans and the steady advance of the Ottoman Turks were to constitute a fatal threat to the Empire over the coming years.

The hostilities in Macedonia did not stop. From 1262 until 1264 Michael II Doukas, in collusion with Manfred, violated the treaties and attacked the imperial fortresses, until 1265 when he was forced to sign a treaty with Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos and to give Ioannina up to him. The treaty was sealed with the marriage of his son, the Despot Nikephoros, to Anna, the Emperor's niece.

After the death of Michael II (between 1267 and 1271), his realm was divided between his two sons, Nikephoros with his capital at Arta, and John who controlled Thessaly and had his capital at Neopatras (Ypati). John participated in campaigns against Macedonia alongside the Emperor's dynamic new enemy, the Serb leader Stephen Urus II Milutin (1282-1321). In 1282 Milutin took Skopje and made the city the

capital of his kingdom, subsequently taking the areas north of Ochrid, Prilep and Stypion (Istip), and continuing his raids into Macedonia. In 1299 Emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282-1328) was forced to come to an agreement with Milutin. Despite the protests of the Church, he agreed to the marriage of his five-year-old daughter Simonis with the forty-year-old Milutin. The wedding was held in Thessaloniki with the Archbishop of Ochrid conducting the service, and Milutin was given the territories he had occupied as dowry.[51]

Scions of the imperial family were to settle in Thessaloniki in the fourteenth century and to rule with the title of Despot. Yet, schismatic tendencies were also to appear, with disastrous consequences for Macedonia. In 1303, Yolanda-Irene, Andronikos II's second wife, was to separate from her husband and settle in Thessaloniki. Yolanda, daughter of the Marquis of Montferrat, had received from her father the noble title of Queen of Thessaloniki when she married Andronikos in 1284. She later requested of the Emperor that they divide the part of the realm outside of Constantinople between their three sons, according to western models. The Emperor rejected this request, as it was contrary to the dogma of a unified empire. Yolanda became angry and went to Thessaloniki, where she remained until her death (at Drama in 1317). In 1305 their son the Despot John, who had assumed governorship of Thessaloniki, died in the city.[52]

In the next few years Macedonia was to suffer great damage from the Catalan Grand Company. Professional mercenaries, the Catalans had been hired by the Emperor to fight against the Turks in Asia Minor. Yet, when the Emperor was unable to continue paying their fees, they pillaged the provinces of Asia Minor and Thrace. In 1307 they settled in Chalkidike and began raids against the monasteries of Mount Athos and the surrounding area. Of the 180 monasteries that existed in the 11th century, only 25 survived the raids of the 14th century. In 1308 the Catalans attacked Thessaloniki but were unable to capture it, thanks to its fortifications. They thus turned to South Greece and took Athens.[53]

The civil conflicts that broke out between 1320 and 1341 were also to have catastrophic consequences for Macedonia and the Empire more generally. Serbs, Bulgarians and Turks took part in these, and they contributed to the establishment of the Turks in Europe.

3.1. The war of the two Andronikoi (1321-1328) and the reign of Andronikos III (1328-1341)

In October 1320, Michael IX, son and co-emperor of Andronikos II, died suddenly in Thessaloniki on being informed of the death of his daughter Queen Anna in Epirus and the murder of his youngest son Manuel in Constantinople. Manuel's elder brother Andronikos, who had been proclaimed co-emperor already in 1316, was thought to be responsible for his death. Andronikos II, concerned for his grandson's flamboyant lifestyle, stripped him of his title and was planning to declare the illegitimate son of his son, the Despot Constantine, as his successor. The young Andronikos, surrounded by rich friends and powerful officials, reacted to his grandfather's plans, resulting in the outbreak of a civil war that lasted for seven years and is known as the war of the two Andronikoi. Military conflict was initially avoided with the Reggio agreement of 6 June 1321, which secured the succession of his grandson, who assumed rule of the areas from Selymbria as far as Christoupolis, with Adrianople as his capital. Andronikos II kept the areas from Constantinople to Selymbria and from Christoupolis to Dyrrachium. A little later, however, violent episodes broke out in Thessaloniki, when Andronikos III's mother, Maria-Rita, who had become a nun, most probably at the Monastery of Hagia Theodora, was forcefully taken to Constantinople. A rebellion broke out, and the

Thessalonians requested the young Andronikos to take the city. A new agreement between grandfather and grandson kept the government and economy of the state in the hands of Andronikos II, whilst the grandson was permitted to keep a mercenary army and was granted tax exemption and a yearly allowance. There followed a phase of partnership and peace. Yet, in December 1327, on the invitation of the Thessalonians, Andronikos III entered Thessaloniki and proceeded to take Edessa, Kastoria and Berroia. On 24 May 1328 he became master of Constantinople. The elderly Andronikos II stood down and withdrew to the Monastery of Libus two years later, where, as the monk Antonios, he died in 1334.

Immediately after his ascension to the throne, Andronikos III attempted to reinforce the defence of Macedonia by founding new castles: the Gynaikokastro (women's castle) in the Axios valley (near Kilkis); the Siderokastro (iron castle) in the valley of Strymon; and another near the river of Amphipolis. After the removal of Stephen Urus II Milutin by Serbian nobles and the rise to the throne of his son Stephen Dushan (1331-1355), the Serbs emerged as Byzantium's most dangerous enemies in the Balkans, whereas their goal was pillage and the conquest of Byzantine territory. Collaborating with the experienced general Syrgiannes Palaiologos, who had served as governor of Thessaloniki and vacillated during the civil war between the two Andronikoi, Serb forces took Ochrid, Stroumnitsa and Kastoria, and threatened Thessaloniki in 1334. Andronikos III reached Rentina from Didymoteichon, whilst his friend John Kantakouzenos forced the Turkish pirate ships that were ravaging Chalkidike to withdraw. After the murder of Syrgiannes by Andronikos's people, and given that the Serb state was being threatened by an invasion of the Hungarians, Dushan met with the Emperor at the Gallikos river and they made a peace pact, with the condition that Dushan return the cities and the castles that he had taken.[54] From 1334 until 1341 there was relative peace. After Andronikos III's sudden death on 15 June 1341, a new and far more devastating civil war broke out. This was accompanied by religious and social conflict, with the entanglement of the Serbs, Bulgarians and Ottoman Turks, sapping the Empire of its last breath.

3.2. The civil wars, 1341-1354 and the Ottoman occupation

Andronikos III was succeeded by his underage son John V Palaiologos, with his mother Anna as regent. The running of affairs was immediately assumed by the deceased's intimate friend, John Kantakouzenos, who had supported Andronikos during all his struggles to claim the kingdom. Andronikos had not appointed the members of the Regency, a fact which led to civil conflict, as claims to the Regency were made by the Patriarch John Kalekas and Alexios Apokaukos, who insinuated to the Queen Mother that John Kantakouzenos coveted the imperial throne. Kantakouzenos was thus pronounced an enemy of the state, his property seized, and his supporters in Constantinople persecuted and imprisoned. With the turn that things had taken, and on the exhortation of supporters of his who had fled Constantinople, Kantakouzenos was pronounced Emperor in Didymoteichon on 26 October 1341. Many cities went over to Kantakouzenos. In Adrianople, however, members of the lower classes attacked and pillaged the houses of the nobles, thus giving a social edge to the opposition to Kantakouzenos, who was one of the richest men of Byzantium with much landed property, especially around Serres.

The war erupted into uncontrolled events in Thessaloniki when, in the spring of 1342, the governor Theodore Synadinos invited Kantakouzenos to take the city. The inhabitants revolted, led by the Zealots, who came mainly from the lower classes and the guild of sailors. They turned against the rich with particular ferociousness, slaugh-

tering and pillaging. Thessaloniki resembled a city that had been destroyed by enemies. The Zealots took power, whilst Kantakouzenos came to an agreement with Stephen Dushan, who attempted to capitalise on events and extend his control in Macedonia. Starting out from Serbia, Kantakouzenos attempted to take Serres and proceed to Thrace. He was, however, forced to return to Serres as government forces and fleet were heading in the direction of Thessaloniki. In 1343 he took Berroia, Servia and Platamon, whilst the ships of his ally, Umur, the Seljuk emir of Aydin, had reached Thessaloniki. A section of the Turkish fleet anchored at Pydna in Pieria, and the Turks indulged in pillaging as far as the vicinity of Berroia. It was not, however, possible to take Thessaloniki whilst the Zealots were in power. Kantakouzenos returned to Thrace, but Dushan took Edessa, Kastoria and Florina, and also Serres in September 1345, where he was declared 'Emperor of Serbia and Romania'. He was crowned at Skopje in the spring of 1346.[55]

The turn of events in Thessaloniki was quick and dramatic. The governor John Apokaukos ordered the assassination of the leader of the Zealots and exiled many of their leaders. When the news arrived that his father, Alexios Apokaukos, had been murdered in Constantinople, he was ready to hand over Thessaloniki to Kantakouzenos. It was at this point that a counter-movement arose, led by the until then moderate leader of the Zealots Andreas Palaiologos. Apokaukos and all the nobles who had fled to the Acropolis were thrown over the walls and the city succumbed to the pillaging and destruction of the rabid masses. The Zealots became masters of the city and ruled autonomously from 1345 until 1347, even after Kantakouzenos's entrance into Constantinople and his reconciliation with John V Palaiologos, who had married his daughter Eleni. They even twice refused entrance to the city to the new Metropolitan Gregory Palamas, the leading representative of the Hesyichast movement, and requested help from the Serbs. This action was considered treacherous by the Thessalonians, and in 1349 they turned against the Zealots and applauded Kantakouzenos when he came to the city with John V in 1350.[56]

In this way an end was put to the rule of the Zealots, but not to civil conflict. John V, who had remained in Thessaloniki, considering himself displaced in the provinces, came to an understanding with Dushan. This agreement was, however, blocked by his mother Anna Palaiologina, who sped to the new capital of Thessaloniki. In the autumn of 1352 John V clashed in Thrace with Matthew, the son of Kantakouzenos, and was defeated near Didymoteichon. After his failure to take Constantinople, he returned to Thessaloniki, where the government was being run by his mother Anna Palaiologina. In February 1354, Kantakouzenos crowned his son Matthew as co-emperor and prohibited the mention of John V in plaudits. In March of this same year, his allies the Turks took the city of Gallipoli, the most important city in strategic terms on the Hellespont, which had been abandoned by its inhabitants because of the earthquakes. This city now became the base from which the Ottomans spread to Europe.

In November 1354 John V, with the help of the Genoan Francesco Gattiluzi, secretly entered Constantinople and became master of the city. A few days later, John VI Kantakouzenos stepped down and withdrew to a monastery, where he lived another thirty years as the monk Ioasaaf.[57]

After the death of Stephen Dushan in December 1355 and the break-up of the Serbian state, the Greeks, Bulgarians and Serbs were unable to join forces against the common enemy, the Turks. After the defeat of the Serbs at Cirmen on the river Evros in September 1371, the Serbs and Bulgarians became vassals to the Sultan.

The only centre of resistance was Thessaloniki. Its governor, the youngest son of John V, Despot Manuel Palaiologos, retook Serres in November 1371, and planned the

defence against the Turks. He seized lands from Mount Athos and divided them up among the soldiers. The Turks were however advancing. In 1383 they took Serres and laid siege to Thessaloniki. The blockade of the city lasted for four years. The defeatism of the Thessalonians, who had been worn out by the hardships and the hunger, forced Manuel to abandon the city and flee to Bursa where, humiliated, he was accepted in the court of the Sultan. Thessaloniki was given to the Turks in 1387 after an agreement, and became a vassal city. With bitterness, Manuel later wrote to Kabasilas: 'in your homeland I constantly fought the enemies of the faith. And those for whom I preferred day and night to give my life… were in talks with the enemies.'[58] When John V died in 1391, Manuel escaped from Bursa and was crowned Emperor at Constantinople (1391-1425). In the same year Bayezid I took Thessaloniki. After his defeat at the hands of Tamerlane at the battle of Ankara in 1402, the city passed once again to the Byzantines. From 1403 until 1423, Thessaloniki was governed successively by scions of the imperial family, until Andronikos Palaiologos, son of the emperor Manuel II, faced with the Turkish danger, handed Thessaloniki over to the Venetians, on the condition that they respect the privileges of the community and the Church. Yet, neither were the Venetians able to hold on to the city. On 29 March of 1430, illustrious Thessaloniki fell to the hands of the Turks.[59]

Notes

1. John Skylitzes 412.67-76.
2. John Skylitzes 411.51-412.3.
3. John Skylitzes 413.21.
4. John Skylitzes 413.22
5. John Skylitzes 476.55
6. Michael Attaleiates 83.10-85.22
7. John Skylitzes Continuatus 182.15-183.28
8. See G. Theocharides, Istoria Makedonias (History of Macedonia), 281 ff. I. Karayiannopoulos, Istoria (History) II 588 ff.
9. Nikephoros Bryennios 129.10. Cf. I. Karayiannopoulos, Istoria (History) II 590.
10. Theodore Skoutariotes, publ. C. Sathas, Medieval Library 7 (1894) 185.
11. Alexiad 121.29-34, 146.59 ff. (= Leib I.144, II.10.8 ff.).
12. Alexiad 143.7 ff. (= Leib II.10.8 ff.).
13. Alexiad 153.69, 161.28 (= Leib II.22.6-24.1, 24.1-32.23).
14. Alexiad 176.51-180.73 (= Leib II.51.18-56.23).
15. Alexiad 361.70-72 (= Leib III.56.1-4).
16. Karayiannopoulos, History III 80-81.
17. Alexiad 413.90-422.30 (=Leib III.125.10-138.13).
18. See V. Nerantzi-Varmazi, Plirofories tou Theophylaktou Achridas kai tou Dimitriou Chomatianou gia ton dytikomakedoniko horo (Details given by Theophylaktos of Ochrid and Demetrius Chomatenos on West Macedonia), Diethnes Symposio Vyzantini Makedonia pp. 231-238.
19. Eustathius of Thessaloniki 74.10, 68.24, 76.19-78.15.
20. Eustathius of Thessaloniki 88.23 ff., 90.1 ff.
21. Eustathius of Thessaloniki 100.12 ff., 146.2-10.
22. Niketas Choniates 368.47 ff., 371.23 ff. Karayiannopoulos, History II 288 ff.
23. Niketas Choniates 546.72 ff. Karayiannopoulos, History C 348 ff.
24. Niketas Choniates 599.39-40. Theocharides, History of Macedonia 310 ff.
25. See B. Hendrickx, Oi politikoi kai stratiotikoi thesmoi tis Latinikis Aftokratorias tis Konstantinoupoleos kata tous protous chronous tis yparxeos tis (The political and military institutions of the Latin Empire of Constantinople during the first years of its existence), Thessaloniki 1970, 54-57.

26. Niketas Choniates 600.50-57.
27. Hagia Sophia had been the Metropolitan church since its foundation, and not the Rotunda, as has been argued by G. Theocharides. See Alkmene Stavridou-Zafraka, I Ayia Sophia os mitropolitikos naos kai to episkopeio. (Hagia Sophia as Cathedral and the Bishop's Residence), Afieroma sti mnimi tou Sotiri Kissa (In honour of the memory of Sotiris Kissas), Thessaloniki 2001, 549-560.
28. G. Theocharides, History of Macedonia 314-315.
29. Niketas Choniates 615-617, George Akropolites 22.26-28.
30. Niketas Choniates 619.44-620.70.
31. George Akropolites 23.16-19.
32. Niketas Choniates 620.71-83, George Akropolites 23.1-16.
33. George Akropolites 23.19-24.4.
34. Theocharides, History of Macedonia 320-322.
35. Demetrios Chomatenos no.106.144-152.
36. George Akropolites 24.12-26.9. D. Nicol, Despotate I 48-59.
37. J. Longnon, La reprise de Salonique… Paris 1950.
38. George Akropolites 33.15-34.16. For the dating of his acclamation and coronation, see Alkmene Stavridou-Zafraka, 'Symvoli sto zitima tis anagorevsis tou Thedorou Douka' ('Contribution to the question of the acclamation of Theodore Doukas'). Eleni Bey-Seferli, 'O Chronos stepseos tou Theodorou Douka' ('The date of the coronation of Theodore Doukas').
39. See Alkmene Stavridou-Zafraka, Nikaia kai Ipiros (Nicaea and Epirus). F. Bredenkamp, Empire of Thessalonik.
40. G. Prinzing, Studien I, II.
41. A. Karpozilos, The Ecclesiastical Controversy.
42. Demetrios Chomatenos, no. 8 and 146. Alkmene Stavridou-Zafraka, I archiepiskopi Achridos kai i aftokratoria tis Thessalonikis, Christianiki Makedonia (The Archbishopric of Ochrid and the Empire of Thessaloniki, Christian Macedonia, 407-421.
43. Sp. Troianos, Oi piges tou Vyzantinou Dikaiou (The roots of Byzantine Law), Athens-Komotini 1986, 172.
44. George Akropolites 38.21-43.19. Theocharides, History of Macedonia 328 ff., Stavridou-Zafraka, Nicaea and Epirus, 67-84.
45. George Akropolites 43.19 ff., 60.10-62.16.
46. George Akropolites 65.4-67.25, 70.13 ff.,79.16-84.22. Theocharides, History of Macedonia 332-344. Stavridou-Zafraka, Nicaea and Epirus, 84-87.
47. George Akropolites 88.15-92.14, 107 ff.
48. George Akropolites 132 ff., 139 ff., 150 ff.
49. George Akropolites 167-170. George Pachymeres (ed. J. Failler), I.117-121.
50. George Akropolites 181-185. George Pachymeres I. 233.24 ff.
51. See Theocharides, History of Macedonia 370.
52. Nikephoros Gregoras I 233-235. H. Constantinidi-Bibicou, Yolande de Montferrat, impératrice de Byzance. L' Hellénisme contemporain 4,6 (1950) 425-442.
53. K. Setton, Catalan Domination of Athens 286. A. Laiou, Constantinople and the Latins 220-226.
54. F. Ostrogorsky, History III 191 ff. Theocharides, History of Macedonia 374 ff. 383 ff.
55. Theocharides, History of Macedonia 386-389, 393-399.
56. Theocharides, History of Macedonia 403-405.
57. Theocharides, History of Macedonia 405-413.
58. Manuel II, letter 67 (ed. G. T. Dennis) p. 187. G. T. Dennis, The Reign of Manuel II Palaeologus in Thessaloniki 1282-1387, Rome 1960, 77 ff.
59. The fall is described by John Anagnostis, Diegisis peri tis teleftaias aloseos tis Thessalonikis (Narrative of the final fall of Thessaloniki), G. Tsaras publications, Thessaloniki 1958.

VI. Ottoman Macedonia (late 14th – late 17th century)

by Phokion Kotzageorgis

1. The Ottoman conquest

The Ottoman period in Macedonia begins with the region's conquest in the late 14th century.[1] The Ottoman victory against the combined Serb forces at Çirmen in Evros in 1371 was the turning point that permitted the victors to proceed with ease towards the west and, around a decade later, to cross the river Nestos and enter the geographic region of Macedonia. 1383 marked their first great victory in Macedonia, the fall of the important administrative centre of Serres.[2] By the end of the century all the strategically important Macedonian cities had been occupied (Veroia, Monastir, Vodena, Thessaloniki).[3] The process by which the city of Thessaloniki was captured was somewhat different than for the others: it was initially given to the Ottomans in 1387 – after a siege of four years – and remained autonomous for a period. In 1394 it was fully incorporated into the Ottoman state, only to return to Byzantine hands in 1403 with the agreement they made with the Ottomans, drawn up after the (temporary) collapse of the Ottoman state.[4] In 1423 the Byzantine governor of the city, Andronikos Palaiologos, handed it over to the Venetians, and the ensuing Venetian period in Thessaloniki lasted for seven years. On 29 March 1430, the Ottoman regiments under Murad II raided and occupied the city, incorporating it fully into their state.[5] Ioannis Anagnostis, eyewitness to Thessaloniki's fall, described the moment at which the Ottomans entered the city:[6]

> *Because in those parts they found a number of our people, pluckier than the others and with large stones, they threw them down, along with the stairways, and killed many of them. Since it happened that way and they were all angry (because they believed that the shame would not be little if we defeated them), they thought upon it more carefully and so leaned a stairway up against Trigonio, where there was the corner of a tower and no one could prevent he who tried to climb up, and it happened that there was not a soul. One of the other infantrymen showed courage, grabbed his sword with his teeth and, preferring death to life as long as he could gain glory for his manliness, climbed up to the castle with as much bravery as one could say, without any of those who were inside yet guarding another place, so the enemy would not climb up, getting a whiff of him. Because, then, he found a Venetian who had just been wounded and was dying right on the ramparts, he cut off his head and threw it in among the Turks, and made it seem that he had just taken that place and that they had all abandoned the castles without turning back. It was then the 29th of March, and 6938 (1430) was beginning. Encouraging, then, every infantryman, he called out for them to come up quickly and check that no one was inside. They again immediately put up all the stairways that they could and all ran with shouts and banging of tabors to climb up them, because this creates a great fear in wars.*

The fall was followed by the fleeing or slaughter of the city's few residents, and it was thus almost desolated after the fall. Settling it with a population was one of the main concerns of the new master. The forced migration of a thousand Yürük families (Asia Minor nomads of

Turkic origin) from nearby Yiannitsa (Yenice-i Vardar) as well as a thousand Salonican families, which had scattered around the surrounding area or had been caught prisoner, constituted the city's population base during the Ottoman period.[7]

2. Administrative organisation

Ottoman Macedonia was one of the so-called central provinces of the Ottoman state. It should be noted, however, that prior to the 19th century, 'Macedonia' did not exist as an autonomous and unified Ottoman province during any earlier period of the 'Tourkokratia'. We should have this constantly in mind when studying this earlier period. In other words, until the 19th century, we cannot delineate either precise or relative geographic boundaries for the region of Macedonia. The Ottoman state's approach to it was quite different.

As with the other Balkan regions of the Empire, the classic model of administrative organisation, founded on the *timar* system, was applied in the wider Macedonian geographical area. In the 15th century, then, the region was divided into the following military-administrative areas, known as *sancaks*: a) Pasha (with its capital initially at Adrianople (Edirne) and, from the early 16th century, at Sofia), b) Kjustendil, and c) Ochrid. In the mid-16th century the huge *sancak* of Pasha was divided into smaller ones, including Thessaloniki and Skopje from the geographical region of Macedonia. In other words, during the 15th century, the greater part of today's Greek Macedonia belonged to the original *sancak* of Pasha, today's Bulgaria to Kjustendil, and today's former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia to Ochrid. Sections of the *sancak* of Pasha were incorporated into the *sancak* of Thessaloniki, whilst sections of that of Ochrid were incorporated into the *sancak* of Skopje. This administrative change increased the role of the two cities, which were also the capitals of the new *sancaks*. These *sancaks*, along with others in the Balkans, comprised sections of the general military administration of Europe (*Rumeli beylerbeyliği*). Each *sancak* was divided into *kazas* (smaller provinces, over which the *kadi*, a religious judge, had jurisdiction). The extent of the *kazas* and the *sancaks* was not stable throughout the first three centuries of the Ottoman period, even more so when the number of *kazas* that each *sancak* had was changed: new ones appeared, old ones were abolished, others divided in two. These changes were frequent, and difficult to place chronologically.[8]

Inclusion in the *timar* system did not have consequences simply on the administration, but also (mainly) on taxation. All sources of income within a region were divided among the soldiers and cavalry of the Ottoman army (*sipahi*) as payment for their military services on the field of battle; each income unit was a *timar*. Another portion of income was given to high-ranking local officers, such as, for example, the military governors; these were the *zeamet*. Another portion was held for the Imperial treasury, or for members of the Imperial family (the *hass*). Finally, a significant portion of the income of Macedonia went to the *vakifs* (charitable Muslim foundations), which had been founded in the Balkans mainly during the phase of Ottoman expansion.[9]

For the 15th century, we know that the right to claim income taxes in the *timar* form had also been given to Christian military officials of the pre-Ottoman period, who in this way were able to maintain their high social status under the new regime. Thus, in a register of *voynuks* (Christian military bands, such as the *Armatoloi*) from the mid-15th century, from the area of Prespes, we read the following interesting entry:[10]

> *Voynuk: Nikolaos son of Doşik. Auxiliary soldiers: Because Ginis, Milan and Dimitris were sons of sipahi of old, they have been registered [now also] as voynuks and their ownership of the fields, vineyards and properties [that they owned] has been [recognised] to them. This took place at the beginning of the month of Muharram in the year 858 [1-10.1.1454] in Adrianople.*

In addition to providing evidence for the recognition of private property to Christians of military rank, the above extract also gives us a picture of the region's national language groups, as we can see in the names of the individual *voynuks*: Slav, Greek and Albanian speakers are found side by side. One product of the passage of time is that Christian *timar* disappear from our sources after the early 16th century, as a result of their having been Islamicised.[11]

As such, in the early years after the Ottoman conquest, Macedonia itself was granted no special privileges or particular administrative status. Its different regions were incorporated into the classic *timar* system, divided at first into three and subsequently five *sancaks*. Its early conquest and geographical position near the Ottoman capital were responsible to a great degree to its not being recognised any special privileges, as happened with other Greek regions (in particular the islands of the Aegean).

3. Revolutionary movements in Macedonia

After the consolidation of Ottoman power in the central Balkans (first half 15th century), the area of Macedonia was no longer a field for significant military movements, nor of political actions during the whole of the period in question. The settlement of numerous Yürük in the Macedonian fields and other Muslim populations in the large urban centres of Macedonia changed the region's demographic profile. This, in combination with Macedonia's proximity to the Ottoman capital, was enough to prevent, or at least not to favour, the rise of revolutionary movements.[12] Only in the fourth decade of the 16th century (specifically 1534), in response to the efforts of the Hapsburg Emperor Charles V in the eastern Mediterranean, was an effort to approach him by two notables of Thessaloniki, Alexakis and Doukas Palaiologos, in collaboration with the city's Metropolitan Ioasaph. made. The effort came to nothing. Yet, despite their ultimate failure, the plans put forward by the two Thessalonikans were discussed by the Austrians and the Venetians in 1538, as was the possibility of a Venetian landing in the city.

The naval battle of Nafpaktos, or Lepanto, (1571) and the wholesale Ottoman defeat mobilised many Christian populations in the Balkans against the rulers. As such, for the fifty years following the battle, the peninsula was in a state of commotion from various revolutionary movements. One significant attempt at revolution appears to have been the plan submitted to Pope Pius V in 1572 by the Bishop of Grevena Timotheos. The Orthodox cleric proposed that military bands from Central and West Macedonia gather in the plain of Thessaloniki, and advance towards Constantinople. The desire of the inhabitants of West Macedonia for rebellion, as Timotheos argued, can also be seen in the anti-Turkish activities in the same era of a number of Christian notables from Argyrokastro, with the participation of clerics from West and North Macedonia. The Ottoman authorities were, however, informed immediately of these movements, and they were stamped out at their inception. Even so, the ringleaders continued to send out memoranda, mainly to the Kings of Spain.

The Spaniards not only did not reject these movements, but they even incited or at the least encouraged them. The numerous pirate raids by western ships along the coast of Macedonia – aided by the monks of Mount Athos – had as their intention to keep the area in a state of revolutionary fervour. The pleas of Mount Athos monks towards Spain are well known, but the Ottoman authorities, however, learnt of them in time, and imposed punishments on some of the monasteries. The peninsula of Mount Athos took a lead role in these revolutionary actions for the following reasons:[13] a) since the beginning of Ottoman rule it had enjoyed a privileged tax status, which foresaw that there would be no representative of Ottoman power in the peninsula (at least until the late 16th century); b) its mountainous and inaccessible territory prevented it from coming under the control of the local monastery troops, which were dotted along the peninsula; c) the monasteries were fortified with tall towers, built already since the last years of Byzantium, which made them impenetrable fortresses, or at least very difficult to capture; d) finally, the peninsula's coastal position in an area where piracy flourished made Mount Athos particularly prone to pirate raids, but also open to western ships bent on revolutionary activity.

In general, however, the few raids of the Spanish fleet along the Macedonian coasts were always followed by Turkish reprisals against the Christian population. As such, we know of many Macedonians (clerics, monks and notables) who fled to the West, obviously to escape from these reprisals. Examples include the Thessalonikans Nikolaos and Dimitrios Palaiologos and Dimos son of Panayiotis, who in the last years of the 16th and opening years of the 17th century fled to southern Italy. Macedonian fugitives, agents, merchants, clerics, scholars, mercenaries and even adventurers were the people who approached the Spanish monarchs in search of their support for a possible revolution in the wider region. The monks of the Mount Athos monastery of Esphigmenou were in danger in around 1600 of being punished by the Ottoman authorities for having offered their services to Spanish boats. Of interest is the fact that the anti-Turkish plans and movements in Macedonia where included or linked with wider revolutionary plans throughout the Greek peninsula. For example, one revolutionary movement observed in Pieria in 1612 – which likely had as a consequence the slaughter of the inhabitants of Kitros and the fleeing of the local Bishop – is connected in Spanish and Greek sources with the well-known revolution of Dionysios Philosophos or Skylosophos in Thessaly and Epirus (1601 and 1611). A typical example of the general climate of revolutionary fervour is that of the self-proclaimed 'Sultan' Yahya (1585-1649), who presented himself as the son of Sultan Mehmet III and a Greek woman, Eleni Komnini from Serres. His activities are dated to the fourth quarter of the 17th century in north-west Macedonia. His purpose was to rouse the Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbs and Albanians into action, as he noted in a memorandum to the Pope in 1639-1640. His effort, more buccaneering in inspiration, came to no consequence.[14]

The most serious attempt at revolution in the period in question - that of the Archbishop of Ohrid, Athanasios Rizeas the Peloponnesian - was in fact centred upon Macedonia. The cleric's first contacts with representatives of the Spanish government had taken place in 1601, and he himself attempted to distinguish his position and his plans from the movement of Dionysios Skyosophos that had broken out in Thessaly in that same year. He made sure to secure the active support of Spain and the Pope, producing a specific campaign plan (1612). According to this plan, the western powers would disembark initially at Preveza, from whence they would proceed towards West Macedonia, where around 12,000 armed locals would be waiting for them to rouse the region. Athanasios had the active support of clerics from the 'Diocese' of the Archbishopric of Ohrid (the Metropolitan of Kastoria Metrophanes and the Bishop of Prespes Zacharias Tsingaras were among the

movement's most fervent supporters). The rather exaggerated number of armed rebels proposed by Athanasios can partly be explained by the general revolutionary fervour in north-west Macedonia at the time, which centred upon the activities of a number of Macedonian *Klephts*. What was different about this plan was that Athanasios had collaborated with other Greeks from Epirus, the Mani, Thessaly and Cyprus to persuade the Pope, the Spaniards and the Venetians to give practical support to a general uprising in the Greek peninsula. The proposals of the would-be rebels towards the western courts were backed up by the argument that they had the collaboration even of Ottoman officials, such as the Pasha of Ioannina Osman and the Pasha of Veroia Recep, in addition to that of the Christians. But, the Pope was hesitant and unwilling to mobilise the weak Italian states, whilst from the third decade of the 17th century the Spaniards did not at all favour such movements in the Greek East. And so this well-designed plan was never put into action.

The rise in the 17th century of the Austrians as the Ottomans' main rivals on the northern borders of the Empire revived the hopes of the Macedonians for revolutionary action. The Austrians were nearer and more directly interested in the central Balkans. Yet, the Venetians still had an interest in the Greek East, maintaining a climate of fervour in various parts of the Greek peninsula. The Macedonians attempted to use the two powers in their interests, in order to create a general revolutionary movement in the region. The two wars between Venice and Turkey during this century were a good starting point. Yet, the successes of the Venetians against the Turks in the Cretan War (1645-1669) in the north Aegean did not reach the Macedonian coasts. Venetian efforts on the coasts of Kavala, Kassandra and Thassos during the second war (1684-1699) were more pirate-like in nature, their purpose being to cut off communication between Thessaloniki and Adrianople. Even so, and perhaps thanks to Venetian successes in the Peloponnese, in 1687 certain Thessalonikan notables asked Francesco Morosini, the *capitan general* of the Venetian fleet, to disembark a section of his fleet at Thessaloniki with the aim of transferring troops to the Macedonian interior and inciting a rebellion throughout the region. The appearance of a Venetian squadron in the port of Thessaloniki (May 1688) had no real consequence as the city's Ottoman authorities had been warned in time, putting the movement down at its inception. In contrast with the Venetians, the Austrians, despite all their intents and proclamations for rebellion in the northern Balkan peninsula, had no known contacts with the Macedonians in the 17th century, even during the last war of 1684-1699.

Looking at the revolutionary movements in Macedonia up until the end of the 17th century as a whole, we can say that they were spread along two main axes: north-west Macedonia and Thessaloniki along with its wider coastal region. The first axis arose due to its proximity with the West and its mountainous terrain, ideal for armed bands with an anti-establishment inclination. The second axis arose thanks to Thessaloniki, an urban centre with residents who had a highly developed political consciousness and a tradition of autonomy from as early as the Byzantine period. This meant they were better able to devise plans or to have contacts with the West so as to create revolutionary cores within their own regions. Mount Athos, again, enjoyed a special status, and the coasts of Cassandra and Thasos, with their intense – often localised – pirate activity, supplied human resources that were ready to fight, and that were both less willing to subject to Ottoman power and more easily usable by the western powers.

4. Klephts and Armatoloi in Macedonia

A critical factor in maintaining a revolutionary climate on Macedonian territory, in addition to the population groups described above, were the *Klephtarmatoloi*.[15] We know just as much about these armed Ottoman-era groups in Macedonia during the 15th-16th century as we do for the rest of the Greek peninsula, i.e. very little. The mountain massifs of the Pindus range to the west of Mount Olympus, with Hassia to the south were, since the 15th century at least, an area that bred bandit groups. For this reason, the Ottoman authorities rushed to arm teams of *Armatoloi* (groups of local militia) to control the area, in particular the mountain passes, so as to facilitate the passage of people and goods from Central Macedonia towards Epirus and Thessaloniki, and to secure public order. It is even argued, although without sufficient evidence, that the second *Armatolik* (the area of an *armatolos*'s control) in the Greek peninsula was founded at Olympus at the end of the 15th century. By the end of the 16th century, when Sultan Suleyman I had re-organised all the empire's *Armatoliks*, five *Armatoliks* had been created in Macedonia: at Veroia, Servia, Elassona, Grevena and Milia.[16] We should assume that the members of these armed groups were among those local residents who were ready to fight as part of the various revolutionary plans drawn up in the period that followed the naval battle of Nafpaktos. One vague reference to the existence of *Klephts* at Olympus during the mid-16th century in the *Vita* of St Dionysius of Olympus confirms the role played by this southerly mountain massif in the development of *Klephtarmatolismos*.[17] On the whole, however, we do not have any real positive information for the activities of either *Klephts* or *Armatoloi* in Macedonia until the end of the 16th century.

Our information increases during the 17th century, thanks to a great extent to Ottoman documents kept in the court archives of Veroia and Monastir,[18] and also to the ever-increasing unruliness in the Macedonian countryside, which spread also to the *Armatoloi* bands from the mid-century onwards.[19] The first document to make a clear reference to the *Armatoloi* is dated to 1627 and concerns the arrest of a Christian *Klepht*-bandit by Christian *Armatoloi*, his appearance at the religious court and his sentencing. We read the Ottoman court document in translation:[20]

> *The Armatoloi of Veroia, Kokkinos and Doukas, Georgios and others, presenting the named Prodromos under tribute, resident of the village Grammatikos and the kaza Ostrovos, testified the following: the said Prodromos for many years and with many criminals like him coming from the villages, carried out a number of robberies and murders and ravaged properties. We have already arrested him in Naousa and request that his case be examined and justice done. When questioned, the said Prodromos confessed unprovoked and voluntarily that indeed during the summer he circulated around the mountains with other robbers and they carried out many robberies and murders and plundered many items and food. For this he was handed over to the Veroia police, so that justice will be done, recording this event hereunto. Mid Shaban of the year 1036 [27.4-6.5.1627].*

From this date on, there survives a series of documents in the archives concerning the activities of various Christian bandits around Veroia and the area of north-west Macedonia in general.[21] Because the information that we have for these groups is drawn exclusively from Ottoman sources, we cannot be certain about the nature of their bandit activity. The Ottoman authorities saw these people as common criminals and robbers. As such, it is very

difficult to discern any national liberation movements or at least anti-Turkish sentiment behind these activities. Even more so, considering that these groups often also committed crimes against Christian residents. The fact that the overwhelming majority of the bandits listed in the Ottoman archives for the 17th century are Christians (Greeks, Slavs, Albanians) is of interest, without this meaning that no Muslim bandits were also occasionally listed. We can see the extent that the phenomenon of banditry took in Macedonia from an order of the Governor General of Rumeli, sent to the *kadis* of Ohrid, Monastir, Prilep, Florina, Ostrovo, Edessa and Yiannitsa in 1682.[22] According to this:

> *The rea'yas of the peripheries of Ochrid, Monastir, Skopje, Kjustendil, Trikala and Thessaloniki, having secretly plotted together, formed a bandit gang of between fifteen and twenty and thirty men, and, having publicly demonstrating revolutionary tendencies, they moved around the above peripheries, sometimes on foot and sometimes on horseback, killing many Muslims and rea'yas of the town markets and villages and pillaging their property. In addition, the gang attacks the passers by on the public roads, robs the caravans and the public money and commits homicide. When their arrest was attempted, using gunshots as a sign, the rea'yas in your kazas sought to protect them, hiding them and supplying them with the necessary food and drink.*

The order of the general director was clear:

> *… gather the aforementioned soldiers, chief Armatoloi, the reinforcements and all the rea'yas of the mountain passes and start, before the vegetation begins to grow in the mountains, and go around the mountains, the ravines, the fields and the generally suspect places, to uncover the traces of these profligates, punishing them according to the law… so that the rea'yas and non-rea'yas can have peace and all can have their contentment back. If in the future you are slow or negligent and the bandits are able to step foot in those places or are heard of somewhere near them or after their arrest supporters appear saying 'he is my rea'ya or my wage labourer or my subashi or my man', you should know that the relevant punishment shall be imposed on them… 23 Rabi'ul-Akhar 1093 [1.5.1682].*

The general lack of public order allowed even the *Armataloi* to behave in an indiscriminate manner towards the local inhabitants of north-west Macedonia and to impede safe passage of merchants from those parts. As a result, it became very difficult to distinguish between the activities of the *Armatoloi* and those of the *Klephts*. With a *firman* of 1699, however, The Sultan decided to replace the Christian *Armatoloi* with Muslim ones.[23] It is possible that the turmoil of the closing years of the century was intensified by the revolutionary mobilisation inspired by the Austro-Turkish war and the Venetian-Turkish war. Until now, however, no documented evidence has been traced to connect the two events. Yet, as we can conclude from the early-18th-century documents, these measures did not achieve the desired outcome either. The Muslim Albanians who had been called upon to replace the local Christians in the *Armatoloi* bands proved to be even worse. And so the central authorities soon decided to replace them and to bring back the Christian *Armatoloi*.[24]

In conclusion, it appears that to a great degree the actions of the *Klephts* was concentrated in the large mountain massifs of west, north-west and south Macedonia, and was brought on by taxation and other similar transgressions by the local Ottoman authorities. There were also cases where the cause was far less noble (profiting through robbery),

whilst it is difficult to distinguish national or social motives within the documents that we are so far aware of at any rate. The increase in bandit activity during the 17th century arose from the continuing decline of central power and the inability of local power to impose order. We could, then, argue with certainty that the roots of *Klephtarmatolismos*, which played an important role in the revolution of 1821, can be traced to the 17th century. The presence of *Klephts* and *Armatoloi* in particular in Macedonia is documented for the 15th and 16th century, but the characteristics of these groups were different from those of the 17th century onwards. It is from this century (in particular from its second half) that the two groups became less and less distinct, due to the frequent slippage between the role of a *Klepht* and that of an *Armatolos*, and vice versa. This created a unified local military class that acquired an anti-establishment character and towards the end of the 18th century, given the general ideological developments of the day, a national mantle.

5. Communal tradition

The failures of the revolutionary movements and the doubtful character of bandit activity in Macedonia did not prevent its inhabitants from rallying together and forming communal bodies to represent them to the Ottoman authority. Indeed, this was also the wish of the conqueror, for the better control of the conquered. We have very little information for the communities in Macedonia during the period under question, and what we have is essentially comprised of scattered details on three cities, Thessaloniki, Serres and Veroia. For the first two cities, there is reference to the existence of a body of *archontes* (aristocrats) from the very early years after the Ottoman conquest, which represented the Christians of the cities to the local Ottoman authorities and also tried cases between Christians.[25] For Thessaloniki, we know that these *archontes* had negotiated, as representatives of the (Christian) population of the city the terms of its surrender during the first Ottoman conquest in 1387.[26] Other *archontes* were sent to Venice by the city's Christian population, during the period of Venetian rule (1426), to negotiate a series of city-related issues, such as its supplies, fortifications, trade, etc.[27] This body of *archontes* was comprised of twelve members, as we can see from the answers the Venetian Senate sent in response to the demands of the Thessalonikans (1426):[28]

> *... your there located [Venetian] governors have the right to gather freely at the same place with the twelve representatives of the city and whatever is decided by majority for the good and the benefit of the said city to be done... among the privileges awarded there is also this, that they can elect twelve nobles for the Council, but these must understand the customs of the country and the way to salvage the city ...*

The *archontes* also had judicial responsibilities and a close collaboration with the local Metropolitan. A document of the Archbishop of Thessaloniki Maximos (of the year 1502), concerning a monastery of Mount Athos, includes a memory of this twelve-member senate: the signatories are comprised of seven clerics and five laymen.[29] After this period, our information on communal organisation in Thessaloniki peters out, to reappear again in the 18th century.

The situation at Serres does not appear to have been so different. The existence of a community organ is testified for in judicial decisions of the local church already from 1387 and 1388, only four and five years respectively after the Ottoman conquest of the city. The interesting thing in these cases is that, in addition to clerics and laymen, a representative of

the Ottoman authorities also sat on the Metropolitan court, an indication of the control that the conqueror wanted to impose from the beginning on the Christian population and its representative organs.[30] In another act of the Metropolitan of Serres from 1393, the Ottoman representative is absent, whilst the signatories are comprised of seven clerics and five lay people. Again, a clear reference to a body of *archontes* in the city (the *archontes* of the *polity*).[31]

We find the same memory of a twelve-member body in Serres at the beginning of the 17th century (1613). After a meeting of all the Christian residents of Serres, it was decided that twelve good men and one from each city guild, with exclusive tax and financial responsibilities, should be elected:[32]

> *...with the will of all they chose and voted upon twelve men just and good and virtuous and God-fearing and they picked from every one man who was the most just and good and virtuous and set them with God and with their soul to judge and to maintain the public exits to the castle and the city of Serres...*

In the period of two and more centuries that had passed between the two references, it appears that the character of local administration had changed: from judicial responsibilities, the body had acquired responsibilities mainly related to taxation.

In Veroia, the presence of a communal organisation is testified to in 17th-century Ottoman sources. The organisation of the Christian residents of the city into a body with a head (*koca*, *bashi*, *kahya*) is placed in around the mid-17th century, when new taxes had been imposed upon the city. The picture given of the responsibilities of the Christian community is that this was essentially a tax collecting mechanism and, secondly a ‘policing’ mechanism, in the sense of maintaining order in the Christian neighbourhoods and the Christian population in general.[33]

From this we can come to some general conclusions. From the beginning of the Ottoman period, communal organisation in Macedonia can be seen in certain urban centres. It appears that in these examples we have a simple continuation of the community institutions that existed in the Byzantine period. The fluctuating political situation during the period of transition between Byzantine and Ottoman power led to the communal body taking certain political initiatives. Judicial authority was from the beginning practised by the communities always in conjunction with the local church. The traces of the Macedonian community appear once more at the beginning of the 17th century. This was a particular chronological moment of significance for all the Greek communities of the Ottoman era. The broadening of the system of farming out the collection of public revenues (*iltizam*) played a decisive role by giving the communities responsibilities for taxation.[34] The payment of the total amount of the Ottoman public tax owed by the Christians of a city was now the responsibility of the community organs, and these were now also officially recognised. The appointment of a salaried community representative (*kahya*) to the Ottoman authorities indicates the institutional recognition of the community by the state.[35]

6. Population

The best reading of the role that one region can play within a multiethnic empire depends upon a knowledge of the population groups that reside within that particular area. In contrast perhaps with political history – understood as a totality of political and military events – Macedonia is of exceptional interest for its demographic history during the Ottoman pe-

riod. Despite the fact that research is only at its beginning and it is only in the past few years that scholarly attention has been paid to the sources of this period, some initial conclusions can be ascertained in relation to the population of Macedonia in the period under study. It should first be noted that the main ethnocultural groups that we find in the Ottoman Balkans appear primarily in Macedonia. Thus, Greeks, Vlachs, Slavs, Albanians, Jews, Yürük, other Muslims and Gypsies (Christians and Muslims) make up the main ethnocultural groups of Macedonia.

Starting from the Muslims, we should note the great wave of Yürük settlers to Macedonia already from the end of the 14th century, which continued until the early 16th century. This population group in fact formed a special category among the Yürük of the Balkans, and was called the 'Selânik Yürükleri'. It settled in Central and West Macedonia, more specifically in the Thessaloniki plain and the region of Kozani. The Yürük had their own form of military organisation of households (*ocak*) and formed their own villages. We do not know the total number of their population. By the late 17th century, the specific Yürük form of social organisation had declined, and they themselves had taken on the characteristics of a settled rural population and been incorporated into the general settlement network of the region.[36]

The main Muslim population group of Macedonia was constituted of an urban population, and was thus essentially based in the Macedonian cities. The general policy of the Ottoman state was to restore those cities that had been destroyed economically and demographically by the various wars and to create new ones. As well as the Yürük, then, who were settled in the countryside, the state brought in many Muslims, mainly urban professionals, to people the cities or to reinforce the demography of the newly-founded ones. In addition to Yiannitsa (Yenice-i Vardar), founded by the conqueror of Macedonia Gazi Evrenos in the last quarter of the 14th century and which generally maintained its Muslim character until liberation, we note a gradual increase of Muslims in the large Macedonian cities (Thessaloniki, Skopje, Serres) during the 15th and throughout the whole of the 16th century. According to one study of the demographic situation in the Macedonian cities, by the end of the 16th century, out of a total of 26 cities, 18 had a Muslim majority.[37] A section of this population, the extent of which we cannot fully determine, had been converted to Islam. The same study argues that one-third of the Muslim population of Macedonian cities were converts.[38] If this figure is true, then we must assume that far more had been Islamised in Macedonia in the first two Ottoman centuries than is usually believed. Islamisation continued during the next two centuries, of course, but the details we have are fragmentary and cannot properly be counted. Finally, another section of the Muslim population included the military garrisons and administration staff, who represented a sizeable demographic group, particularly in Macedonia with its large administrative centres. Aside from the cities and areas where the Yürük had settled, there do not appear to have been large Muslim populations in other parts of the Macedonian countryside during the period in question.

The Christians were clearly the largest group in the total population of Macedonia. The types of sources available to us (Ottoman land registers) do not allow us to make further distinctions as to the different ethnocultural characteristics of the Christians of the region, since the only distinction that is made in these sources is between Muslims and non-Muslims (with the exception of the Jews). From the names of the residents, which are not always a secure factor for categorising according to ethnocultural group, we can conclude that Greek-speakers, Slav-speakers and Vlach-speakers formed the overwhelming majority

of the Christian population, without it being possible to give proportions for each group, nor to locate them within a particular geographic zone. The 15th and 16th centuries, too long ago for national contestations, give perhaps the opposite picture to that which we have become accustomed when looking at maps of the 19th century: a great scattering of the ethnocultural groups, without a clear picture of geographical determination.[39] Generally speaking, and with the danger of oversimplifying the situation, we can say that Greek-speaking Christians were located mainly in the large urban centres, whilst Slav-speakers were to be found mainly in the countryside. Outside of north and north-west Macedonia, Slav-speakers were located in specific enclaves. We thus have a significantly large congregation of Slav-speakers in the region of Strymon and north-east Chalkidiki. Finally, we can locate Vlach-speakers in the mountain massifs of west and north-west Macedonia. The great scattering of these populations throughout the whole of the Greek peninsula had not yet begun. This can be cautiously traced to the 17th century, when there was substantial over-population in the mountain regions, which subsequently dispersed to the countryside or to distant geographic parts.

The Jews are an easily distinguishable population group in the Ottoman registers, and today we can also locate them geographically and trace their demographic evolution. As is well known, Jews came to the Ottoman Empire in waves from Spain, Portugal and Southern Italy after 1492, expelled by the Catholic monarchs. These were the Sephardim. A smaller group, the Ashkenazi, came from Hungary and other northern countries. To these we should add the local Jews, the Romaniots, who had been settled in these lands since Roman times. Thessaloniki received the greatest proportion of the Jews from Iberia, doubling its population and strengthening its economy during the 16th century.[40] Other Macedonian cities received larger or smaller percentages of Jews (Monastir, Skopje, Serres, Kavala). Jews were located exclusively in the cities, where they engaged in specific economic activities (textiles, banking). Finally, a small number of Gypsies is observed in Macedonia, as in every other area of the Ottoman Empire. There is no information or data for the places where these gypsy populations settled, and we can only note that they lived not only in the countryside but also in large cities, such as Monastir, where there was a significant population.

We can gain a general picture of the demographic situation of Macedonia from the tax register compiled for the whole of the Ottoman Empire in the 1520s. The picture of the tax-paying population of the three Macedonian *sancaks* of Pasha, Kjustendil and Ohrid, which comprised the geographical area of Macedonia (and, of course, other areas, mainly in Thrace) was as follows:[41] Christians 1,000,000, Muslims 300,000 and Jews 10,000. To these figures we should add a further 10% to the Muslim population, comprised of the members of the garrisons and other administrative or religious employees who were not subject to taxation. Tables 1 and 2 show the population of the ten largest cities of Macedonia during the 15th and 16th centuries, indicating the demographic changes observable in each city as well as for the total of the largest cities.[42]

Table 1. Population of Macedonian cities during the 15th century

City	1421-1455			1455-1467			1478-1481		
	C	M	Total	C	M	Total	C	M	Total
Thessaloniki							4623	3513	**8136**
Skopje	1329	2064	**3393**	1383	2664	**4047**			
Serres	2681	2182	**4863**	1265	1960	**3225**	1339	2558	**3897**
Kastoria	3196	88	**3284**						
Monastir				695	1112	**1807**	1035	1592	**2627**
Zichna				1644	128	**1772**	2139	132	**2271**
Prilep	1581	40	**1621**	1373	84	**1457**	1652	588	**2240**
Sidrekapsi							1489	81	**1570**
Ostrovo							1437	72	**1509**
Sidirokastro	579	100	**679**	750	322	**1072**	800	614	**1414**

Table 2. Population of Macedonian cities in the 16th century

CITY	<1512			1519				1528-1530				<1550				1567-1580			
	C	M	Total	C	M	J	Total	C	M	J	Total	C	M	J	Total	C	M	J	Total
Thessaloniki[43]	6351	7111	13462	5303	5778	13502	24583	4264	5141	10580	19985					3223	5128	11732	20083
Skopje				1170	2586		3756	894	2697	53	3644	888	4312	134	5334	2290	6274	212	8776
Serres[44]	2777	4102	7106	2549	3039	275	5863	1675	2890	269	4834					1504	3616	263	5383
Veroia				2972	977		3949	3176	881		4057	3181	1207		4388	2718	1326	30	4074
Kastoria				3524	309		3833	3227	395	41	3663	2791	336	51	3178	2907	676		3583
Servia				3069	232		3301	3391	370		3761	3810	339		4149	2726	600	56	3382
Stip				1412	821	60	2293	1250	586	152	1988	1199	1049	164	2412	1104	1831	123	3058
Strumtsa				1176	1099		2275	2083	888		2971					1081	1795	12	2888
Prilep								2026	875		2901	2018	771		2789	1438	1180		2618
Melnik				3521	80		3601	2388	56		2444					2469	56		2525

Source: A. Stojanovski, *Gradovite na Makedonija od Krajot na XIV do XVII vek*, (Skopje, 1981), pp. 65-72; I. Kolovos, 'Horikoi kai monachoi stin othomaniki Halkidiki, 15os-16os aiones. Opseis tis oikonomikis kai koinonikis zois stin ypaithro kai i moni Xiropotamou' ('Villagers and monks in Ottoman Chalkidiki, 15th-16th centuries. Aspects of economic and social life in the countryside and Xeropotamou Monastery'), unpublished PhD thesis, vol. A, (Thessaloniki, 2000), p. 32; E. Balta, *Les vakifs de Serres*, pp. 251-273.

The overwhelming Christian majority should be calculated as being much lower towards the end of the 16th and in particular throughout the 17th century, mainly due to Islamisation and population movements. On the latter, there are no secure data from the period. From the *firman* of 1605 we can conclude that a large number of people from Agrapha (Central Greece) had settled in Thessaloniki.[45] The editor of the data has characterised this population as not permanently settled. If we are to judge from the level of tax that this group paid, then we can conclude that in population terms it was around the same as the city's other Christian groups. This movement was part of the basic migration movement that scholars have identified in relation to Macedonia.[46] According to this view, the Christians who had sought refuge in the mountains in fear of the Turks in the 14th and 15th centuries had begun in the 16th, and continuing in the 17th, to descend to the plains. This movement is interpreted both in terms of over-population in the mountain regions, making it difficult to sustain so many inhabitants, as well as to the peace and security that had grown in the region.

The 17th century is generally considered to be one of demographic crisis throughout the whole of the Ottoman Empire.[47] Due, however, to a lack of successive numerical data, we cannot come to a conclusion as to the extent of the crisis suffered – if this was the case – by the population of Macedonia. Thanks to two 17th-century Ottoman travellers, Evliya Çelebi and Katip Çelebi (Hajji Khalifa) we have some clues as to the population of certain Macedonian cities. The population in these sources is given as 'hearths', a demographic size for which, however, it cannot be calculated how many people it represents. Even so, the numbers that these sources give, in particular for the 18th-century population of the cities, indicates a factor of two people per 'hearth'. The demographic picture that we had for the largest urban centres at the end of the 16th century continued to hold for this century too: the same cities that had been the largest in the previous century continued to be so in this one. Moreover, and in contrast with the theory of a demographic crisis, we note a population increase in the region of 50%, primarily in the largest Macedonian cities. The population of Thessaloniki, for example, doubled in relation to that of the 16th century, almost reaching 18th-century levels. The same was true for Skopje, Veroia, Serres and Monastir, the largest cities of Macedonia. It has been argued that the region of Monastir witnessed a population decline in around the mid-17th century, whilst the following forty years marked a period of population growth.[48] If the figures are correct, then we should assume an intense urbanisation – also the case in the late 16th century – mainly towards the largest cities. In contrast, there was population flux in the smaller cities. A number of them lost population or declined, whilst others appeared or grew for various reasons. It appears, however, that the main urban network of Macedonia had already been formed by the end of the 16th century. The following table shows the number of 'hearths' in the ten largest Macedonian cities, based on the two Ottoman travellers.

Table 3. Macedonian cities in the 17th century

City	Population	Religion
Thessaloniki	33,000	(C, M, J)
Skopje	10,060	(C, M, J)
Veroia	4,000	(C, M, J)
Serres	4,000	(C, M, J)
Monastir	3,000	(C, M, J)
Kastoria	2,500	(C, M, J)
Strumnitsa	2,040	(C, M)
Servia	1,800	(C, M, J)
Yiannitsa	1,500	(C, M)
Florina	1,500	(C, M)

Source: A. Vakalopoulos, *History of Macedonia*, pp. 201-248, based on the two Ottoman travellers. C = Christians, M = Muslims, J = Jews.

7. Conclusion

The picture presented of Macedonia in the Ottoman period, until at least the second half of the 17th century, focuses particularly on its population, and therefore on its political situation. The fact that it was one of the central provinces of the Ottoman state, and one of the first areas of the Greek peninsula to be incorporated into the Empire meant that control of

its central authorities was far more effective than in other provinces of the Greek peninsula or the Balkans in general. The presence of a significant Muslim population throughout this period, as well as strong military forces, made the growth of any form of revolutionary movement difficult, whilst the quick and subsequently slow distancing of the region from the borders of the Empire did not favour the manifestation of political or military activities. The mountain massifs of Pindus to the west of Macedonia on the one hand helped the growth of *Klephtarmatolism*, whilst on the other they cut it off from parts of Epirus that were more ‘favourable’ for the revolutionary plans of the West. The sea was the main, and from one perspective, the safest, mode of communication with the ‘outside’ world. This situation also discouraged the development of a communal life able to rally the non-Muslim populations. As such, from a political perspective, the history of Macedonia during this period seemed ‘flat’ in relation to that of other Ottoman provinces in the Greek peninsula. It is not by chance that, in ethnocultural terms, it was the zone in which the biggest role was played by Muslims. The 18th century, with the great turmoil it brought for the whole of Ottoman society, would also attempt, though not always with much success, to overtun the pre-existing situation in this Ottoman province too.

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10. M. Sokoloski, ‘Apercu sur l’ evolution de certaines villes plus importantes de la partie meridionale des Balkans au XVe et au XVIe siècles’, *Bulletin de l’ Association Internationale d’ Etudes du Sud-Est Europeen* 12/1 (1974), pp. 81-89.
11. N. Svoronos, ‘Administrative, social and economic developments’, in M.V. Sakellariou (ed.) *Macedonia. 4000 years of Greek history and Civilisation,* Athens 1982, pp. 354-385.
12. K. Stathopoulou-Asdracha, ‘Oi tourkikes katalipseis tis Veroias (14os, 15os ai.) kai ta pronomia mias christianikis oikogeneias’ [‘The Turkish conquests of Veroia (14th, 15th c.) and the privileges of one Christian family’], *Epitheorisi Technis,* 20 (1965), pp. 152-157.
13. A. Stojanovski, ‘Administrativno – Teritorijalnata Podelja na Makedonija pod Osmanliskata Vlast do Krajot na XVII vek’, *Glasnik za Institut za Nacionalna Istorija,* 17/2 (1973), pp. 129-145.
14. A. Stojanovski, *Gradovite na Makedonija od Krajot na XIV do XVII vek*, Skopje 1981.
15. G. Tsaras, *I teleftaia alosi tis Thessalonikis (1430). Ta keimena metaphrasmena me eisagogiko simeioman kai scholia* [*The last fall of Thessaloniki. The texts translated with introduction and commentary*], Thessaloniki 1985.

16. A. Vakalopoulos, 'Zur Frage der zweiten Einnahme Thessalonikis durch die Türken', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift,* 61 (1968), pp. 285-290.
17. A. Vakalopoulos, *Istoria tis Makedonias, 1354-1833* [*History of Macedonia*], Thessaloniki 1988, 2nd edition.
18. A. Vakalopoulos, 'Domi kai synthesi ton koinotikon symvoulion dyo makedonikon poleon, tis Thessalonikis kai ton Serron, epi Tourkokratias os ta mesa tou 19ou aiona,' ['Structure and composition of the community councils of two Macedonian cities, Thessaloniki and Serres, during the period of Turkish rule until the mid-19th century'], Thessaloniki History Centre, *I diachroniki poreia tou koinotismou sti Makedonia*, [*The diachronic path of communalism in Macedonia*], Thessaloniki 1991, pp. 193-212.
19. I.K. Vasdravellis, *Istorika Archeia Makedonias A: Archeion Thessalonikis, 1695-1912* [*Historical Archives of Macedonia A: Thessaloniki Archive*], Thessaloniki 1952.
20. I.K. Vasdravellis, *Istorika Archeia Makedonias. B: Archeion Veroias-Naousas, 1598-1886*) [*Historical Archives of Macedonia B; Veroia and Naousa Archives*], Thessaloniki 1954.
21. I.K. Vasdravelis, *Armatoloi kai klephtes eis tin Makedonian* [*Armatoloi and Klephts in Macedonia*], Thessaloniki 2nd edition, 1970.
22. M. Vasich, 'The Martoloses in Macedonia', *Macedonian Review,* 7/1 (1977), pp. 30-41.
23. S. Vryonis Jr, 'The Ottoman Conquest of Thessaloniki in 1430', in A. Bryer and H. Lowry (ed.), *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society*, Birmingham and Washington D.C. 1984, pp. 281-321.

Notes

1. The basic study on the Ottoman period remains that of A. Vakalopoulos, *Istoria tis Makedonias, 1354-1833* [*History of Macedonia*], Thessaloniki 1988, 2nd edition. A very good article, with an emphasis on social and economic history is that of N. Svoronos 'Administrative, social and economic developments', in M.V. Sakkellariou (ed.) *Macedonia. 4000 years of Greek history and Civilisation*, Athens 1982, pp. 354-385. For the early Ottoman period in Macedonia, see I.D. Psaras, 'I Othomaniki kataktisi tis Makedonias' ['The Ottoman conquest of Macedonia'], in I. Koliopoulos and I.K. Hasiotis (eds), *I neoteri kai synchroni Makedonia. Oikonomia – Koinonia – Politismos,* [*Modern and contemporary Macedonia. Economy – Society – Culture*], Thessaloniki, n.d. [1991], pp. 34-43.
2. This had been preceded a year earlier by the capture of Byzantine Christoupolis (modern Kavala), on which see now P. Katsoni, 'Othomanikes kataktiseis sti Vyzantini Makedonia. I periptosi tis Christoupolis (Kavala) ['Ottoman conquests in Byzantine Macedonia. The case of Christoupolis (Kavala)'], *Byzantina,* 23 (2002-2003), pp. 181-208.
3. The precise dates at which these cities of Macedonia fell into the hands of the Ottomans, as of the other late-14th-century conquests in general, are still open to question. This is due to the lack of clear evidence. The Ottoman sources are to a large extent unreliable, whilst the Byzantine sources do not always give the dates or the manner of conquest of the various regions. The *Vrachea Chronikia* [*Short Chronicles*] are the main source for determining the date at which different areas of the Greek peninsula were conquered. See. P. Schreiner, *Die byzantinische Kleinchroniken*, vols I-III, Vienna 1983. For an example of the many conquests of Macedonian cities and the questioning of the sources of the era, see K. Stathopoulou-Asdracha, 'Oi tourkikes katalipseis tis Veroias (14os, 15os ai.) kai ta pronomia mias christianikis oikogeneias' ['The Turkish

conquests of Veroia (14th-15th century) and the privileges of one Christian family'], *Epitheorisi Technis,* 20 (1965), pp. 152-157.

4. On the differing views as to whether the city was captured in 1391 or 1394, as well as for the first years of Turkish rule in Thessaloniki, until the early 15th century, see A. Vakalopoulos, 'Oi dimosievmenes omilies tou archiepiskopou Thessalonikis Isidorou os istoriki pigi gia tin gnosi tis protis Tourkokratias sti Thessaloniki (1387-1403)' ['The published speeches of Isidoros, Archbishop of Thessaloniki, as a historical source for the first Turkish period in Thessaloniki'], *Makedonia,* 4 (1955-1960), pp. 20-34, and 'Zur Frage der zweiten Einnahme Thessalonikis durch die Türken', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift,* 61 (1968), pp. 285-290.
5. On the various conquests of Thessaloniki, see Psaras, 'The Ottoman conquest', pp. 36-39, with a comprehensive bibliography. On the Venetian period specifically, see K. Mertzios, *Mnimeia makedonikis istorias* [*Monuments of Macedonian history*], Thessaloniki 1947, pp. 30-99, with rich archive material from Venice for this period.
6. G. Tsaras, *I teleftaia alosi tis Thessalonikis (1430). Ta keimena metaphrasmena me eisagogiko simeioman kai scholia* [*The last fall of Thessaloniki. The texts translated with introduction and commentary*], Thessaloniki 1985, pp. 54-55.
7. For the general events in the Ottoman conquest of Macedonia until the final fall of Thessaloniki, see Vakalopoulos, *History of Macedonia*, pp. 34-93. On the fall of Thessaloniki and the first years after its conquest, see S. Vryonis Jr's analytical article 'The Ottoman Conquest of Thessaloniki in 1430', A. Bryer and H. Lowry (eds), *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society*, Birmingham and Washington D.C. 1984, pp. 281-321.
8. The basic study on the administrative organisation of Macedonia until the end of the 17th century is the article by A. Stojanovski, 'Administrativno – Teritorijalnata Podelja na Makedonija pod Osmanliskata Vlast do Krajot na XVII vek', *Glasnik za Institut za Nacionalna Istorija*, 17/2 (1973), pp. 129-145.
9. From the rich bibliography on *vakifs* in the Ottoman Empire, see on Macedonia in particular T.M. Gökbilgin, *XV-XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası Vakıflar -Mülker-Mukataalar*, Istanbul 1952, E. Balta, *Les vakifs de Serres et de sa region XVe et XVIe s.). Un premier inventaire*, Athens 1995; V. Demetriades, 'Vakifs along the Via Egnatia', in E.A. Zachariadou (ed.), *The Via Egnatia under Ottoman Rule (1380-1699)*, Rethymno 1996, pp. 85-95.
10. H. Inalcık, 'Stefan Duşan'dan Osmanlı İmperatorluğuna. XV. Asırda Rumeli'de Hıristiyan Sipahiler ve Menseleri', H. Inalcık, *Fatih Devri Üzerinde Tetkikler ve Vesikalar*, I, Ankara 1995, 3rd edition, p. 174.
11. For the Christian *timars* in the Balkans during the 15th century, see H. Inalcık's basic article, 'Stefan Duşan'dan', pp. 137-184.
12. The supposed revolutionary activity argued for by Vakalopoulos (*History of Macedonia*, pp. 110-111) in the region of Veroia (1444) is not supported in the sources; see I.K. Hassiotis, 'Antitourkikes kiniseis stin proepanastatiki Makedonia' ['Anti-Turkish movements in pre-revolutionary Macedonia'] in I. Koliopoulos and I.K. Hassiotis (eds), *Modern and contemporary Macedonia*, p. 454 n. 2. See this article also for the reasons why significant revolutionary movements were not witnessed in Macedonia, pp. 451-453. The following section is based on this article, which gives a more complete picture of the revolutionary movements in the area on the basis of unpublished archival sources.
13. From the rich bibliography on Mount Athos, see G. Alexandros Lavriotis, *To Agion Oros meta tin othomaniki kataktisin* [*Mount Athos after the Ottoman conquest*], reprint from vol. 32 of the *Epetiridos tis Etaireias Vyzantinon Spoudon*, Athens 1963.
14. On the activities of 'Sultan' Yahya see S. Papadopoulos, *I kinisi tou douka Never Karolou Gonzaga gia tin apeleftherosi to valkanikon laon (1603-1625)* [*The movement of the Duke of Nevers, Carlo Gonzaga for the liberation of the Balkan peoples*], Thessaloniki 1966, pp. 220-230.

15. The main works on this subject are: I.K. Vasdravelis, *Armatoloi kai klephtes eis tin Makedonian* [*Armatoloi and Klephts in Macedonia*], Thessaloniki 2nd edition, 1970; A. Matkovski, *Turski izvori za ajdutstvoto i aramistvoto vo Makedonija*, vol. 1 (1620-1650) and vol. 2 (1650-1700), Skopje 1961; and M. Vasich, 'The Martoloses in Macedonia', *Macedonian Review,* 7/1 (1977), pp. 30-41.
16. Vakalopoulos, *History of Macedonia*, pp. 118-119.
17. Vakalopoulos, *History of Macedonia*, p. 118.
18. For these developments see Vakalopoulos, *History of Macedonia*, pp. 190-197 and 251-257, and Vasdravellis, *Armatoloi and Klephts*, pp. 32-39.
19. M. Vasich, 'The Martoloses in Macedonia', pp. 34-37.
20. I.K. Vasdravellis, *Istorika Archeia Makedonias. B: Archeion Veroias-Naousas, 1598-1886*) [*Historical Archives of Macedonia B; Veroia and Naousa Archives*], Thessaloniki 1954, p. 10 (no. 11).
21. See, for example, Vasdravellis, *Veroia and Naousa Archives*, nos. 12, 15, 16 (1627), 38 (1646), 52 (1667), 53 (1668), 56, 57 (1669), 60-62, 67 (1670), 72, 76 (1671), 81-86, 88 (1672-73), 93-96 (1681), 98-99 (1682), 102 (1683), 104, 106 (1684), 109-110 (1685), 122 (1686) and 134-135 (1699).
22. Vasdravellis, *Veroia and Naousa Archives*, no. 99.
23. Vasdravellis, *Veroia and Naousa Archives*, nos.134-135.
24. Vasdravellis, *Veroia and Naousa Archives*, nos. 137-138 (1704) and 142 (1708).
25. Evidence on the communities of Thessaloniki and Serres collected in A. Vakalopoulos, 'Domi kai synthesi ton koinotikon symvoulion dyo makedonikon poleon, tis Thessalonikis kai ton Serron, epi Tourkokratias os ta mesa tou 19ou aiona,' ['Structure and composition of the community councils of two Macedonian cities, Thessaloniki and Serres, during the period of Turkish rule until the mid-19th century'], Thessaloniki History Centre, *I diachroniki poreia tou koinotismou sti Makedonia* [*The diachronic path of communalism in Macedonia*], Thessaloniki 1991, pp. 193-212.
26. Vakalopoulos, 'Structure and composition', pp. 200-203.
27. E.A. Zachariadou, 'Ephemeres apopeires gia aftodioikisi stis ellinikes poleis kata ton XIIII kai XV aiona,' ['Ephemeral efforts at self-government in the Greek cities during the 14th and 15th century'], *Ariadne*, 5 (1989), pp. 347-349.
28. Mertzios, *Monuments*, p. 54.
29. N. Oikonomides, *Actes de Dionysiou*, Paris 1968, pp. 192-193 (no. 41); Vakalopoulos, *History of Macedonia*, pp. 69-70 and 75-76.
30. Vakalopoulos, *History of Macedonia*, p. 39.
31. J. Lefort, *Actes d' Esphigmenou*, Paris 1973, pp. 175-177 (no. 30).
32. P. Odorico, *Memoire d' une voix perdue. Le cartulaire de la metropole de Serres, 17e-19e siecles*, Paris 1994, p. 47.
33. E. Gara, 'In Search of Communities in Seventeenth Century Ottoman Sources: The Case of the Kara Ferye District', *Turcica,* 30 (1998), pp. 135-162.
34. V. Dimitriades, 'I anaptyxi tis koinotikis organosis ton horion tis Makedonias kai i forologiki politiki tou othomanikou kratous' ['The development of community organisation of the villages of Macedonia and the tax policy of the Ottoman state'], *The diachronic path*, pp. 307-320.
35. In Veroia we know of the existence of just such a post since 1620 (E. Gara, 'In Search of Communities', pp. 144-145).
36. V. Dimitriades, 'Forologikes katigories ton horion tis Thessalonikis kata tin Tourkokratia' ['Taxation categories of the villages of Thessaloniki during the Turkish period'], *Makedonika,* 20 (1980), pp. 401-406; T.M. Gokbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlad-i Fatihan*, Istanbul 1952, pp. 74-78.
37. M. Sokoloski, 'Apercu sur l' evolution de certaines villes plus importantes de la partie meridionale des Balkans au XVe et au XVIe siecles', *Bulletin de l' Association Internationale d' Etudes du Sud-Est Europeen,* 12/1 (1974), pp. 83-84.

38. M. Sokoloski 'Apercu', p. 88. The same trend is noticed among the urban population of all the Balkan cities around this time. See N. Todorov, *The Balkan City, 1400-1900*, Washington 1983, pp. 78-100.
39. This subject is perhaps the least researched for the early Ottoman period in Macedonia.
40. Jews constituted over half of the population of Thessaloniki until the end of the 16th century. See Table 2 below.
41. O.L. Barkan, 'Essai sur les donnees statistiques des registres de recensement dans l' empire ottoman aux XVe et XVIe siecles', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 1 (1958), p. 32, Table 6. The data provided in this table have been reproduced in many studies.
42. Ottoman tax registers give the populations according to tax base. Extrapolating absolute figures of individuals entails many dangers in terms of how precise they may be. Here we have used the following criteria: a) each tax base with a married head equates to four individuals; b) each tax base with a widow as its head equates to three individuals; c) each tax base with an unmarried man equates to one individual. The calculations were made on the basis of these factors. Since there is no agreement among scholars on the use of these factors, the figures given in the tables are indicative and suggest only demographic trends, without them having an absolute value.
43. To these figures we should also add at least 3,031 Jews, as this register is not complete as regards the Jews.
44. 227 Jews are included in the final total.
45. I.K. Vasdravellis, *Istorika Archeia Makedonias A: Archeion Thessalonikis, 1695*-1912 [*Historical Archives of Macedonia A: Thessaloniki Archive*], Thessaloniki 1952, p. 4 (no. 1).
46. Vakalopoulos, *History of Macedonia*, pp. 139-145.
47. B. McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe. Taxation, Trade and the Struggle for Land, 1600-1800*, Cambridge 1981, pp. 86-87.
48. McGowan, *Economic Life*, pp. 131-134.

VII. Macedonia from the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century to the Foundation of the Hellenic State

by I. K. Hassiotis

1. The new geopolitical and geo-economic framework

With the close of the seventeenth century and the dawn of the 'long' eighteenth century, new geopolitical and geo-economic conditions arose in the wider area of south-eastern Europe and the eastern Mediterranean that were to have a decisive influence on Macedonia's historical development. The start was made with the peace treaty of Karlowitz (Sremski Karlovci) in 1699 between the defeated Ottoman Empire and the three victors of the anti-Turkish 'Holy League', Venice, Poland and, especially, Habsburg Austria. Of significance here is Habsburg dominance of an extended zone of the northern Balkans. Two further Austro-Turkish treaties, that of Passarowitz in 1718 and that of Belgrade in 1739, were to deepen this dominance, which was to extend to the greater part of Serbia. This Austrian 'descent' to the south brought Macedonia far closer to the territory of the Habsburg Empire, a large, ascendant power in South-east Europe.[1]

The shift in the political map of South-east Europe was combined with important economic developments. The beginning came with the signing of the Austro-Ottoman treaties, which foresaw a decrease in customs duties and strengthened free trade in general in the Danube. The terms of these agreements were renewed in 1747, resulting in the expansion of Austrian trade from the Danube region to the Adriatic and also, somewhat, to the Aegean. An important role in this was played by the emergence of Trieste as the Habsburg Empire's largest commercial port and the opening of Consulates and merchant firms at some important Ottoman markets, with foremost those of Thessaloniki and Constantinople.[2] Moreover, until the end of the century, the Ottoman Empire signed similar diplomatic and commercial treaties with almost all the European powers, continuing the tradition of 'Capitulations' established in the sixteenth century. The shipping and commercial facilities that Catherine the Great of Russia (1762-1792) blackmailed the Sublime Porte into granting after the two Russo-Turkish wars (1768-1774 and 1787-1792) were of particular importance for Greek history. These privileges were foreseen in the peace treaties of Kuchuk Kainardji (1774) and Jassy (1792), and were fully established with bilateral economic agreements signed in 1783, 1798 and 1812.[3]

In the meantime, important events took place in the wider eastern Mediterranean during this period, which also affected the Ottoman Empire's European possessions, Macedonia in particular. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, the Sultan's eastern and south-eastern provinces were suffering from the rebellions and separatist tendencies of various regional and peripheral princelings. The situation intensified with the Turco-Persian wars of 1723-1747 and the anarchy that reigned for the next decades in Persia and throughout almost all the Near and Middle East. All this led to the disruption and decline of the traditional land and sea routes, and the unavoidable stagnation of the once flourishing retail markets of Syria, Lebanon and Egypt. This meant that the European merchants (mainly the British and French) shifted their activities from the 'echelles' (docks) of the Middle East to the safer ports of Asia Minor (mainly Smyrna) and to some commercial centres in the Ottoman Empire's European territory that up until then had been neglected: Arta, Ioannina, Avlona (Vlorë), Dyrrachion (Dürres), and, especially, Thessaloniki and the emerging port of Kavala.[4] This further increased the significance of the southern Balkan land routes and also, by exten-

sion, the role of Macedonia in the trade of the whole of south-east Europe. As we shall see below, with the close of the eighteenth and the dawn of the nineteenth century, new geopolitical factors emerged, which developed conditions even further.

2. The growth of Macedonian trade

The changes in the political and economic conditions throughout the eastern Mediterranean proved a historical 'challenge' for the populations settled relatively close to the new commercial centres and arterial routes of the Balkans. At that time, however, most peoples of the region, as well as the Austrians, the Russians, and particularly the Ottomans, were not in a position to cover the increased trade needs on the roads that united the markets of the Ottoman Empire with central Europe and the Black Sea countries. This 'challenge' was responded to positively first by the Greeks, the Macedonians in particular, who made the most of the reduced geographical distance now separating them from Austria's new territories. They were now in a position to communicate better with the northern Balkans and with Central and East Europe. This had important economic consequences: first, the inhabitants of northern Greek areas, responding to the increase in demand for agricultural produce and livestock, began to increase or adapt their production output. This revitalised a number of traditional industries (mainly in textiles, hair dye products and tanning), which in the previous centuries had been stuck at the local or regional level. The Greek Orthodox element, mainly, of Macedonia (and, to a degree, that of Epirus and Thessaly) was now able to take impressive initiatives, broadening the horizons of its economic activities. Their first steps were to forward Macedonia's exportable agricultural produce and livestock to the northern Balkans. Following this, they began to engage in clear brokerage and commercial activities. This paved the way for the first West Macedonian *kyratzides* (mule drivers), and then the *pramateftades* (peddlers) and *speditoroi* (agents) to penetrate some of the most important urban centres of Serbia, Hungary, the Danubian Principalities, Transylvania and the Crimea. From the mid-eighteenth century onwards the Greeks managed to obtain – after a period of unfair treatment by the Habsburg Emperors Charles VI (1740) and Maria Theresa (1760) – certain privileges, primarily for the unimpeded construction of Orthodox churches.[5] By the second half of the eighteenth century the companies founded by Macedonian merchants, who had settled at the crossroads of these regions, were at the forefront of the main sectors of the forwarding trade in South-east Europe, exporting cotton, wheat, wool, skins, rugs and tobacco, and importing, from Habsburg territories mainly, linens, glass, tools, hardware and general industrial products.[6] The ethno-religious element, which prevailed in these developments, was the Greek Orthodox: towards the end of the eighteenth century the Greeks of Thessaloniki handled two-thirds of the city's total trade.[7]

The main channels for this trade were initially land routes leading towards Central and Eastern Europe; this is where around half of Macedonian exports were being sent *ca* 1780. From the last decades of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth century, Macedonian merchants, in collaboration mainly with their British, Austrian and Russian counterparts, extended their activities to sea communications as well, connecting the commercial centres of Macedonia either with the central or western Mediterranean or, primarily, with the shipping centres and ports of the Black Sea and south Russia. In this last development a leading role was played, as might be expected, by the main port (almost the only port at the time) of Macedonia, Thessaloniki. As such, it is not incorrect to say that from the signing of the treaty of Passarowitz to the outbreak of the French Revolution (1789), the value of Thessaloniki's export trade jumped dramatically, increasing from 2 to 9 million gold francs. By the end of the eighteenth

century, almost a quarter of the export trade of the whole Ottoman Empire passed through the capital of Macedonia.[8]

This was not a linear development. The dawn of the nineteenth century, for example, brought a clear decline in the total trade of the eastern Mediterranean. Among the reasons for this development were the French Revolution, the Napoleonic wars and the British shipping blockades against French-held Europe. Despite all this, Macedonian exports found a somewhat productive alternative with the safer passage of various goods over the new supply routes of Central Europe, as opposed to the rather unprotected (due to the British blockades) Balkan land routes. The spread of the Industrial Revolution through Europe assisted the expansion of foreign trade, British in particular, to the Ottoman markets, as well as the dramatic increase in imported industrialised western products (mainly textiles) in the Turkish-held East and, in the final analysis, closer links between the eastern Mediterranean economy with the global trade system and its fluctuations. Although in the long term these developments undermined local industry, they also reoriented agricultural production to commercial and more marketable crops.[9] Moreover, they changed the general climate, creating new opportunities for the local middlemen in commercial brokerage and the retail trade, in those sectors at least with which a section of the rural and urban, or semi-urban Christian population of Macedonia had become familiar.[10]

The outbreak of the Greek Revolution and its spread to Macedonia in 1821-1822 generated new catastrophes, both in agricultural output and, primarily, in trade, in particular Greek. The arrests and slaughters of notables in Serres, Thessaloniki and other cities forced a section of the Greek Orthodox population to flee to southern Greece. This flight continued after the foundation of the Greek Kingdom, with continuous post-Revolution resettlements (for employment and economic reasons) to other areas of Ottoman territory. The eventual result was that almost the whole of Macedonia underwent a new period of economic decline.[11] The situation would start to change for the better towards the end of the century's third decade, which, however, leads us to a new phase in the history of Macedonia.

3. Demographic fluctuations

In the eighteenth century Macedonia no longer constituted a unified administrative unit. West Macedonia had been divided into the *sanjaks* of Ochrid and Monastir, whilst Central and East Macedonia constituted two separate *sanjaks* (although often governed by one Pasha). The northern regions of the wider Macedonian territory were incorporated into the *sanjak* of Kyustendil. Despite this local government planning, many provinces had evolved into administratively autonomous units, such as in the case of the *kazas* of Kara Dağ and Demir Hisar (Siderokastro) in the north and with several *kazas* in the plains of Serres and Drama. The trend towards this administrative partitioning depended to a great degree on the economic development of the 'autonomous' provinces: the purpose of the state was to ensure they were taxed in the most effective way.[12]

The available data for the population of the Macedonian provinces of the Ottoman Empire during the eighteenth century is not always reliable. Even so, it gives some kind of indication of their demographic development, which generally appears to be on the rise. During the first decades of the eighteenth century some sections of Macedonia at least began to display the first signs of a hopeful demographic recovery, in particular amongst the Christian population. Our information for Central and East Macedonia (the *sanjaks* of Thessaloniki and Kavala) shows that their total populations increased between the beginning of the sixteenth century and the final decades of the eighteenth century by 93%, a small rise for such a long period of time. In the sixteenth century,

population growth was to be witnessed not among the Christian population (50%), but among the Muslim (234%) and the Jewish (360%) populations. The drop in the rise of the Christian population was due to conversions to Islam, fleeing and the destruction caused by the Turkish conquest. The Muslim population rise was due to the continuous settling of Turks in these two provinces, whilst the Jewish population rise was due to the mass settlement of Sephardic Jews in the urban centres of Macedonia, in particular in Thessaloniki. The figures for the turn of the eighteenth century, however, give a very different population profile: an increase among Christians from the 240,000 of the sixteenth century to 360,000, against 200,000 Muslims and 40,000 Jews for the same period (from the 60,000 and 11,500 respectively of the sixteenth century). This population increase during the eighteenth century is more apparent in areas where the Greek Orthodox community was compactly settled, i.e. in West Macedonia. In these regions, the natural growth of the population between 1711 and 1788 had reached the fairly encouraging figure of 50%.[13] This is a noteworthy figure, if we were to compare it to the stagnation of the previous centuries. The demographic strength that the Greek Orthodox element presented at that time ensured that in the area of Macedonia ('historic' Macedonia, at least) it had a population core to provide it – along with the Greek language and cultural tradition – with examples of a historical continuity that had withstood time and the basic ingredients of an 'ethnic' character.[14]

The calculation of the total population of wider Macedonia after the dawn of the nineteenth century is – given the meagre and contradictory nature of the sources and the lack of clarity as to the geographic extent of Macedonia - risky. In 1801, the traveller Edward Clarke calculated it at 700,000 souls. This number can only be crudely compared to the data from the first Ottoman general census, conducted in 1831, which increased the number of only the male population (of all three religious communities) of the two *vilayets* of Thessaloniki and Monastir to 448,633 people. The increase in the Macedonian population, apparent until the outbreak of the Greek Revolution in 1821, concerned all three main religious communities (Christian, Muslim, and Jewish).[15] This development, however, should not be attributed solely to Macedonia's economic growth (due to the favourable conditions we mentioned above), but also to the reduction in child mortality (thanks to improvements in hygiene, in particular among the Christian population), to increasingly less lethal epidemics which were now breaking out further from the war fronts.

Even so, the picture is not idyllic: cholera epidemics, for example, never ceased to make their appearance in the urban centres, Thessaloniki in particular, which was tested repeatedly in 1679, 1689, 1712-1714, 1717, 1719-1722, 1730, 1741, 1744, 1748, 1754, 1758-1763, 1772, 1778, 1781 and 1788.[16] Yet, despite this, the epidemics did not cut the tangible rise in the demographic sizes of the Macedonian capital dramatically, in comparison with the previous centuries. In 1723 the population of Thessaloniki can be crudely estimated at around 50,000 thousand individuals; in 1733 to 40,000 (18-20,000 Jews, 10,000 Muslims and 8-9,000 Christians); in 1741 to 80,000 (a surely inflated figure); in 1768 and 1777 to 65-70,000 (25-27,000 Jews and 8,000 Greeks); in 1781 and 1788 to 80,000; and by the end of the century and beginning of the next to 60-65,000 (12,000-13,000 Jews and 15-20,000 Greeks), and by 1812 to over 70,000. A number of general predictions of the possible increase in the demographic growth of Thessaloniki, both in general and on a ethnic/religious basis, have been made using these estimates. It has thus been calculated that between 1734 and 1792 the city's total population rose by 50%, as much, that is, as for the rest of Macedonia. For a period, the greatest part of this population rise was attributable to the Muslim community, which jumped from 30% to 55% *of* the total. But the Greek population also experienced a significant rise, going from 20% to 25% of the total population, at the expense of the Jewish population. In

fact, after 1790 Greek presence in the city was even further strengthened with the settlement of those fleeing the villages and market towns of Epirus and other emigrants, seeking safety in the urban centres of Central Macedonia from the arbitrary acts of Ali Pasha and the raids of the uncontrolled Albanian irregulars. In the same period Thessaloniki's Jewish population started to decline in comparison to the two other main communities, dropping from 50% to 20% of the total population of the Macedonian capital.[17]

These percentages are not repeated for all the urban centres of the rest of Macedonia, in particular for the non-Christian populations. In the mid-eighteenth century, Veroia had 3-3,500 residents, Edessa 2-2,500 and Serres 12-15,000. Towards the end of the century the same cities generally witnessed a clear population increase: Veroia had 7-8,000 (Christians and Muslims, with very few Jews) inhabitants, Edessa 5-6,000 (mainly Christians) and Serres 25-30,000 (of whom, almost half were Muslims). For around the same period it is stated that Kastoria had 7-8,000 residents (mainly Christians), Naoussa 3-4,000 (all Christians), Yannitsa 4-5,000 (almost all Muslims), Drama 5-6,000 (mainly Muslims), Kavala 2-3,000 (a mixed population) and Eleftheroupolis (Pravi) 2-3,000 (mainly Christians). When we enter the nineteenth century, the numbers rise even more for Veroia (18-20,000), Edessa (12,000) and Serres (25-30,000 inhabitants)[18].

4. Economic and social disturbances

The economic development of Macedonia was not always in the direction of growth. The Austro-Turkish wars and the Russo-Turkish wars in particular, even when they were being conducted far from Macedonia, had a negative effect on its trade and the general activities of its inhabitants. First of all, they cut off land and even sea communications. The details that we have for the movement of trade to the urban centres, Thessaloniki in particular, during times of military conflict are indicative of these fluctuations: in 1715, for example, the participation of merchants in the trade fairs of Thessaloniki was exceptionally limited and activity in the port flat. In 1738 the arbitrary acts of the Ottoman troops that were moving towards the north Balkan front had forced the inhabitants of many Central Macedonian villages to abandon their homes. During the Russo-Turkish war of 1768-1774 internal trade in Thessaloniki almost completely stopped and the movement of commercial vessels in the north Aegean was exceptionally risky. This was also the case during the war of the Austrians and Russians against the Ottomans in 1787-1792: not only were land communications in the Balkans cut off, but shipping in the Aegean was also completely paralysed. Yet, trade in Thessaloniki was also negatively affected even by military conflict in Western Europe. The war, for example, for the succession of the Austrian throne (1741-1748) caused the complete cessation of merchant shipping in Thessaloniki. The same happened during the Seven Years War (1755-1763): through their activities the British, and their Greek corsair collaborators, had essentially terminated the movement of goods in the Mediterranean, or at least for those vessels flying a French flag.[19]

Yet, the irregular conditions caused by the wars had other, more long-term, results within Macedonia: they spurred the already endemic bandit activities of Turkish-Albanian irregulars. The situation was worsened by the presence in the north-west Greek peninsula of the Albanian mercenaries who had been used in the 1770s to repress the Greek revolution in the Peloponnese. Homeless and roaming, but armed and essentially under the control of no one, they tyrannised the inhabitants (Christians and Muslims) with their looting and arbitrary acts, causing not only the destruction of isolated mountain settlements, but also the decline of market towns and even cities (as

happened, for example, with the then flourishing Moschopolis (Voskopolje), which went into decline as a result of repeated pillaging between 1769 and 1789). These raids had already begun in certain parts of Epirus in the late seventeenth century. By the mid-eighteenth century, the phenomenon had spread to a larger geographic area, including large sections of Epirus and almost all of West Macedonia. The main reason for this unheard of – even for the conditions of those days – outbreak of banditry was the lack of control exercised by the waning central Ottoman power, which was now unable to prevent not only the actions of Muslim irregulars (Albanians for the most part), but also the gradual rise of their leaders as autonomous local rulers – the foremost example being that of Ali Pasha Tepelena (1744-1822).[20]

Within this stifling atmosphere of impunity and anarchy, a section of the Christian population of Macedonia was forced to abandon its ancestral lands and seek new, safer homes. The majority of these migrated towards the large cities of West and, primarily, Central and East Macedonia (towards Veroia, Naoussa, Edessa, Serres, etc.). Local traditions link the growth of certain provincial centres (e.g. Siatista and Kozani) with the resettlement of those fleeing from other, formerly flourishing but now pillaged Macedonian towns and cities.[21] In addition, as has already been mentioned, the re-settlement in Thessaloniki of inhabitants of those provinces that had come under the jurisdiction of Ali Pasha and his sons increased the population of the Macedonian capital. At the same time, a section of the Macedonian population that was suffering from the spread of Albanian control, moved towards East Thrace, Constantinople and even Asia Minor. Finally, a number of the former inhabitants of the destroyed Macedonian towns and villages took the road of emigration towards the already developed Greek colonies in the North Balkans and Central Europe. These last movements - which also had a positive prospect for Greek brokerage trade in the countries of reception – further strengthened the mercantile presence of the Greek element, Western Macedonian in its majority, in a number of developed urban centres in south-east Europe. These cities included Zemun, Karlowitz (Karlovci), Vukovar, Belgrade, Novi Sad, Krajna, Zagreb, Buda and Pest, Kecskemét, Vác, Miscolc, Sibiu, Brașov, Trieste, Vienna, and others.[22]

Many, however, of the inhabitants of some of the mountain villages of West and even Central Macedonia, not tolerating their misfortune and degradation (which they saw as caused by the arbitrary taxation imposed by the local Muslim rulers, and bad Ottoman administration), chose, in their desperation, a way out in religious conversion. The phenomenon of Islamisation, which had greatly petered out by the end of the sixteenth century, began to make its appearance again in the late seventeenth (with the almost mass conversion of the villages in the western Macedonian region of Anaselitsa) and eighteenth century (with the inhabitants of the village of Notia in the region of Moglena in 1759, for example).[23] Despite their local character, these late conversions meant that a significant section of the Greek-Orthodox community broke away in social, cultural and ideological terms, in particular within the individual ethnolanguage groups of the Macedonian periphery. For this reason, the church leadership tried, as was to be expected, to thwart these developments, particularly through education and sermons, hoping once again (as during the difficult first centuries of Ottoman rule) to safeguard the flock from its religious amputation. We should include the missionary work of a number of local scholar clerics in those areas under threat of Islamisation in the eighteenth century, with the encouragement of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. We can count among them Nektarios Terpos of Moschopolis, active most likely mid century, and some of the well-known sermonisers of the Great Church among them. Foremost among them was one of the most important spiritual figures of the Greek Orthodox world during the period of Ottoman rule: Kosmas the Aetolian (1714-1779). Kosmas wandered for over twenty years (from the beginning of the 1760s until his arrest and

execution), over the whole of Albanian-controlled West Macedonia and Epirus (north and south). With his ardent but simple sermon, he toiled for the opening of rudimentary schools and the building of churches, to thwart the loss of the uneducated and wretched Christian inhabitants to Islam. We have much and varied information for his missionary tours and his famous 'didaches' (teachings), although not always accurate and based on evidence. Particularly problematic are the details that come from the many 'recollections' and recorded local traditions on the 'passing of Patrokosmas' through many parts of the Macedonian countryside. Nevertheless, even this type of evidence, along with the surviving folk art, has its significance: it at least underlines the importance and reception of Kosmas's sermon throughout the whole of the north-west Greek peninsula, in particular in West Macedonia.[24]

5. Social organisation

In comparison with what we know of earlier periods, even of the seventeenth century, social organisation in Macedonia in the eighteenth century appears to have been reinforced. This should be attributed to many factors, external (relating to Ottoman power) and internal (developments within the Greek-Orthodox communities). We should count Ottoman decline among the main factors. Despite cultivating, as we have seen, phenomena of anarchy and arbitrary acts, the weakening of state control over the region appears to have contributed to the strengthening of local communal organs, to deal with the problems caused by the inaction of the local authorities. The farming out, for example, of the collection of public revenues and taxes of necessity transferred some of the responsibilities of the oft inept Ottoman administration to the leaders (*kehayia*) of the Greek-Orthodox communities. In some cases, the communities took on roles that exceeded the limits of their traditional jurisdictions. At Siderokafsia in Halkidiki, for example, the emissaries (*vekil*) of the 12 'Mantemochoria' (the ore villages) were able to set up – with approval of the Sultan – a co-operative with the right, farmed from the Sublime Porte, to deal in the area's mines. The social organisation of the *voyvodalik* of the 15 'hass' villages (*hassikokhoria*) of Polygyros was also 'federal' in form, as was that of the villages of the *nahiye* (province) of Cassandra. Generally speaking, in terms of communal matters a broadening of the responsibilities of the traditional community leaders (notables, elders, *demogerontes* and the various other local Council forms) can be observed in the eighteenth century. They were called upon to fill the gap left by the Ottoman administration's weakness in facing the new realities that had been created in Macedonia by its demographic and, primarily, economic growth.[25]

The role of the local Metropolitan or Bishop, who headed the communal organs (in particular for decisions of a judicial nature), continued to be undeniable institutionally. Even so, the economic and social rise of the merchants and industrialists, especially when they were organised into guilds, *esnafia* and *rufetia*, increased their influence in communal matters in relation to the representative of the Church. Gradually, then, the guild representatives began to participate in the judicial affairs of their communities. In Moschopolis in the mid-eighteenth century, for example, the guilds had a leading role on the community councils, and even in the formation of the communal courts. In the end, the professional bodies became fairly autonomous in relation to the local Metropolitan and with the established councils (8-member, 12-member and even 20-member) of the *demogerontes*. This was initially imposed by the turn of events, but was often made official with decisions of the Sultan or a simple opinion given by the local Ottoman authority. For example, in 1773 it was forbidden by a Sultanic *firman* for third parties to involve themselves in the affairs of the guilds of West Macedonia.[26]

In some cases, the reassignment of responsibilities within a community created unavoidable friction and social unrest. This was due to the interventions of the Ottoman administration and, more, often to the appearance of economic and social classes within the Christian population in the late-seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In the large urban centres, Thessaloniki in particular, it was not rare for there to be friction between the ecclesiastical authorities and the representatives of the merchant and industrialist guilds. Essentially, this was due to the competition – particularly intense in the first decades of the eighteenth century – between the up-and-coming lay 'leaders' and the Metropolitan of Thessaloniki for the financial management of the community and for responsibility for running its charitable foundations.[27] Even so, these disputes did not divide the Greek Orthodox element in a dangerous manner, as they did, for example, the Jewish community.[28]

In the administration of justice, however, the local clergy still continued to take the lead role. Moreover, the Greek-Orthodox community observed the Byzantine Church Canons for centuries, as these had been formulated in special texts from the first centuries of Ottoman rule, and the 'Canonical orders', 'Canonical responses' and 'confirmations' of Patriarchs and Bishops, many of which were the work of local jurist clerics. An important role was also played by traditional rights as foreseen in local custom. From the mid-eighteenth century the *Hexabiblos* of Constantine Armenopoulos, which had been translated into demotic Greek and published in Venice in 1744, began to be used, by some Macedonian communities at least, and in conjunction with the older, manuscript collections of Canonical Orders. By the end of the century they were also using, in Central Macedonia at any rate, the *Nomikon* of a local cleric, the Bishop of Kampania (Koulakia) Theophilos (d. *ca* 1795).[29]

The communities of Macedonia as a rule operated according to 'unwritten laws'. There are, however, cases –from the early Turkish period even – where the initiatives of certain community councils had a 'legal' dimension provided either by the autonomous status that their city or region had secured during the conquest, the decisions of the local Muslim religious judge (*kadi*), or even special documents issued by the Sultan. In order to reduce the tensions between the clerics, the traditional *demogerontia* and the rising new social classes, and also to avoid providing an excuse for outside (usually state) intervention, the leaderships of the Greek Orthodox communities and guilds codified their responsibilities through special community regulations, often drawn up after a general meeting of all the inhabitants. Yet, the establishment of such regulations was limited, until the early nineteenth century at least. Among the first systematically planned statutes is the *Systima i Diatagai* (System or Orders) of the Greek-Orthodox community of Melenikon, ratified at the beginning of the nineteenth century 'with the agreed vote of all the meeting' and the city's six 'guilds' (the dyers, goldsmiths, furriers, tailors, shoemakers and grocers). The *Systima*, the most advanced work outlining social organisation in pre-revolutionary Macedonia, was based on a central power-wielding body, the annual meeting 'of twenty judicious and discerning brothers of all classes'. The meeting elected three 'commissioners of the public' and three *ephors* (overseers), who in turn 'appointed' the 'commissioners of the churches'. These committees were responsible for all the basic issues relating to the self-government of the Greek inhabitants: the financial management of the common income (from donations, duties on cotton production, rents and leases on properties that belonged to the community, etc.). They were also responsible for social welfare ('for the charitable financial support and guardianship of all the needy') and the running and inspection of the schools and churches. The election of parish councils and the supervision of the running of the churches clearly underlined the transfer of a share of the jurisdiction of the local Metropolitan to the hands of the community's lay representatives.[30]

The influence exercised on the communal customs by the experiences of Macedonian emigrants in organising their own communities in the Diaspora has not yet been systematically studied. It is, however, quite possible that some of the regulations included in earlier (some from the sixteenth century) statutes (*Statuti*) of the Greek Orthodox communities and Brotherhoods (*Comunità* and *Confraternita*) in Western Europe were put into use in the running of communal bodies in Turkish-held Macedonia. This would have been particularly likely for the terms delineating the rights of the laity in respect of the local church authority.[31] Such statutes for the communities of the Diaspora were based on a mixture of the social customs of the homeland and the special regulations that were already in use in the countries of reception, for the running of the miscellaneous religious, charitable and professional associations. It is not by coincidence that the *Systima* of Melenikon was designed and printed in Vienna in 1813, with the support of a wealthy Melenikiot emigrant (‘which was arranged and designed by a patriot and patrician of this city, and with his funding… this came to light’).[32]

6. Cultural and educational activities

The information we have on education in Macedonia during the first centuries of Turkish rule is unclear and sporadic. The available evidence focuses mainly on the occasional presence of scholars – as a rule, monks and priests – in Thessaloniki and a number of monastic centres, primarily Mount Athos (where, however, the monks were notorious at the time for their general lack of education). There is also some evidence from the sixteenth century on the operation of a number of rudimentary schools in Thessaloniki and Serres. From the seventeenth century onwards, the situation began to change progressively, but was still far behind the increasingly more positive picture in other Greek areas. The favourable changes, which began to be observed during the eighteenth century, should be attributed to the economic growth of the Greek Orthodox communities and to the creative contribution of the Greek Diaspora. This contribution was manifested almost simultaneously in two areas: the Diaspora and the homeland. The Greek, and in particular the Macedonian, emigrants to North Balkan and Central European countries were able within a few decades not only to adapt to the social climate but also to emerge as important figures in local economic and cultural life. Examples of this are the schools and churches that they built in their new homelands, their donations and bequests to the host countries, as well as the honours they were in turn awarded by the political leadership of these nations.[33] When the emigrants repatriated, they attempted to assist the development of their homeland in every way, in particular in the field of education. This effort can be seen in financial support to schools, donations of educational and scientific books (many of which were published at presses in Pest and Vienna that specialised in Greek publications) and scholarships for the children of their compatriots to complete their studies in European countries.[34] Indeed, most of the scholars and teachers who worked in Macedonia during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had studied at Greek and foreign schools and colleges in Western and Central Europe. They also funded the restoration of churches and the construction of public benefit works (mainly through donations and bequests). It is not by coincidence that the communities most active in the fields of culture and education were those from which the most dynamic groups of Macedonians who had settled in the North Balkans and Central Europe originated. The members of these communities drew ideas for expanding their own economic activities, improving their living conditions and adopting a modern spirit and love of learning:

> *From 1662* (wrote the well-known scholar Charisios Megdanis, in reference to his hometown) *the cultural level of Kozani has risen, the number of businessmen in Germany, Hungary, Poland, Constantinople and elsewhere has*

multiplied, and the profits accruing to the town have been correspondingly more abundant. At the same time, a taste for luxury and an ambition to possess the finer things of life has been introduced. To begin with, all the well-to-do vie with each other in building and embellishing their houses in splendid style and in living with every luxury and elegance... After spending some time in foreign parts the inhabitants have undergone a change in outlook: they have become refined and have acquired the ambition to live a more urban existence and to become well educated.[35]

The Greek-Orthodox communities of Macedonia, then, began at around the end of the seventeenth and primarily during the eighteenth, to display precocious cultural accomplishments of an impressively high (for their geographical location) standard, seen in many areas of artistic activity (in particular architecture, painting and woodcarving). The surviving examples of this creativity indicate a mixture of traditional (Byzantine origin) forms with western-origin ideas. This can be seen in both the popular architecture of the simple houses and the grand 'mansions' (of Central and West Macedonia), but also in the depictions of secular folk painting, in these and similar buildings. In these depictions (e.g. in the painted décor of the mansions of Siatista and Veroia) the meeting of two civilisations is even represented thematically, with the depictions of the large cities of the East on one side and, on the other, the real or imaginary cities of the West. The skilled woodcarvings also show the influence of European baroque, both in secular features (ceilings, doors, partitions, skylights, trunks, etc.), as well as in ecclesiastical ones (icon screens, pulpits, lecterns, etc.). It is more difficult to trace western influence in other forms of folk art (stone masonry, metallurgy, silvery, pottery and textiles) where strong tradition and the needs of the local market, established over many years, exercised a perhaps greater caution towards innovation. The same was true of church architecture and icon painting, even if we can still discern some western influences in this area.[36]

In the field of education, sporadic references during the second half of the seventeenth century to the activities of certain teachers in seemingly short-lived schools in Serres, Kozani, Veroia and Thessaloniki are the first hopeful signs. The running of Greek schools appears more stable in the eighteenth century, most of which were again supported by Macedonian Diaspora. The best-known examples were in Thessaloniki (late seventeenth century); Kastoria (from 1705, if not earlier); Siatista (from 1710), Serres (from 1735); Kozani, (which, thanks to its 'peddlers', acquired its own commercial school in the mid-eighteenth century); Blatsi (1761); Kleissoura (1775); Naoussa and Edessa (1773); and a number of other urban centres.[37] Around the middle of the century (1748) the Athonite Academy (Athonias), a particularly important Greek educational institution during Ottoman domination was opened on Mount Athos by the Monastery of Vatopedi, with dozens of pupils. For around twenty years, this school had the good fortune to be supported by the teaching efforts and intellectual renown of some of the most important Greek scholars, from Neophytos Kafsokalyvitis (1713-1784), to Evgenios Voulgaris (1716-1806) and Panagiotis Palamas (d. 1803). It did not last for long, however, mainly due to the reluctance of the local monastic and ecclesiastical elements to accept the teaching of the positive sciences and modern Western philosophy - advanced lessons for their day. The enlightened teachers of the Athonite Academy eventually departed one after the other (with Voulgaris being the first to go in 1759). They did, however, manage to produce some fine pupils, who later became distinguished for their educational work in various parts of the Greek world.[38]

The leaders of certain Greek communities in Macedonia showed a similar wariness of the new educational trends and Enlightenment ideas in general. Even the Greek-

Orthodox community of Thessaloniki, despite the relatively cosmopolitan character of the city and the large number of foreign traders who lived there, had its suspicions of cultural and educational revitalisation. As such, for many years, from the first decade until the end of the eighteenth century, its Greek school was dominated by the conservative scholars Ioannis Yannakos, Kosmas Balanos (1731-1808) and Athanasios Parios (*ca* 1725-1813). In 1752, the neo-Aristotelian Yannakos, assisted by the local Metropolitan Bishop and many leading members of local society prevented the foundation of a second school in the city, because the 'slanderer of Aristotle' the monk Pachomios, considered a student of the modernist Methodius Anthrakitis (d. 1748), was to teach in it. We should note that Anthrakitis, distinguished for his pioneering educational positions, had also taught for several years at schools in Kastoria and Siatista.[39]

Even so, the conservative attitude shown by the leaderships of the Greek Orthodox community towards the audacious moves of the great representatives of the Neohellenic Enlightenment did not prevent the opening of an ever-increasing number of schools in Macedonia. With the coming of the nineteenth century, Greek educational institutions increased in number, taking in even those Macedonian areas with a relatively limited Christian population (for example, Yiannitsa, which acquired its Greek school at the beginning of the nineteenth century). This does not mean, of course, that these schools all operated properly: communities were often not in a position, or not willing, to cover the wages of the teachers, resulting in regular lacunae in the curriculum. This situation can also be observed in Thessaloniki. In 1818, for example, Athanasios Psallidas referred to the city's Greek school, calling it 'neglected'. The Revolution of 1821 was to make things worse in areas that had an active participation in the liberation struggle, where, in any case, the peaceful and productive pursuits of the Christian inhabitants had been suspended for some years. In Thessaloniki, however, the Greek school opened once more in 1825 in the little church of Ayios Antonios, near the Hippodrome. But that school was, in the estimation of the members of the Greek community themselves – 'inferior to the conditions required for our century'. Another twenty years had to pass for the community to organise once again in 1845-1847, to reopen not only the older 'allilodidaktikon' school, where more able pupils taught the others, but for the better preparation of its teachers.[40]

This picture was to change substantially in the second half of the nineteenth century, when many well-staffed schools were opened in most Macedonian towns and cities, and this time with the support of the national centre, Athens. At around the same time (primarily from the 1870s onwards) a number of cultural associations were founded, which, through their activities were also to contribute to the general growth of education and to a Greek national sensibility throughout all of Macedonia.[41] This mobilisation was to lead to a real educational renaissance upon which, as was demonstrated during the intense national educational and ideological competition of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century, much of the future of Macedonian Hellenism depended.

7. Ideological processes, anti-Turkish movements and rebellions

Macedonia, cut off to the west and the south by the mountain massifs of Pindus and Olympus, and far-flung from the regular routes used by foreign travellers and visitors going from western Europe to Constantinople and the Middle East, for centuries remained unavoidably marginal to outside ideological influences. A main role in this was also played by the centuries' long inertia of the population (farmers and livestock rearers in the majority), which was stuck in backward forms of economic and social life. As

has been mentioned, innovations were introduced by the migrants into a section (wealthy, as a rule) of the residents of certain parts of Macedonia. Even so, the general attitude of the population to the innovations undertaken from time to time by particular individuals with a view to updating traditional cultural norms was one of circumspection. The Greek-Orthodox communities, even the large ones (e.g. Thessaloniki) were particularly suspicious of innovations in education; in the field, that is, were all types of bold ideologies were being cultivated. All these factors go a great way to explaining why the residents of Macedonia were late in familiarising themselves with these ideologies, ideologies which in other areas of the Greek East had contributed to an awareness of the need to replace the non-Christian Orthodox dominant regime with a more beneficial Christian state system. We should also, however, bear in mind yet another significant fact: the presence within Macedonia of a compact Muslim population, which was being constantly demographically renewed, through resettlements from other provinces (mountainous and rural in the main) of the Ottoman Empire.[42] This last fact discouraged the questioning – in any form – of Ottoman power by the Christian population. This reality ultimately had a negative influence on the fate of the Greek Revolution in Macedonia in 1821-1822.

The Jewish population, which lived only in the cities, exercised no meaningful ideological influence on the other religious communities. Moreover, from around the middle of the seventeenth century – after the division created by the movement of Shabbethai Zevi (1627-1676) and the mass conversion to Islam of his followers – it was in economic and cultural decline.[43] Its ideological 'awakening' (primarily via the Zionist movement) is a much later phenomenon, from at least the mid-nineteenth century onwards. Besides, the Jewish communities throughout the Ottoman Empire had, for historical and demographic reasons, different priorities, which were quite unrelated to the political choices of the Greek Orthodox community.

During the same period, we also witness some unrest within the Muslim community. But, this unrest did not have an ideological inspiration; the motive was usually the transgressions of the local government staff and, primarily, the arbitrary acts of the region's rich *agas* and landowners. These latter, often defying the orders of even the central government, did not only exploit the Greeks and the Jews, but often their fellow Muslims. Problems were also caused by the insurgencies of the thousands of janissaries who lived in Thessaloniki and its environs. Such insurgencies took place in 1721, 1730, 1735, 1747, 1751, 1752, 1755, 1758, 1763, 1770 and 1779.[44] When the Muslim 'guerrillas' found themselves in a difficult position they would then turn to the Greeks, seeking a convenient anti-Turkish collaboration to serve their own interests. The most characteristic example of such a stratagem, of course, was that of Ali Pasha who, when renounced by the Porte, attempted in 1820 to win over the Greeks with the supposedly common goal of restoring the 'kingdom of the Romaioi' and expelling 'the faithless race of Turks from Constantinople.[45]

Given this, we should be sceptical of the inflated image of idealised dynamic rebellions in Macedonia, as over-enthusiastic nationalist historians have represented them in the past; yet, the image of political inaction is as equally distorted. Revolutionary action was not lacking, then. It was simply limited (in comparison with in the western and southern regions of the Greek peninsula), and, until the Revolution of 1821, geographically located mainly in West Macedonia. The limited nature of the action should be associated with factors such as the lay of the land, local conditions, the tradition of the *Klephts-armatoloi* tradition, etc. From this perspective, West Macedonia had the most favourable conditions. Moreover, and despite the geographical difficulties, it never ceased communicating with the West, initially through the Archbishopric of Ochrid,

which from the mid-sixteenth to almost the late seventeenth century was in constant contact with the Greek Orthodox communities of Italy. From the eighteenth century onwards, contact was also maintained through the channels created by West Macedonian emigrants between their hometowns and West and Central Europe.

In this period, two powers were primarily connected with the revolutionary movement in Macedonia: Austria and Russia. The Habsburgs had begun to encourage the Balkan peoples to rise up against their Ottoman rulers with their particularly successful campaigns in the north Balkans in the 1690s. Even so, we do not have any specific evidence for any contacts with the Greeks earlier than 1716, and these relate only to Macedonia. The reason behind these contacts was the Austrians' impressive advances south, in particular after the victorious campaigns of Prince Eugene of Savoy (1663-1736). These developments created new prospects for Vienna's Balkan policy, which demanded more direct approaches to the Turkish-controlled Christian world. The preconditions for these approaches were seemingly favourable, at least for the inhabitants of Central and West Macedonia: at that time, the whole of the north Greek peninsula was suffering under the bandit activities of the withdrawing Ottoman troops, assaults by the irregulars, plundering by deserters, and the arbitrary acts of the *armatoloi*, Muslim and Christian. The local population was made desperate by this situation, pushing it, as mentioned before, in the direction of Islamisation, or even to violent actions against Ottoman power. One example of this was the small, but sufficiently bloody, rebellion of the inhabitants of Naousa under the local *armatolos* Zisis Karademos in April 1705.[46]

It was within this climate, then, that in April 1716 Zosimas Roussis (1686-1746) secretly sent his fellow Siatistan, the merchant Ioannis Gipropoulos to the Austrian army headquarters, then based in Transylvania, to deliver his written message assuring the Habsburgs that the inhabitants of Moschopolis, Siatista, Naoussa and other neighbouring Macedonian provinces were ready to revolt against the 'common enemy' if the Habsburg campaigns were to extend to their country. Zosimas Roussis was a well-known figure from Siatista, formerly the Archbishop of Ochrid and 'president' in these years of the Metropolitan diocese of Sisanion. It is interesting that during these negotiations the Greeks – clearly exploiting the general ideological climate and convenient coincidence of the appearance of the Russians as competitors to the Austrians on the political and military stage – demanded of the Austrians written guarantees in advance that they would respect Orthodoxy and the right of the inhabitants to practice their religious obligations freely. They set a condition, that is, something which the earlier Archbishops of Ochrid had not dared to formulate clearly during their discussions with the Western Catholic powers. The response of the Habsburgs was positive: Eugene of Savoy gave the written guarantees that had been asked of him, and the promise that his armies would march south, to West Macedonia. These agreements, however, were to go no further, as Austria then signed the peace treaty of Passarowitz (July 1718).[47]

Despite all this, Zosimas was not discouraged: a whole twenty years later, in December 1736, with an eye on the upcoming Austro-Turkish clash (1736/7-1739), he repeated his old proposals and conditions, this time sending the former Metropolitan of Patras, Paisios II, to the Austrians. But this new initiative of the Siatistan cleric was to receive the same vain response from the Austrians.[48] This effort was finally to close the circle of Greek appeals to the Catholic courts (which had begun in the 15th century) and to open a new phase of secret discussions between the Greeks and the Christian powers - this time with their fellow Orthodox Russians, with the exception of a brief intervening period when they were to pin their hopes o revolutionary France and Napoleon Bonaparte.[49]

The political relations between the modern Greek world and Moscow had old and deep roots, reaching as far back as Ivan III (1462-1505), wife of Zoe-Sophia Palaiologina, niece of the last Emperor. The first appeals to the Russian leaders to intervene in the Greek lands go back to the years of Tsar Alexis Mikhaïlovich Romanov (1645-1676), father of Peter the Great.[50] Towards the end of the seventeenth century and especially into the eighteenth, Greek-Russian contacts became more regular and systematic, now being coordinated with Russian efforts to create (as did the Austrians) diversionary fronts at the Ottoman rear.

The response of the inhabitants of Macedonia to this new historical 'invitation' was analogous to that of their compatriots in the other Greek areas. This, at least, is what is demonstrated in the appeals to Peter the Great by the Archimandrite Isaias of the Athonite Monastery of St Paul in 1688, the journeys and contacts with the Russians of the restless former Metropolitan of Thessaloniki Methodius in 1704, and the enthusiastic encomium of the Russian victories *Basilikon Theatron* (Royal Theatre) by the scholar monk from Naoussa, Anastasios Michail (d. 1725) in 1709/1710.[51] The hopes of the Greeks that they would be released from Ottoman rule with the help of the rising Orthodox power of the North was seen not only in the isolated initiatives of leading individuals. They were also diffused throughout the simple people, as can be seen in the substantial folk literature (mainly eschatological in nature) that emerged in the Greek East on the role of the Russians in the liberation of the race. It was also manifested in other, anonymous expressions, explicit and implicit, on the part of Greeks in favour of these political goals, as noted with displeasure by western observers of Greek affairs (diplomats, travellers, missionaries, etc.). The Ottomans were also watching the ideological association of the '*rea'yas*' with the 'Muscovites' with discomfort, already from the beginning of the eighteenth century. In 1711 the Thessaloniki garrison commander Hasan Pasha warned the Sublime Porte of the dangers inherent in the now obvious political contacts between the Orthodox inhabitants of the northern Greek provinces with Moscow, contacts that were renewed and broadened with the regular journeys to Russia of clerics and traders from Macedonia. In response to these contacts, the Porte issued an order to the local authorities to disarm completely the Christian population of Thrace and Macedonia during the constant Russo-Turkish wars.[52]

The Greek political problem was to be most directly connected with Russian policy during Catherine the Great's first Russo-Turkish war (1768-1774), in particular with the campaigns of the Orlov brothers in the Peloponnese and the Aegean. We should recall that in the secret preparations for the uprisings, which took place in many parts of the Greek peninsula, from Chimara to Mani in 1768, an important role was played by a Macedonian agent to the Tsarina, the army officer Georgios Papazolis of Siatista. Papazolis had acted in Central and West Macedonia, initiating chieftains and clerics from these regions into the Russians' plan. It should also be noted that Athanasios Vaïnakis, a little-known Greek of Moschopolis, served close to the Orlovs as a secretary.[53]

Despite all this, Macedonia remained once more outside of the main sites of the pro-Russian uprisings within Greece. This was not, however, to spare the Macedonians from the consequences. Central Macedonia suffered from the destruction caused by the passing Ottoman troops on their way to the revolutionary Morea, from the successive mobilisations of the Yürüks and the violent reactions of the Muslims to the destruction of the Ottoman fleet during the naval battle of Çesme (July 1770). The coasts of the Thermaic gulf were a regular target of the corsair raids of the Russians and their Greek collaborators, something that was to cause – both during and after the war – a number of security problems in the north Aegean. Thasos also experienced a short-lived period of Russian occupation, after the capture of Limenas by a squadron of the Russian fleet

in August 1770. Moreover, a number of Macedonians collaborated with the Russians, either by mobilising small bands of armed men, or by taking part in the revolutionary efforts in the Peloponnese or in the naval campaigns in the eastern Mediterranean.[54] Their role, however, has not yet been properly substantiated by the research so far. Nor have the details that we owe to folk tradition on the activities during the Russo-Turkish war of certain known *Klephtarmatoloi* families of the Macedonian countryside been complemented with specific historical testimony. These families were active in the mountain triangle that unites Thessaly and Epirus with Macedonia, and included the Ziakaioi of Grevena, Zedros and the Lazaioi of Olympus and Pieria, and the Blachavaioi of Hassia.[55]

Our information on the stance of the Macedonians during the next Russo-Turkish war (1787-1792) is also lacking. We recall, however, that during this war – which was not directly connected, as was the previous one, with Greek territory – overall Greek participation was clearly limited. Despite this, the Russians again attempted to win the Greeks over, with the aim of creating pockets of turmoil in the sensitive areas of the Greek peninsula. This is clearly what lay behind the new secret contacts between Louizis Sotiris, Catherine the Great's Greek emissary, and the clerics and chieftains of Central and West Macedonia in the summer of 1789. Even so, these conspiratorial contacts did not end in an agreement due to the great suspicion that the Greeks now had of the tsarina's true intents, especially after the tactic that she had adopted twenty years earlier in the Peloponnese. This is why no real revolutionary activities were noted in Macedonia and other parts of the Greek world. The attacks by the *Armatoloi* of Olympus on Turco-Albanian bands in early 1790 and their contacts with Lambros Katsonis (1752-1804) and certain other occasional collaborators of the Russians in the north Aegean can be seen as isolated incidents.[56]

For the inhabitants of Macedonia in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, the immediate priority was dealing with the thousands of irregular Muslim Albanians who were raging uncontrollably in the countryside. The core of these irregulars was formed by those bands that had been used to stifle the revolution in the Peloponnese in 1770, which had now evolved into a real curse, behaving intolerably towards the Christian and Muslim population. We should evaluate the clashes between the prominent *armatoloi* and *klephts* of Olympus, Hassia and Pindus with the rival Turkish-Albanian gangs through this prism. Since the confusion between authority and social and ideological preconditions did not allow for a distinction between the general question of independence and the local problem of security, their actions should be seen as an idiosyncratic phenomenon, which to a degree was a continuation of the *armatolic* and even the bandit tradition that had been created by earlier conditions. The anti-Turkish activities of those bellicose chieftains is not often characterised by a selflessness for the protection of their fellow Orthodox Christians. The Macedonians who were initiated (and amongst the first) into Rigas Velestinlis's (1757-1798) revolutionary plans – such as the Markides Pouliou from Siatista, Konstantinos Doukas and Theocharis Tourountzias, and the Kastorians Georgios Theocharis and Panayiotis and Ioannis Emmanouil[57] – bore no ideological relationship with these uneducated chieftains of the Macedonian countryside. The achievements of these latter, even within the idealised representation of folk tradition, had not yet acquired the purely national motives that were to be attributed to them in retrospect.[58]

The purpose of the contacts between Nikotsaras (1768-1808) and the Russian Admiral Senyavin during the Russo-Turkish war of 1806-1812 have not yet been fully clarified.[59] Further details are also needed on the contacts between Thymios Blachavas (d. 1809) and the Lazaioi with Russian agents in the Ionian and Aegean Seas in 1806-1807.[60] By contrast, the information that we have on the participation of Georgakis

Olympios (1772-1821) and a number of other Macedonian chieftains in the Serb uprising of 1803-1804 is quite unambiguous. Their examples, therefore, can be considered significant not only because of the undoubted resonance that the Serbian events of 1803-1804 had among the Greeks, particularly in Macedonia, but also because they indicate the beginning of a trend that was appearing on the historical horizon for future inter-Balkan collaboration against Ottoman domination.[61] The collaboration of the peoples of south-east Europe against the despotism of the Sultan had already been foreseen in the early 1790s by several radical Balkan thinkers of the day, the main representative being Rigas Velestenlis, who had provided that political concept with a far clearer ideological content.[62]

With the coming of the 1810s, the long and hard ideological process would also begin to ripen fully in Macedonia, as in the rest of Greece, leading to a conscious effort at national liberation: the Revolution of 1821. The first initiations into the Philiki Etaireia (Ioannis Pharmakis of Blatsi, Georgakis Olympios of Vlacholivado and Nikolaos Ouzounidis of Thessaloniki) took place outside the territory of Macedonia, in 1814-1816. The conscription of members of the Philike Hetaireia within Macedonia had started in 1818 with Ioannis Pharmakis's mission to Serres and Mount Athos, continuing in 1820 with Ioannis Vyzantios in Thessaloniki, and a few months later with Dimitrios Ipatros and others. Among the Macedonians who played an important role on the eve and during the Greek Revolution were the scholar and adjutant of Alexandros Ypsilantis, Georgios Lassanis (1796-1870), the military officer and writer Nikolaos Kassomoulis (1795-1872) and the merchant from Serres Emmanouil Papas (1772-1821). It was to Papas that responsibility for the Revolution in Halkidike was to fall, which started on his own initiative in the spring and ended, ingloriously after a few Greek victories, in the winter of 1821. Before being completely extinguished, the flame of Revolution in Halkidiki began in February 1822 with the uprising in central Macedonia. The protagonists in this were the chieftains of Olympus, Pieria and Vermion (Diamantis Nikolaou, Tolios Lazos, Anastasios Karatasos, Angelis Gatsos, etc.) and a number of notables of Naoussa, Edessa, Siatista and Kastoria (Zafeirakis Logothetis, Panayiotis Naoum, Georgios Nioplios, Ioannis Papareskas, etc.). Just as in Halkidiki, the showdown here was not balanced either: the revolutionaries not only did not have enough weapons or military supplies, but they also lacked a leading figure who would co-ordinate their scattered and, generally speaking, inexperienced forces. The epilogue was written at the revolutionaries' strongest bastion, Naousa, which fell on 12-13 April, with the mass slaughter and capture of its defenders on 21 April 1822. Even so, a significant number of Macedonian revolutionaries managed to escape to southern Greece, reinforcing the various fronts of the liberation struggle there.[63] The extent and importance of the rebellion in Macedonia should therefore be assessed from the perspective of the whole of the Greek liberation effort, and not simply as a local revolution. This was in any case clear from the anti-Turkish struggles that continued in Macedonia after the creation of the Greek state: those struggles were in essence a continuation of the National Revolution of 1821.

Notes

1. For the conditions in which these changes took place, see L. S. Stavrianos, *The Balkans since 1453*, New York 1958, pp. 173-177 and 182-186. Cf. I. K. Hassiotis, *Oi evropaikes dynameis kai i Othomaniki Aftokratoria* [*The European Powers and the Ottoman Empire*], Thessaloniki 2005, pp. 178ff. and 197ff. For their influence on

Macedonian trade, see A. E. Vakalopoulos's handbook, *History of Macedonia, 1354-1833,* Engl. transl. P. Megann, Thessaloniki 1973, [henceforth: Vakalopoulos, *History of Macedonia*], pp. 280ff.

2. N. G. Svoronos, *Le commerce de Salonique au XVIIIe siècle,* Paris 1956 [henceforth: Svoronos, *Le commerce*], pp. 180ff, 197. Cf. Olga Katsiardi-Hering, 'I afstriaki politiki kai i elliniki naftilia (1750-1800 peripou)', [Austrian policy and Greek shipping, *ca* 1750-1800], *Parousia,* 5 (Uni. of Athens, 1989), 445-537.
3. Hassiotis, *op. cit.,* pp. 236ff. and 257ff.
4. Svoronos, *op. cit.,* pp. 347ff. See also the sources for the years 1750-1797 published in M. Lascaris, *Salonique à la fin du XVIIIe siècle d'après les rapports consulaires français*, Athens 1939.
5. Vakalopoulos, *History of Macedonia,* pp. 397-398 and 438, and Svoronos, *op. cit.,* pp. 358-359 on the difficulties that Greeks encountered in the Habsburg Empire.
6. Traian Stoianovich, 'The Conquering Balkan Merchant', *Journal of Economic History,* 20 (1960), 234-313. This article was reprinted in Stoianovich's collected works, published under the title *Between East and West: The Balkan and Mediterranean Worlds,* vol. 2, New Rochelle and New York 1992, pp. 1-77, to which we refer in this article. See also A. E. Vakalopoulos, *Oi Dytikomakedones apodemoi epi Tourkokratias* [*West Macedonian emigrants during the period of Turkish rule*], Thessaloniki 1958, and, in more detail, in his *History of Macedonia,* pp. 379 and 387ff.
7. Svoronos, *op. cit.,* pp. 193ff., 350ff. Cf. A. Karathanasis, 'I Thessaloniki kata ta teli tou XVIII aiona kai tis arches tou XIX aiona. Eidiseis apo to gallika archeia', [Thessaloniki at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century. Evidence from the French archives], *Christianiki Thessaloniki. Praktika V Epist. Symposiou*, Thessaloniki 1993, pp. 43-52, and E. A. Hekimoglou, 'Ioannis Gouta Kaftantzioglou. To prosopo mesa stin epochi tou' [Ioannis Gouta Kaftantzioglou. The personality within his time], *Gregorios Palamas,* 78/758 (May-Aug. 1995), pp. 407-464.
8. Svoronos, *op. cit.,* pp. 352-354.
9. See T. Stoianovich, 'Land Tenure and Related Sectors of the Balkan Economy, 1600-1800', *Between East and West,* vol. 1, pp. 4-5.
10. Svoronos, *op. cit.,* pp. 356ff.
11. For the consequences of the Revolution on Macedonia, see Vakalopoulos, *History of Macedonia,* pp. 596ff., 653ff.
12. N. G. Svoronos, 'Administrative, social and economic developments', in M. B. Sakellariou (ed.), *Macedonia. 4000 years of Greek History and Civilisation*, Athens 1988, p. 361ff.
13. Svoronos, 'Administrative', p. 356. See also B. Gounaris, 'Demographic developments in Macedonia under Ottoman rule', in *Modern and Contemporary Macedonia. Economy, Society, Culture*, I. Koliopoulos and I. K. Hassiotis (eds), Thessaloniki 1992, vol. 1 [henceforth: *Modern Macedonia*], pp. 46-47. A similar increase can be observed in the population of Mount Athos, which, on the basis of the available evidence, appears to have doubled between the mid-16th and the mid-eighteenth century (from 1,442 to 2,966 residents, of which 2,908 were monks); see Chr. G. Patrinelis, 'The monastic community of Mount Athos', *Modern Macedonia,* p. 126.
14. See I. K. Hassiotis, 'Landmarks and principal phases in the history of Macedonia under Ottoman rule', *Modern Macedonia,* pp. 16-17.
15. Gounaris, *op. cit.,* p. 46.

16. Svoronos, *Le commerce,* pp. 135ff. Cf. I. K. Hassiotis, 'Thessaloniki under Ottoman Domination. The Early Period (Sixteenth c.-1830)',', in *Queen of the Worthy: Thessaloniki, History and Culture*, ed. I. K. Hassiotis, vol. 1, Thessaloniki 1997, p. 140. The largest number of victims of these epidemics came from the Jewish community: I. S. Emmanuel, *Histoire des Israélites de Salonique,* vol. 1, Paris 1936, pp. 221, 264-265.
17. Stoianovich, 'The Conquering', pp. 12-13, 17: see Hassiotis, 'Thessaloniki under Ottoman Domination', p. 143. The Consular reports, however, emphasise more the economic leadership of the city's Greek element and less its demographic rise: Svoronos, *Le commerce,* pp. 193ff.
18. Svoronos, 'Administrative', pp. 357-359.
19. Svoronos, *Le commerce,* pp. 122ff., 125ff.
20. Vakalopoulos, *History of Macedonia,* pp. 303-307, 322-324, 330ff, 467ff.
21. Vakalopoulos, *op. cit.,* pp. 333, 478ff, 485ff.
22. Ioannis Papadrianos, 'Macedonian emigrants in the Balkan peninsula', *Modern Macedonia,* vol. 1, pp. 418-435. See Stoianovich, 'The Conquering', pp. 37-41, 73.
23. Vakalopoulos, *op. cit.,* pp. 364ff, 357-358.
24. Vakalopoulos, *op. cit.,* pp. 369ff.
25. Vakalopoulos, *op. cit.,* pp. 546ff. See Svoronos, 'Administrative', pp. 364-368, and H. K. Papastathis, 'Communal organisation', *Modern Macedonia,* pp. 84-95.
26. Papastathis, *op. cit.,* p. 89.
27. Hassiotis, 'Thessaloniki under Ottoman Domination', pp. 141-142, 153.
28. Hassiotis, *op. cit.,* pp. 140-141.
29. Papastathis, 'Communal organisation', pp. 87-88.
30. Papastathis, *op. cit.,* pp. 89-90.
31. Hassiotis, 'Landmarks', p. 23.
32. Reprinting of the *Systima* in P. Pennas, *To Koinon Melenikou kai to systima dioikiseos tou* [*The community of Melenikon and its system of administration*], Athens 1946, pp. 23-46.
33. Papadrianos, *op. cit.,* pp. 431ff.
34. Examples in Vakalopoulos, *History of Macedonia,* pp. 426ff.
35. Vakalopoulos, *op. cit.,* pp. 437-438.
36. Consult N. Nikonanos, 'Post-Byzantine painting in Macedonia'; N. K. Moutsopoulos, 'The houses of the Macedonian communities, 15th-19th century'; E. Georgiadou-Kountoura, 'Vernacular art in Macedonia'; and E. Skouteri-Didaskalou, 'Aspects of the traditional culture in Macedonia, 19th and early 20th century', *Modern Macedonia,* pp. 163ff., 258ff., 308ff. and 326ff.
37. Cf. A. Karathanasis, 'Greek schools in Macedonia under Ottoman rule', *Modern Macedonia,* pp. 146ff and J. Diamantourou, 'Intellectual life', *Macedonia: 4000 Years,* pp. 403-408.
38. Vakalopoulos, *op. cit.,* pp. 362ff.
39. Ch. K. Papastathis, 'Intellectual Activity in Turkish-occupied Thessaloniki', and S. Ziogou-Karastergiou, 'Education in Thessaloniki: The Ottoman period', *Queen of the worthy,* vol. 2, pp. 217-218 and 241-242 (respectively), with references to the similar education efforts for the city's Jewish and Muslim communities during the same period.
40. Ziogou-Karastergiou, *op. cit.,* p. 243.
41. See the list of these associations in St. I. Papadopoulos, *Ekpaidevtiki kai koinoniki drasitoriotita tou Ellinismou tis Makedonias kata ton teleftaio aiona tis Tourkokra-*

tias [*Educational and Social Activity of the Hellenism of Macedonia during the Last Century of Ottoman rule*], Thessaloniki 1970.

42. For the influence of these elements on anti-Turkish movements in Macedonia during the period of Turkish rile, see I. K. Hassiotis 'Anti-Turkish Movements in Macedonia before the 1821 Greek Revolution', *Modern Macedonia,* vol. 1, pp. 436-457.
43. Stoianovich, 'The Conquering', pp. 12-13, 68 n. 38 (bibliography).
44. On Thessaloniki, see Hassiotis, 'Thessaloniki under Ottoman Domination', pp. 140, 141, 152 note 28.
45. Dennis Skiotis, 'The Nature of the Modern Greek Nation: The Romaic Strand', in *Past in Medieval and Modern Greek Culture,* ed. S. Vryonis, Jr., *Byzantina kai Metabyzantina,* vol. 1, Malibu 1978, p. 160. Cf. Notis Botzaris, *Visions balkaniques dans la préparation de la Révolution grecque (1789-1821)*, Paris 1962, pp. 172ff.
46. I. K. Vasdravellis, *Armatoloi kai klephtes eis tin Makedonian* (Armatoloi and Klephts in Macedonia), 2nd edition, Thessaloniki 1970, pp. 40-41; cf. A. E. Vakalopoulos, *Historia tou Neou Ellinismou* [*A History of Modern Hellenism*], vol. 4, Thessaloniki 1973, pp. 64-66.
47. S. L. Varnalides, *O archiepiskopos Achridos Zosimas (1686-1746) kai i ekklesiastiki kai politiki drasis autou* [*Archbishop Zosimas of Ochrid [1686-1746] and his ecclesiastical and political activity*], Thessaloniki 1974, pp. 78-92.
48. Varnalides, *op. cit.,* pp. 92-119.
49. Vakalopoulos, *Historia tou Neou Ellinismou,* pp. 67ff., 591ff. Cf. I. K. Hassiotis, *Metaxi othomanikis kyriarchias kai evropaikis proklisis: O ellinikos kosmos sta chronia tis Tourkokratias* [*Between Ottoman Domination and European Challenge: The Greek World in the Years of Turkish Rule*], Thessaloniki 2001, pp. 209-215.
50. Vakalopoulos, *History of Macedonia,* pp. 283-284. Cf. M. I. Manousakas, 'Ekkliseis ton Ellinon logion pros tous igemones tis Evropis gia tin apeleftherosi tis Ellados' [Appeals of the Greek intellectuals to the leaders of Europe for the liberation of Greece'], *Praktika tis Akadimias Athinon,* 59 (1985), pp. 225ff.
51. Vakalopoulos, *Historia tou Neou Ellinismou,* pp. 71-73.
52. Hassiotis, 'Anti-Turkish Movements', pp. 448-449.
53. Hassiotis, *op. cit.,* p. 449.
54. Hassiotis, *op. cit.,* p. 450.
55. Vasdravellis, *Armatoloi and Klephts,* pp. 51ff.
56. Hassiotis, 'Anti-Turkish Movements', p. 450.
57. For Rigas's Macedonian collaborators, see Vakalopoulos, *History of Macedonia,* pp. 464-466.
58. See Vasdravellis, *op. cit.,* pp. 26ff., 46ff.
59. Vasdravellis, *op. cit.,* pp. 62-72.
60. Vakalopoulos, 'Nea stoicheia gia ta ellinika armatolikia kai tin epanasastasi tou Thymiou Blachava sti Thessalia sta 1808' [New evidence on the Greek *armatoliks* and the revolution of Thymios Blachavas in Thessaly in 1808'], *Epist. Epet. Philos. Scholis Panep. Thessalonikis,* 9 (1965), pp. 245-250. Cf. M. Th. Lascaris, *Ellines kai Servoi kata tous apeleftherotikous ton agonas, 1804-1830* [*Greeks and Serbs during their liberation struggles*], Athens 1936, pp. 43-44, in which the possible connection of Blachavas's movement with that of the Serbs is examined.
61. Lascaris, *op. cit.,* pp. 26ff.
62. P. Kitromilides, *I Galliki Epanastasi kai i Notioanatoliki Evropi* [*The French Revolution and South-east Europe*], Athens 1990, pp. 113ff.
63. A. Xanthopoulou-Kyriakou, 'The Revolution of 1821 and Macedonia', *Modern Macedonia,* pp. 458-477.

VIII. The shaping of the new Macedonia (1798-1870)

by Ioannis Koliopoulos

1. Introduction

Macedonia, both the ancient historical Greek land and the modern geographical region known by that name, has been perhaps one of the most heavily discussed countries in the world. In the more than two centuries since the representatives of revolutionary France introduced into western insular and continental Greece the ideas and slogans that fostered nationalism, the ancient Greek country has been the subject of inquiry, and the object of myth-making, on the part of archaeologists, historians, ethnologists, political scientists, social anthropologists, geographers and anthropogeographers, journalists and politicians. The changing face of the ancient country and its modern sequel, as recorded in the testimonies and studies of those who have applied themselves to the subject, is the focus of this present work.

Since the time, two centuries ago, when the world's attention was first directed to it, the issue of the future of this ancient Greek land – the "Macedonian Question" as it was called – stirred the interest or attracted the involvement of scientists, journalists, diplomats and politicians, who moulded and remoulded its features. The periodical crises in the Macedonian Question brought to the fore important researchers and generated weighty studies, which, however, with few exceptions, put forward aspects and characteristics of Macedonia that did not always correspond to the reality and that served a variety of expediencies. This militancy on the part of many of those who concerned themselves with the ancient country and its modern sequel was, of course, inevitable, given that all or part of that land was claimed by other peoples of south-eastern Europe as well as the Greeks.

The quest for the true face of Macedonia, the real Macedonia at any given time, is no easy matter. The search for the necessary evidence and assessment of its reliability requires particular care, because its component elements are sometimes unreliable and misleading. Moreover, the very discipline of "Macedonology", that is, the study of Macedonia, is itself the focus of study to identify the various tendencies and objectives in the works of the Macedonologists.

Both the primary sources, then, and the works of the specialists conceal pitfalls that may lead the inquirer astray. Both contain silences and inconsistencies. Our ignorance on many important aspects of the question is largely due to the lack of sufficient written evidence relating to the settlement of the Slavs in the region. Despite the fact that archaeology and the new methods available to archaeologists have shed light on a number of these aspects, the 7th century still remains very dark, darker than its predecessors, perhaps because the national histories of the peoples of the region have not yet been freed from the bondage of the national myths that were shaped in the 19th century.

This present study aspires to shed those fetters and portray the historical past of Macedonia in accordance with the precepts of that great servant of Clio, Lucian: not striving to serve expediencies or passing and imposed certainties or equally ephemeral correctnesses, but endeavouring solely to ascertain the reality, in the unshakable faith that this reality, and objective truth, exist. The fundamental and driving objective of this study is this: to overcome not only the remains of the ethnic mythologies of the past but also the obstacles created by an inexplicable relativity that undermines the single-

minded commitment of the inquirer to the search for truth and a reality free of attributives.

One such step away from the established certainties bequeathed to contemporary historiography by the national antagonisms of the past is the separation of the history of Macedonia from the national histories of the peoples of the region. Two of the fundamental elements of this autonomous approach are: a) shifting the starting-point of the modern era from the 15th to the 18th century and b) broadening the boundaries of the country from those of antiquity to those of the so-called "modern" or "geographical" Macedonia.

These things, that is, dating the modern era in Macedonia from the end of the 18th century and using in this context the "geographical" rather than the historical Macedonia, are neither unrelated nor unconnected. "Geographical" Macedonia, which is congruent with the Macedonian Question, was shaped in the modern age as defined in this study and was the product of two main factors: a) the identification of three administrative provinces of European Turkey with ancient Macedonia and b) the Greek quest for the "northern" boundaries of the Greek nation in the modern age. The identification of the three provinces of the Ottoman Empire with the ancient Greek land and its name was inevitable, despite the fact that ancient Macedonia did not extend as far north as the three Ottoman provinces of the day, since the name was in the end imposed by the inclinations of the classically-educated travellers, diplomats, geographers and historians of that age. It was, naturally, an arbitrary nomenclature, but it was never challenged, least of all by the Greeks who were pushing the boundaries of their nation northwards taking Strabo as their guide. The end of the 18th century was chosen as marking the beginning of the modern period because that is the point at which one can begin to distinguish the elements used to identify a world moving out of the middle ages. For the contemporary historian, the older dating system, which, by analogy with Western Europe, fixed the 15th century as the starting-point of the modern age in Europe's far eastern reaches as well, is unsatisfactory when applied to the region known as Macedonia. The 15th century, which in the West is synonymous with the Renaissance, with a shift away from the theocentric world view of the Middle Ages to humanist education and the anthropocentric world view of the modern world, with the shaping of the first nation-states and the epic exodus of the Europeans into the rest of world and, finally, their shaping of that world in their own image and likeness, was in the Greek East an age not of progress but of retrogression. The age when the last free centres of the Eastern Roman Empire in Europe and Asia, Constantinople, Pontus, Epirus and the Peloponnese, succumbed to the conquering Ottoman Turks. The Venetians already held the Ionian Islands, and the Knights of St John ruled in Cyprus.

The Greek East, and naturally Macedonia, entered the modern age at least three centuries behind the advanced countries of Western Europe. The tardy Greek Enlightenment, in which many of the heterolingual Orthodox communities living alongside the Greeks played a part, is, from a scholarly point of view, a more satisfying starting-point for the modern age, for it is then possible to distinguish the elements of modernity that appeared earlier in the West. And that is the time when, as we have said, the ancient Greek land was "expanded" to become the geographical Macedonia of its later history.

There is no need to revise the other established divisions in the history of Macedonia: they are marked by adequate signposts and turning points. Sovereignty, a determining factor in the dating of historical periods, was in this study as well a decisive element in the demarcation of chronological periods. Prehistoric Macedonia, ancient Hellenic and Hellenistic Macedonia, Roman-occupied Macedonia, Byzantine Macedonia (which includes the short-lived rules of Bulgars and Serbs over parts of the land), Turkish-occupied Macedonia (the last century of which saw the shaping of "geographi-

cal" Macedonia) and contemporary Macedonia, which was liberated by and incorporated into the nation-states of the Greeks, Serbs and Bulgarians, are all distinct periods in the history of the ancient land and its mediaeval and modern successions.

Geographical Macedonia, that arbitrary historical entity of the modern age, has caused the researcher fewer problems down the ages than its inhabitants. Macedonia has always been a frontier, a place where many distinct linguistic and religious communities have come together and co-existed, for the most part peacefully. After the Roman conquest of the country Greeks, Romans and Latinised Greeks, Huns, Goths and Visigoths, Slavs, Albanians and Turks lived together, for longer or shorter periods, peacefully or otherwise, under a variety of dominations. From antiquity to the present, Macedonia has been a place of passage, settlement and migration, under divers conditions. Wars and persecutions, the requirements of the several overlords and the tribulations, such as famine and pestilence, that frequently afflicted the world and were interpreted as the wrath of God, created waves of refugees and emigrants; but the demographic losses were made up by refugees and immigrants from neighbouring or more distant lands. The years of Ottoman rule were marked by mass population shifts, with the settlement of incomers of other faiths from distant places and the emigration of surplus Christian mouths from the mountain villages of the west, primarily towards Central Europe.

Ever since the Macedonian Question was first raised on the international scene, the peoples that claimed Macedonia have put forward their so-called "ethnic" rights to the land, basing the legitimacy of those rights on two principal elements:) their "historic" rights to the land and b) the "majority" of their compatriots in relation to the other ethnicities in the country. There is nothing in the available evidence to suggest that those most directly interested in the matter ever seriously grappled with the following inescapable and still unanswered question: Which was of greater importance, in relation to the propounded legitimacy of these claims, historic rights or the numerical supremacy of an ethnic community? Which, in other words, weighed heavier, the place and its history or the inhabitants of the place? In the end, it was the legitimacy of the force of arms that tilted the balance in the resolution of the Macedonian Question.

The struggle for possession of Macedonia projected sides and aspects of the disputed land that have not been brought to the fore in the case of other historical countries. For nearly two centuries the history and culture of Macedonia, its society and economy and polyglot, multi-religious world, were the object of study and research that rendered the land transparent. That struggle also severely tested the scholarly authority of those whose work dealt with the disputed land and its future, and the peoples who claimed it and liberated it by force of arms. The Bulgarians fought chiefly for Macedonia and were defeated in three wars – the Balkan Wars (1912-1913), World War I and World War II. The Greeks were victorious in the same three wars, but paid a heavy price. The Serbs, with proportionally more modest sacrifices, in the end saw the portion of Macedonia that they had liberated claim its own ethnic identity and acquire independence.

Macedonia also tested the security system controlled by the Great Powers. A host of international conferences and bilateral or multilateral agreements were concerned primarily with Macedonia. The Russo-Turkish Treaty of San Stefano in 1878, the Berlin Congress and Treaty of that same year, the Ambassadors Conference in London in 1913, the Greek-Bulgarian Treaty of Neuilly in 1919 on mutual and voluntary migration to and from those countries, the stillborn Politis-Kalfov Protocol of 1924 and the equally stillborn Greek-Yugoslav Treaty conceded under Yugoslav pressure by Theodoros Pangalos in 1926: the object of these and other international acts of those and later years was to settle various aspects of the Macedonian Question. World War II severely tested the South-eastern European countries that shared the land of Macedonia;

but out of the travail of the Axis Occupation of that land came forth a new country on the fringes of the historical Macedonia.

That ancient Hellenic kingdom, called Macedon after its inhabitants, and the subsequent multi-tongued, multi-faith country that knew a succession of powerful conquerors and aggressors, shifted southwards on the map. It grew substantially, formed part of neighbouring provinces, was inhabited permanently or temporarily by a variety of peoples, until in the end it was forgotten and lived on chiefly in the legends of those who came together on its soil. From the barbarian invasions of the 4th century and the collapse of the Hellenic-Roman world and for many centuries after that, Macedonia remained in the wings of the historical stage, until it was rediscovered by the travellers, geographers, historians and ethnologists, who, as we have said, expanded it to the north and set about searching for ancient cities and identifying them with the settlements of their day, in order to establish the desired continuity. Towards the middle of the 19th century the quest was broadened to include monuments from the middle years, the Byzantine monuments that were more obvious and more numerous than the ancient, when the Eastern Roman Empire was adopted as the bearer of Hellenism in the Middle Ages.

The search for evidence to establish the continuity and document the legitimacy of historic rights and national heritages required distant starting-points: *prior tempore, fortior iure* – the earlier in time, the stronger the right. All the ancient Hellenic tribes of Northern Hellas were summoned from oblivion, as were later the tribes of Illyria and Thrace, to lend their names to the corresponding regions. Ancient Macedonia lived again in place names, as these appeared on historical maps; but were these cartographical exercises sufficient to establish continuity and the legitimacy of ethnic rights?

The Bulgarians, Serbs, Romanians and Albanians – and all those who supported their views on the Macedonian Question – disagreed with the Greeks that Macedonia was a "land celebrated in stones and monuments", and argued that the inhabitants of the country were more important than history and the relics of the past, while at the same time searching for their own ancient ancestors.

Who, then, were the inhabitants of Macedonia? Centuries of foreign domination, barbarian incursions and forced migrations had shaped a linguistic and religious mosaic in the land, where, according to the 20th-century visitor and perspicacious observer H. N. Brailsford, the "centuries [did] not follow one another. They coexisted".[1] Greeks, Slavs, Bulgarians, Turks, Jews, Vlachs and Albanians, plus such permutations as Greek-speaking Muslims, Vlach-speaking Muslims, Albanian-speaking Greeks, to name but a few, made up the colourful mosaic that was Macedonia. The ephemeral political correctnesses of a century and more added neologisms and nuances along the lines of "Hellenising", "Bulgarising", "Romanising", "Vlachophone", "Slavophone" and "Bulgarophone", covering with a scholarly fig leaf the ethnic embarrassment of the Greeks.

This study will avoid scholarly games with assumptions based on logical leapfrogging with regard to the origin and descent of the various human communities in Macedonia. Starting from the today widely accepted view and standpoint that national communities are cultural communities formed with the adoption of such constituent elements as language, religion and selected historical elements, which over time undergo various changes, this study will shun the by now fruitless search for bloodlines, which still appear to attract scholars who flirt with the survivals of racism. Moreover, ascertaining – through DNA perhaps – the ethnic origins of today's nations and those of earlier times would not render more doubtful the determinant role of culture in the shaping of distinct human communities. Establishing a blood link as a determining element in the shaping of national communities could be accepted as an hypothesis and a scholarly exercise, but would cause incalculable hardship if it were accepted as a basis for the

shaping of new national communities, as was attempted by the scientists of German National Socialism during World War II.

Greeks, Slavs, Bulgarians, Jews, Turks, Vlachs and Albanians and permutations thereof shaped modern Macedonia and were in turn shaped by it, by its history and environment, by its traditions and surviving mythologies. The evidence at the disposal of the inquirer is limited, and comes moreover from those who were in a position to leave their testimony. The evidence left by the silent masses is insufficient to document cultural identities other than those attested by those whose words have come down to us. It is on the existing and available evidence that this present history of Macedonia will be based, with the conviction of all who have had a share in it that it represents the fruit of many years of work on the part of many scholars in Greece and elsewhere and will contribute to a better knowledge of the past of one of the culturally most interesting regions of Europe. Any deficiencies or weaknesses in this study – like its virtues – reveal the limitations of its authors.

2. The discovery of Macedonia

As the 18th century drew to a close and the 19th began to dawn, as the Western European powers that were clashing in Europe reached the fringes of the Greek East to fight there for the advancement of their objectives, Macedonia still languished in the backwardness and debility to which it had been condemned by the Ottoman regime. All the evidence from the once glorious ancient Hellenic kingdom bears witness to a land without notable cities, poor and undeveloped, at the mercy of bands of brigands and of detachments of soldiers who under the banner of the authorities caused more hardship than the outlaws, without communications and virtually without schools. The turn towards classical studies and the arrival of military and political representatives from revolutionary France helped put Greece in the spotlight. The interest of the French and their rivals in the Near East, the English, contributed to the "discovery" of Macedonia.

The name Macedonia is now taken for granted; but this was not the case two centuries ago. The region, considerably more extensive than the ancient Greek land, was known officially by the names of the Ottoman administrative districts, which were those of its principal municipal centres: Monastir, Skopje, Kozani, Kastoria, Thessaloniki, Katerini, Veroia. The name Macedonia was known to those few who had had the benefit of a classical education, like the foreign travellers who were beginning to visit the landscapes of historical Greece more frequently in those days, and the Greek scholars and schoolmasters whose numbers were also beginning to multiply. Foreign travellers and Greek scholars, in their endeavour to discover the survivals of the ancient Hellenic-Roman world in a new age and to identify the ruins of ancient cities with neighbouring settlements, sought ancient Macedonia in the administrative districts of European Turkey, guided by Strabo and other ancient geographers and historians.

And even those few who had read the ancient geographers and historians had no clear image of the country they were searching for, on account of the confused and often contradictory information left by the ancient writers. An apparently decisive role in the quest for and "ascertainment" of Macedonia's position and boundaries was played by the Roman citizen and geographer Strabo, who was, quite naturally, influenced by the administrative divisions of his day. The writers of that age who concerned themselves with the matter were, however, not all in agreement as to Macedonia's relation to the Greece to the south. Despite Strabo's dictum that "Macedonia, of course, is a part of Greece", Greek and foreign classicists propounded diametrically opposed views, based on different sources and echoing different administrative divisions.

This confusion as to Macedonia's position and boundaries and its relationship to the rest of Greece is not without importance, since the inquirings and confusions of that age also influenced official Greek positions with regard to Macedonia at the time of the Greek Struggle for Independence, when the first Greek positions on the question of the "realm" of the Greek nation were formed. The *Graecia propria* of the Romans, that is, the Greece that lay south of Tempe, which was a dominant reference point for many Greek and foreign writers of the time, significantly influenced later views.[1]

At the time of the 1821 Revolution, the views of the Greek exponents of prevailing public opinion with regard to Macedonia were still influenced by those of the West, which tended to leave Macedonia outside Greece. In 1828, in view of their mission of establishing a boundary between Greece and Turkey, and with the object of securing naturally strong borders and an effective separation between the two "peoples", Governor Ioannis Kapodistrias, then newly arrived in Greece, proposed to the three Protecting Powers the line running from Mount Olympus through the summits of the Pindus massif to Zygos in the Metsovo district. "This line also formerly separated Greece", according to Kapodistrias, "from the neighbouring parts to the north. During the Middle Ages and in modern times Thessaly has always remained Greek, while Macedonia was conquered by the Slavs and by many other tribes". Another contemporary reference to Macedonia is contained in the notes made by Athanasios Psalidas, a scholar from Ioannina, for the geography class he taught in the Greek schools of his day: "The eighth province (of European Turkey) is Macedonia, which is famous for Philip and his son Alexander the Great. Nowadays, however, the land is backward, and is inhabited by base men. It is fertile and fruitful, producing wine, silk, cotton and other crops. Learning, however, is altogether absent. Its inhabitants are Bulgarians, Turks and a few Greeks and Vlachs from Albania".[2]

What was the real Macedonia behind this image left by the representatives of the Enlightenment, whose criteria were naturally Greek language and letters, "learning", and how, from this image, did there emerge the larger geographical Macedonia that, moreover, was claimed by the Greeks as an ancestral heritage? The enlargement of the historical Macedonia was effected by Greek and foreign classically-educated geographers, historians and travellers before, and independently of, Greek national claims: in other words, first the territory of Macedonia was defined, following the views of – primarily – Strabo with regard to the historic land, and only after that were claims to this land put forward. According to Strabo, Macedonia is bounded "to the north […] [by] the straight line conceived as running through the mountains of Vertiskos and Skardos and Orbelos and Rhodope and Haemus". The line drawn by this erudite Roman citizen remained thenceforth the northern boundary of Macedonia and, naturally, of Greece.[3]

The 1821 Revolution was a turning-point in the history of Macedonia: the rupture with the Ottoman overlord, which was prepared by the Philike Hetaireia and in which many Macedonians took part, Greeks in the main but also non-Greek speakers who still accepted Greek education as an organic element of an independent polity, revealed the first fissures brought about by nationalism in the Orthodox world. These fissures had, twenty years before, been discernible in the work of Regas Velestinlis, and particularly in his *Greek Political Governance*, in which he clearly formulated the vision of a nation, the Greek nation, as a political community in which all the inhabitants of the land would have an equal share, as citizens, regardless of language or religion. Rigas envisioned, not a federation or confederation of Balkan peoples, as his political thinking has occasionally been misinterpreted to mean, but a Greek Polity, in which the Greek language and civilisation would have the same place as the French language and civilisation had in France. At the time of Rigas it was not arrogance to believe that the Greek language and Greek letters were sought after by all the allophone peoples sharing

the land with the Greeks. “Albanians, Vlachs, Bulgarians, rejoice/ and prepare, one and all, to become Greeks”, the enthusiastic apostle of Hellenism Daniel Moschopolitis, himself a Hellenised Vlach, urged the allophones of the Orthodox world; “learn the Greek language, mother of wisdom”.[4]

This exhortation to allophone Christians in the four-language *Lexicon* Daniel published in the early years of the 19th century is often misinterpreted. But taking this exhortation as an expression of arrogance reveals an ignorance of how widely accepted the Greek language was at that time as a splendid inheritance, open to all, to allophone as well as to the Greek-speaking Christians of the Ottoman Empire. A Greek education was considered an end in itself, as well as a means to knowledge and from knowledge to freedom. Language, before it acquired the properties subsequently bestowed upon it by the romanticism of Herder, was an instrument for the perfection of man through knowledge; it was not the inalienable element of the “spirit” of a “people”. Greek, therefore, was promoted by Regas and Daniel as a means of perfectionment.

Equally untenable is the view that the Phanariotes, the Greek élite of Constantinople, sought joint Greek-Turkish sovereignty or the eventual assumption of political power by the Greeks, an objective dashed by the Greek Revolution. This was the product of the late 19th – early 20th-century escape from reality cultivated by Ion Dragoumis and his circle and arising out of the contempt they felt for the recently defeated and humiliated Greek nation-state, a variant of which was incorporated by the English historian and philosopher Arnold Toynbee into his *Study of History*. A serious study of the Phanariotes before the Revolution leaves no margin for doubt about the aspirations of those who were concerned with the future of the Greek nation: they envisioned and promoted, like other Greek scholars of that age, the advancement of learning and liberty.[5]

There had, of course, been revolutionary movements in Macedonia in the period prior to the Revolution, such as that of the heroically brave and tragic *Armatolos* Nikotsaras in 1808, in the framework of one of Russia’s many wars with the Ottoman Empire and instigated by Russian agents. The real dimensions of this movement, which broke out at a critical turning-point in the history of the Empire and in a period of fluid alliances among Europe’s Great Powers, have never been explored. The movement was certainly not unconnected with the collapse of the system of *Armatoliks* that Ali Pasha had, largely successfully, set up in his extensive territories; nonetheless, it revealed the potential, in times of power vacuums like the period following the repudiation of Ali Pasha by the Ottoman Sultan in 1820, for concerted action by the armed bands of every description operating in the region. The 1821 Revolution differed from all the other revolutions that had preceded it in that part of the world, since a) it was the product of prior preparation by a national society, b) it was supported by a broad conspiratorial network and c) it aimed at the establishment of an independent and well-governed state. Ali Pasha’s rebellion in 1820 contributed not only to the outbreak of the Greek Revolution but also to its outcome, essentially because the extensive engagement of the Sultan’s armies with those of the rebel pasha created a power vacuum and fostered the progressive conspiracy of the klephts and armatoles in the region under the leadership of the Greek revolutionary authority. The rebellion of Ali Pasha was a conjuncture of decisive importance; but the 1821 Revolution was the product of an autonomous movement with political goals independent of those of the rebel pasha.

The revolution of the Greeks, which broke out in Macedonia as well, linked the historic Greek land, *de facto* and irrevocably, with the whole Greek nation, for on the one hand serious revolutionary action against Turkish rule took place in Macedonia right from the outset and on the other many Macedonians hastened, directly after the bloody suppression of the risings in their own land, to fight in southern Greece against

the common foe. The suppression of the insurrections in Macedonia in 1821-1822 and the concomitant flight of many of the insurgents and their families to southern Greece created in the newly independent Greece the first of a series of waves of refugees from Macedonia, as one of the still unredeemed historic Greek lands.

The fighters and subsequently refugees from Macedonia represented a significant proportion of the multitude of fighters from northern Greece who for a variety of reasons and under divers circumstances found themselves in southern Greece. Greeks in the main, and for the most part from central and western Macedonia, but also Bulgarians and South Slavs, found themselves in revolutionary southern Greece, and remained there until the end of the revolution. The Greeks and the South Slavs were for the most part *Armatoles* who had abandoned their districts after the suppression of the insurrections in their parts, as had many Bulgarians. It was not easy in those days to distinguish between Bulgarians and South Slavs. Distinguished fighting men like Hadjichristos "Voulgaris" ("the Bulgarian") and Vassos "Mavrovouniotis" ("the Montenegrin") pose no fewer problems for the researcher attempting to trace their identity, primarily because the descendants of the Slavs of Macedonia were called Bulgarians by the southern Greeks but also because the boundaries of the southern Slav countries had not yet been stabilised and were somewhat fluid and indeterminate. The appellation "Bulgarian" meant a Bulgarian-speaking Christian from Macedonia or a Christian from Bulgarian-speaking Macedonia; the Bulgarian-speaking population (later described as the "Slavic-speaking" population) of Macedonia was at that time quite visible, in the form of many pockets of Bulgarian-speakers. These were, as already mentioned, the southern tips of the Slavic world that, together with the scattered pockets of Vlach-speakers, Turkish-speakers and Slavic-speakers, fragmented the Greek-speaking world of Macedonia. Most of the Bulgarians who fought alongside the Greeks in southern Greece had been enlisted in Macedonia and Thrace by the Turks as cavalry grooms, but, finding themselves opposing fellow Orthodox Christians, they defected to the Greek camps and remained in Greece, where they were known as Thraco-Macedonians.

3. Urban Macedonia

Much more is known about the urban Macedonia of that age, for it is the towns and cities that are attested in the sources available. The countryside was then of interest only to the authorities, and chiefly as a source of revenue. The peasantry were, for government purposes, either Christians or Muslims: the former were necessary as taxpayers and the latter as conscripts. The rural world, polyglot and multi-faith, was known by its clusters of single-language or single-faith villages – the Karayiania, Boutsakia, Mastorochoria, Kastanochoria, Grammochoria, Korestia, and so on.

One significant element that emerges from analysis of the data of that period is that, while the cities of Macedonia had mixed, mainly Greek-speaking, populations, the villages were virtually uniformly monoglot and single-faith: they were either Christian or Muslim, and almost purely Greek-, Slavic-, Vlach-, Albanian- or Turkish-speaking. The cities of Macedonia – Thessaloniki, Serres, Kavala, Drama, Edessa, Naoussa, Veroia, Florina, Monastir, Kastoria, Ochrid, Siatista and Kozani –, all seats of metropolitan or suffragan bishops, preserved the Greek language and Greek letters and were agents for the Hellenisation not so much, at that time, of the neighbouring villages as of the villagers who left them for the cities. At that time, let it be noted, the rivalry between the region's ethnic communities with regard to the founding and operation of ethnic schools in its villages had not yet begun, nor had the role of religious schools in education in the region declined in relation to secular schools.

Another important characteristic of the human geography of the region at that time, which also emerges from the available evidence, is that an attentive observer could have discerned, running from the Grammos massif and Lake Ochrid in the west to the river Nestos in the east, a perceptible line demarcating the boundary of the Greek language, which the Greek schools pushed northwards in the following period (1870-1912). This borderline, product of centuries of the migration and resettlement of linguistically and religiously discrete populations, began in the west at the triple convergence point of lakes Ochrid, Prespae and Orestias, where three languages and cultures came together, Greek language and education from the south, Albanian from the west and Slavic from the north, and ended at the river Nestos in the east.

The area surrounding the lakes, that is, the districts of Kolonia, Korytsa, Ochrid, Monastir, Florina and Kastoria, was a region in which the Greek, Albanian, Slavic and Vlach languages co-existed. The more important towns – Kastoria, Korytsa, Ochrid, Monastir and Florina – were major Hellenising centres. Their episcopal and community schools and commercial activity had by that time already Hellenised the Albanians, Slavs and Vlachs who had flocked there for all the reasons that have attracted rural populations to the cities in every age.

To the east of the lakes lay the main southern projection of the Slavic language into Macedonia, which extended as far as the plains of Emathia and Thessaloniki and was dotted with pockets and centres of Greek-, Vlach- and Turkish-speakers. Apart from Thessaloniki, the mainstays of Hellenism here were Veroia, Naoussa and Edessa on Mount Vermion and the Hellenised Vlach centres of Vlachokleisoura and Vlasti on Mount Mouriki. The Karatzova villages of Almopia Notia, Archangelos and others formed a Vlach-speaking Muslim pocket, while the main Turkish-speaking villages lay in the southern part of the districts of Ptolemais and Giannitsa.

This part of Macedonia, that is, the area to the west of the Axios river, was a continuation of the zone that extended from the Akrokeravnia mountains to Olympus – Konstantinos Paparegopoulos' zone of "equilibrium" between Greeks and Slavs. More precisely, it was, as has already been noted, a place of convergence and scattered ridges and pockets of Greeks, Slavs, Albanians and Vlachs. This makes it difficult to discern, in this region, a clear northern boundary of the Greek language. Then and later cities like Kruchevo, Prilep, Velessa, Strumitsa, Melenikon and Nevrokop, which were considered as marking the northern boundary line of the Greek language, were, rather, Greek centres, isolated from the Greek-speaking world to the south, deep inside an allophone world. Not even Monastir could be held to mark such a boundary: Korytsa, Kastoria and Naoussa were closer to the imaginary line that could be thought to mark the northern limit of the Greek-speaking world.

The projection of such a boundary farther north than that proposed above was rooted in the following mistaken but unstated reasoning, upon which Greek claims have been founded for more than a century: that the Greek presence in the southern part of the Balkan Peninsula was continuous, denser in the south and sparser in the north. This perception, naturally, is a direct projection of the Greek presence in the Peninsula from antiquity to the Middle Ages and from the mediaeval to the modern age. It has been ascertained, however, beyond any shadow of a doubt, that in the mediaeval and modern ages the Greek-speaking land of antiquity was broken into a mosaic of Graecophone and allophone populations. The same perception also underlay the theory of three zones in Macedonia, a southern zone more densely Greek-speaking, a middle zone with Greek and Slavic in equilibrium, and a northern predominantly Slavic-speaking zone. Greek, however, did not fade out gradually from south to north. The northern boundary of a continuously Graecophone population, south of the city of Kastoria, which had been identified by observers in the 19th century and was discernible up until World War II,

does not describe the situation as it had taken shape in the region. What does describe it is the visible existence, north of this boundary of a continuously Graecophone population, of pockets and centres of Greek in a largely allophone hinterland. The mass founding and operation of Greek schools in the region after 1870 does not reflect the situation prior to 1870. Greek centres old and new, such as those cited above, Hellenised the allophone country folk who poured into them but not the allophone enclaves, which retained their different languages. This form of Hellenisation, slow but certain, continued until the last quarter of the 19th century, when the region was projected as a vital space of Greece and belonging to Greece by right of inheritance. Thenceforth, as will be shown in the following chapter, Greek schools began to be established outside the cities, but the Hellenisation of the villages slowed down as the counter-balancing Bulgarisation of the Slavs of Macedonia, promoted by Bulgaria, began to yield results.[6]

It should at this point be noted that a truer indication of the real Hellenism of the Macedonia west of the Axios was that ensured by the system of Greek schools that had developed as a product of the Enlightenment, not of the schools founded in the nationalist phase, primarily because the fundamental goal of schools of the latter phase was, apart of course from teaching Greek letters, the promotion of a Greek national identity and the advancement of the number of schools and their pupils as proof of the Greek presence in the contested area. What needs to be remembered in this regard is this: the Greek-speaking population was directly proportional to the Greek schools in the cities in the zone in question and especially in the period preceding the manifestation of ethnic rivalries in Macedonia.

On the basis of all the evidence available to the inquirer it is possible to trace the northern boundary of the Greek language in Macedonia at that time, a demarcation line that makes plain the Hellenising influence of the Greek cities to its north. East of the Grammos massif, then, and following an imaginary line southwest of Kastoria, where the three basic languages of the area (Greek, Albanian and Slavic) converge, this line left most of the Kastanochoria to the north, left to the south the villages of Damaskinia, Skalochori, Botani, Kostarazi, Germas, Sisani and Vlasti, left to the north the Greek-speaking Vlachokleisoura and, turning south, the Slavophone villages of Eordaia and the Turkish-speaking villages of the same district, passed to the north of Kozani, Veroia and Naoussa and ended at the mouth of the Axios. North of this line, as we have said, the cities of Kastoria, Vlachokleisoura, Florina, Monastir, Kruchevo, Velessa, Prilep and Strumitsa were all Greek-speaking.

Similarly, to the east of the Axios Greek was restricted to a few cities and large villages: Thessaloniki, a few of the villages of Rentina, Gevgelija, Melenikon, Serres, Alistrate, Zichna, Nigrita, Doïrane, Kato Jumaya, Petric, Doxato, Drama, Kavala, Pravi, Sochos and Komotene. These and other centres east of the Axios could boast of a long and very considerable Hellenising action, perhaps even more notable than that of the corresponding centres west of the Axios, primarily because these eastern centres were closer to the then heart of the Hellenic world, Constantinople, and the flourishing Greek communities of the Black Sea and the Danubian Principalities. Compact pockets of Bulgarians, equally compact pockets of Turks and Bulgarian-speaking Muslim Pomaks, as well as pockets of Christian or Muslim Vlachs, formed the linguistic mosaic of these eastern Ottoman provinces.

It is essential to stress here that the language communities of this region, which at that time came to be called “geographical” Macedonia, were not national communities in the present sense of the term. Nor could they be described as “ethnic” communities, since use of this term would complicate unnecessarily a question that sustains no interpretation other than the determination, which is permitted by the very little evidence that exists from that time, of the distribution of the languages spoken in the region be-

fore the changes brought about by the penetration of national schools of the peoples that were claiming parts of it. It can be taken as certain that the Greek-speaking Christians, especially in the cities, identified with the free centre of the Greek nation, as did most of the Vlachs and many of the Slavs; this was also true of the Albanian Christians of western Macedonia. At that time, before the Bulgarians began presenting themselves as brothers of the Slavs of Macedonia and the Romanians as brothers of the Vlachs, all the allophone Orthodox neighbours of the Greek Christians in this region who received their general education in its Greek schools identified with the Greek nation, principally because the free Greek nation preserved the splendid inheritance of the Enlightenment.

In the world of rural Macedonia the quest for a national identity other than the traditional one assured by Orthodox Church as leader of the Greek people or that projected by the national centre of the Greek nation is not feasible, and insistence on tracing another such identity would burden the analysis unnecessarily with elements that appeared only later and were not identifiable at the time. This means that the terms Greek, Albanian, Bulgarian (or Slav) and Vlach are understood here as describing those whose mother tongue was Greek, Albanian, Bulgarian or Vlach, regardless of the probable origin or identity of the speakers of those languages. The descent or origin of the different language communities examined in this present study will not be investigated, because that would divert the analysis into directions other than that permitted by the available reliable evidence.

What, then, were these cities like, which spread the Greek language in the Macedonia defined by its classically-educated visitors? Or how at least do they appear to us from contemporary accounts? Ochrid, the ancient Lychnidus that marked, on the Via Egnatia, the boundary between Macedonia and Illyria and was known as Ochre to the Greeks, was the seat of a Metropolitan bishop and occupied the northwest corner of a contested ethnological boundary whose other two corners were Kastoria and Monastir. Greeks, Albanians and Slavs met in this triangle, as in the distant past had Greeks, Illyrians and Paeonians. The picture of this area left by a Greek observer *circa* 1830 portrays the situation as it was then: “Ochre with its environs and those of Resnia and Strounga together numbers no more than 6000 houses (smokes) [that is, hearths] and 50,000 souls all told. Of this number half are Christian Bulgarians and half are Albano-Bulgarian Turks. And of villages Turkish and Christian there are perhaps 140. The language is Slavic both in Ochre and Strounga and Resnia and in all the surrounding area”.[7]

Kastoria, which by all accounts never lost its mediaeval Greek core and which throughout the mediaeval and modern eras attracted Christian Slavs, Vlachs and Albanians from the surrounding areas, as well as Muslim Turks, gradually Hellenised a considerable proportion of these allophone Christians. Its mixed population, as revealed by the baptismal names on 14th-century deeds of sale and in the register of a 17th-century monk of the Holy Sepulchre with the alms of the faithful, remained so right up until the beginning of the 19th century, when one of the few Greek schools in the region is attested. In Kastoria, a “small city on the lake of the same name”, in the words of a reliable contemporary account, “inhabited by Bulgarians, Turks and Greeks, all of them unlettered and unskilled”, Greek education spread and developed in the following decades. Towards the end of the period, according to an expert on that era, the Greeks formed the majority of the population of the city, while the Bulgarians had been Hellenised and spoke Greek sprinkled with Bulgarian words. The Muslims and Jews remained quite separate.[8]

In Monastir, the lack of an original Greek-speaking core like that in Kastoria was compensated by the city’s commercial activity and an inflow of Hellenised Vlachs from Moschopolis. The following account, dating from the early decades of the 19th century,

depicts the reality of that era: "Bitola, which is also called Monastir, is a city in lower Macedonia, populous and wholly illiterate, inhabited by Bulgarians, Turks, Vlachs and Jews". By the middle of the same century the city looked quite different: "In Pelagonia lies the new city of Bitola, which is also called Monastir, inhabited by 20,000 souls and of long date the seat of the rulers of Rumelia. Its Christian inhabitants are mainly Bulgarian-speaking, but among them the Greek Language is highly esteemed and day by day more diligently secured…". Half a century later, another visitor and reliable witness left the following image of the city of Monastir: "Panopticon of nationalities and religions, mosaic of faces and costumes. All races of incomers to this land add to the atmosphere, Ottomans, Jews, Bulgarians, Albanians, Vlachs and Serbs mingling with the Greeks".[9]

Neither the exaggerated account by the first witness, a distinguished scholar, of the ignorance of the people of Monastir, not the reference of the last to the "races of incomers", from which he excepts the Greeks, refute the reality of that era, namely the Hellenising role of the cities of Macedonia. The handsome schools and other Greek public buildings still preserved in Monastir bear witness to the progressive prosperity of its Greek citizens, which stemmed from humble beginnings in the early 19th century.

Another "panopticon" of the nations of the region was Chroupista, today called Argos Orestikon. The Bulgarians and Turks who inhabited the small town with its famous annual (at least from the 16th century) fair were joined, towards the end of the 18th century, by Vlachs from Moschopolis and, later, Grammoutsa and Samarina. Shepherds, small traders and farmers formed the population of the town, which retained its other languages even after the use of Greek had spread, primarily among its Vlachs. Towards the end of the century Chroupista, certainly one of the most typical urban microcosms of 19th-century Macedonia, had Greek, Bulgarian and Romanian schools, although by that time the Greek language had become predominant among its Vlach and Bulgarian inhabitants.[10]

Southeast of this polyphonic ethnological triangle lay a compact pocket of Greek-speaking Muslims, the Valaades, product of the mass Islamisation of the Greeks of the region, and a pocket of Turkish immigrants settled north of Kozane, an area that touched the Slavic extension of Pelagonia, which was dominated by strongholds of the Greek language like the Vlach village of Nymphaion, Lechovo, a village of Hellenised Albanians, and Flambouro, Drosopege and Pisoderi, villages with mixed populations of Albanians and Vlachs, where Greek encountered those tongues. Mount Vermion, finally, sheltered the last sizeable Greek-speaking centres west of the Axios. Along its eastern foothills and from southwest to northeast, Veroia, Naoussa and Edessa had, the first two earlier than the third, already assimilated a significant number of Vlachs and Slavs from the surrounding countryside into their Greek-speaking cores. For the mountain-dwelling Vlachs and the Slavs of the plains, these three cities were a powerful magnet. At least three reliable foreign witnesses from the early years of the 19th century saw in the cities of Vermion a secure northern boundary of the Greek language. Vermion and the Pieria massif formed a sort of natural rampart against the Bulgarians who had occupied the plains to the east.

Several points emerge from the body of evidence and assessments regarding the Macedonia of that period, before the fierce rivalry broke out between the Greeks and the Bulgarians for the advancement of their ethnic claims in the region, and some of them are elements essential to any understanding of subsequent developments. These elements were: a) the non-existence of readily discernible zones of Greek language density north of a perceptible demarcation line described above; b) the extensive allophone populations in the region arbitrarily defined as Macedonia; c) the progressive Hellenisation of the region's cities, which acted as centres of Greek language and letters in a

largely allophone countryside; d) the progressive advancement of Greek education, the result as much of the renown of the Greek language and Greek letters as of the practical value of Greek for the economic and social advancement of its speakers; and e) the fact that the cities retained their polyglot nature while the villages remained monoglot. Another related element was the Hellenising role of those cities on the country people who flocked into them, although the countryside itself remained largely allophone. One final element was this: the existence of Greek schools in the region before the breach between the Greeks and the Bulgarians and, secondarily, the Romanians, was proof of the demand for Greek education as much on the part of the allophone peoples who shared the land with the Greeks as on that of the Greeks themselves.

Notes

1. Ioannis S. Koliopoulos, *I „peran" Ellas kai oi „alloi" Ellines*: *To synchrono elliniko ethnos kai oi eteroglossoi synoikoi christianoi (1800-1912)* [*The Greece of 'Beyond' and the 'Other' Greeks*], Thessaloniki 2003, p. 13 ff.
2. Ioannis S. Koliopoulos, *Istoria tis Ellados apo to 1800* [*History of Greece*], Thessaloniki 2000, vol. I, p. 80 ff.
3. Strabo, frag. VII, 10.
4. Koliopoulos, *The Greece of 'Beyond'*, p. 165.
5. Koliopoulos, *History of Greece*, vol. I, p. 104 ff.
6. See in Koliopoulos, *The Greece of 'Beyond'*, the chapter entitled "Greek's Northern Boundaries", p. 79 ff, with extensive commentary.
7. Cf. Kosmas Thesprotos – Athanasios Psalidas, *Geografia Alvanias kai Ipeirou* [*Geography of Albania and Epirus*], in. A. Ch. Papacharissis (ed.), Ioannina 1964, pp. 26-28.
8. Cf. Koliopoulos, *The Greece of 'Beyond'*, pp. 105-106.
9. Koliopoulos, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-107.
10. Koliopoulos, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-108.

IX. National Claims, Conflicts and Developments in Macedonia, 1870-1912

by Basil C. Gounaris

1. From the Bulgarian Exarchate to Bulgarian independence

The Bulgarian Exarchate church was founded with the first article of a *firman* dated 27th February (Old Calendar) 1870, issued by the Sultan without the prior knowledge of the Patriarch. Of the 13 church Eparchies that passed into its jurisdiction, only the Metropolitan diocese of Veles could properly be described as Macedonian. Even so, article 10 of the *firman* stipulated that other dioceses were free to join the Exarchate if two-thirds of their congregation requested this. This *firman* is therefore often regarded as the 'birth certificate' of the Macedonian Question; but it is not. The preconditions for the emergence of conflicting sides and their 'nationalisation' had already been created by the Edict of Hatti Humayun of February 1856 and the ensuing political, social and economic realignments. This Edict brought about changes in land ownership that benefited Christians, and officially established the *chiflik* as inheritable landed property. It also created the preconditions for public works and for changes in the tax collection and credit systems. Finally, as part of the drawing up of a general code of rights, the Patriarchate was asked to draw up the general Regulations for the Orthodox Christian community of the Empire with the participation of the laity. The completion and implementation of these Regulations had a chain reaction effect, starting in the 1860s, leading to the emergence of various dynamics. Among these were the modernisers, whose aspiration was to open schools, but also the separatists, who, now that communal organisation had been somewhat democratised, were able freely to express themselves. Oftentimes, the separatists and the modernisers were one and the same people, who used education as an effective tool to expand and shape the scope of their 'parties' - in other words, the Greek, Bulgarian and the Rumanian camps. In this context, the tenth article of the *firman* of 1870 set the 'electoral limit', which officially permitted the full transfer of power, at two-thirds of the Orthodox population.[1]

Whilst the Bulgarian national movement was still developing, defining the ecclesiastical status of the Exarchate could not simply be a procedural detail. The question of the 'mixed' provinces, of which there were many in Macedonia, impeded rapprochement between the Patriarch and the Bulgarians in 1871, whilst a separate Bulgarian national council was working on its own General Regulations. In the next year (1872) the ecclesiastical dispute came to a climax as the Bulgarian General Regulations were put into effect with a Turkish decree. Patriarch Anthimos VI excommunicated the Bulgarian clerics behind these moves and, under pressure from the laity, pronounced as schismatics both clerics and lay people who collaborated with those who had been excommunicated.[2] The religious schism and excommunications helped to push the two sides, Patriarchists and Exarchists, even further apart, particularly in geographic terms. Where before there had been no social and economic antagonisms, rural populations suddenly found themselves confronted by higher theoretical dilemmas: the exercising of their religious duties within one church or the other necessitated their ethnic self-definition. With which criteria would they decide?

The Greek educational societies that had been founded in Athens and Constantinople took on the task of helping them out of their dilemma: the Association for the Dissemina-

tion of Greek Letters, now under the presidency of Nikolaos Mavrokordatos, the Greek Philological Association of Constantinople, reconstituted since 1871, and the Macedonian Educational Brotherhood, founded in the same year by the West Macedonians of the Ottoman capital. After the schism, the activities of these central organisations intensified and spread, with the establishment of branches throughout Macedonia: at Serres in 1870, Edessa in 1872, Thessaloniki, Megarovo, Prosotsanti and Krusovo in 1873, Doxato and Siderokastro in 1874, Strumnitsa in 1875, Kavala in 1878, and so on. A large educational conference was even held at Serres in 1871 and the first school opened in 1872. From 1873 the Gymnasium school of Thessaloniki was recognised as equal to those of the Greek state. In 1876 the first three-class gymnasium schools were operating in Kastoria, Kavala, Veroia and Drama. By the end of the 1870s, there were already 30 nurseries, over 360 community elementary schools of all types (200 of which also admitted girls), 42 'Greek' and seven three-class gymnasium schools.[3] As was to be expected, the number of Greek Macedonians studying at the University of Athens increased dramatically, whilst with the abundance of trained teachers the 'allilodidaktiko' system, whereby more able children taught the others, declined everywhere. The printing presses increased and in May 1875 the first Greek newspaper, *Hermes*, circulated in Thessaloniki, hot off the press of Sophocles Garbola, younger brother of Militiades, founder of the city's first Greek press.

Despite the impressive numeric results, the Greek educational effort was not free of rivals and impediments. The progress made by the Exarchate at the beginning of the decade was already clear everywhere: in the regions of Ochird and Prespes, and even inside Monastir (1873), at Nevrokopti (1870), Edessa (1870). Even in Central Macedonia, the positive results of the Bulgarian-Uniate movement that had manifested itself in the previous decade in the areas of Kilkis, Doirani, and Gevgeli could be seen. In that area in 1870 there were already seventy Bulgarian schools, thanks to the activities of the Metropolitan of Kilkis Parthenios. In 1873 the Uniate Bishop Nilos Izvorof made his first appearance, whilst in 1875 the Uniate Bishop of Constantinople Raphael Popov himself visited Yiannitsa and Kilkis.[4] In this same period Rumanian schools appeared in the region of Kato Vermio (Xirolivado and Veroia), and there was even an effort to penetrate Naousa.[5] Despite the fact that the Macedonians were not indifferent to the revolutionary events that followed, these early successes were a clear indication of anger towards members of the upper clergy rather than of ethnic distinctions. It is also clear that Bulgarian national ideology, which had not quite freed itself completely of Serbian influence, was already suffering from the first manifestations of Macedonian separatism, as this was being promoted by the newly-formed Slavophone elite, educated in Athens, Belgrade and various Russian cities.[6]

Yet, the greatest obstacle for the Greeks was not the relatively limited spread of Bulgarian, Rumanian or Serbian education, but diplomatic developments themselves. In the summer of 1875 a Christian rebellion broke out near Mostar in Herzegovina, over economic demands. Despite the Porte's acquiescence to pressure from Austria-Hungary for reforms, the rebellion spread in the summer of 1876 to Bulgaria, thus raising, in addition to the ecclesiastical question, a Bulgarian political question. In May of that year, the slaughter of the French and German consuls at Thessaloniki by the Muslim rabble, in response to their involvement in a case of Islamisation,[7] as well as the bloody Turkish reprisals in the Bulgarian village of Batak in Rhodope, escalated European diplomatic interventions. A few days later (30 May) Abdul Aziz, a 'compliant' Sultan for the West, was assassinated, and in June the Serbo-Turk war, broke out, with unfavourable consequences for Belgrade.

Greek politics followed these developments, but was unable to react effectively. In the summer of 1876 Leonidas Voulgaris, veteran supporter of the pan-Orthodox movements, encouraged by Greeks and Serbs, organised a network of armed fighters in Thessaly and Macedonia. Even so, a more active Greek involvement in the war was impossible, despite it being an obligation of the 1867 Serbian-Greek treaty. At the Constantinople Conference of December 1876, the representatives of the Great Powers, without consulting the Turks, decided the terms of peace. As for the Bulgarian Question, it was foreseen that two self-governing *vilayets*, eastern and western, would be set up, with their capitals in Turnovo and Sofia respectively. Thanks to Russian actions, and despite the exceptionally small presence of Exarchists until 1876, they included the areas of Kastoria, Florina and Edessa. Count Ignatieff even proposed during the discussion on the composition of the community councils, that language be used as a criterion for the determination of ethnicity, a proposal disastrous for Greek interests. The announcement in the last days of December that a Constitution would be drawn up, the work of the Young Turks and Midhat Pasha, nullified the terms of the Conference. It had, however, created a serious precedent for the future of Macedonia, which was in danger of nullifying Greek plans for expansion as far as the Balkan Mountains let alone as far as Monastir. The mass protests that the Greek Consuls in Macedonia took care to instigate were not enough to prevent what was to come.[8]

A few months later the danger was re-ignited. In April 1877 the Russian army had started to advance through the territory of the Empire. Macedonian circles in Athens, led by the lawyer from Vogatsiko Stephanos Dragoumis, mobilised with revolution as their clear goal. This would be preceded by disembarkation at Pieria, Halkidiki and East Macedonia with the ultimate aim of coming into contact with the Russian troops in Bulgaria. But, Greece's hesitance to become fully involved in the war delayed the outbreak of the movement irreparably, whilst in this same period (1877) Macedonia was being preyed upon by wide-scale bandit raids by Albanians and other irregulars. Captain Kosmas Doumbiotis's band reached Litohoro in February 1878, only a few days before the draft Russian-Turk treaty in the suburb of Constantinople known as San Stefano. The Russians imposed the creation of a Greater Bulgaria, which would include the whole of Macedonia with the exception of Thessaloniki, Halkidiki and the provinces of Kozani and Servia. Hitrovo, the former Consul at Monastir, was appointed political commissioner for Macedonia. The Fourth Army Corps of the Russian army was to be based at Skopje.[9]

During these same days at Litohoro, the 'Temporary Government of Macedonia' was being formed, with Evangelos Korovangos as President, whilst the revolution was spreading to Pieria, thanks to the efforts of the Metropolitan of Kitros Nikolaos, the chief pastoralist of Vermio Pavlos Batralexis and the Olympian bandit rebels. Once again, the revolution soon petered out due to a bad strategyand the powers in Pieria withdrew to Greece. Even so, in the region of Vourino, the 'Temporary Government of the province of Elimeia in Macedonia' had already been formed on 18 February, building upon the patriotic network that had existed there since the 1860s. The President was Ioannis Goventaros from Kozani, and the Secretary was the teacher Anastasios Pichion from Ochrid, a leading figure in the Kastoria 'Educational Association' and representative in that city of the Association for the Dissemination of Greek Letters. The chieftain Iosef Liatis was appointed military governor, at the head of 500 armed men. During the spring and summer months of 1878, this government undertook, with feeble support from Athens, to show that Greek territorial ambitions were not limited to Epirus and Thessaly. Thousands of armed men – reaching perhaps even 15,000 – took part in this effort, from all the region's mountain complexes, and by the end of the summer a general guerrilla war had broken out in Kozani

and Monastir. In the winter of 1878 its activities were terminated, or rather suspended. In the meantime, the Congress of Berlin had given Bulgaria a state entity, albeit limited, in the form of two autonomous principalities. The Greek reaction was noted; so was the Bulgarian, which in February 1878 took the form of a dynamic movement in the areas of Kresna and Razlog. The movement was suppressed, and the area of Pirin remained Turkish, as had been decided at Berlin. The next year, forces of the Bulgarian National Guard got as far as Morohivo and Korestia, to be defeated once again. Greece – and it was official now – was not the only contestant for the Macedonian legacy.[10]

2. After Berlin

The Bulgarian success of 1878, and even more so the gains achieved through the terms set by Russia at San Stefano, did not leave Greece much room for amateur moves in Macedonia. The Bulgarian bands were now almost permanently on Macedonian territory – in particular the eastern and northern *kazas* – and they took every opportunity to point this out, pushing for the appointment of Exarchist Metropolitans. In 1879 Hitrovo became Russian Consul in Thessaloniki. That year, the Bishop of Nilos Izvorof – appointed since 1876 – became active once again in Central Macedonia, based at Kilkis. In one five-year period, there were 57 Catholic villages, whilst the Bulgarian schools in the *vilayet* of Thessaloniki reached 64, including the Gymnasium at Thessaloniki.[11] Bulgarian bands began to appear all the more often, particularly in East Macedonia. Alexander of Battenburg's visit to Athens in the spring of 1883 was not enough to calm Greek fears. The Athenian newspapers were being bombarded with letters from Greek Macedonians calling attention to the North. Amongst the honourable letter-writers were Athanasios Papalouka Eftaxias, author of the study *To ergon tou ellinismou en Makedonia* (*The work of Hellenism in Macedonia*) (1880) and Ioannis Kalostypis, who published the treatise *Makedonia, itoi meleti oikonomologiki, geographiki, istoriki kai ethnologiki* (*Macedonia, being an economic, geographical, historical and ethnological study*) (1886). Pro-Bulgarian feeling following the massacre at Batak was still strong among the public in Western Europe, which had difficulty in identifying Greek rights in the Slavophone area. The pro-Bulgarian line of the *Pall Mall Gazette* and the subsequent mission to Macedonia by Major Henry Trotter, as well as that of the Belgian economist and publicist Emile de Laveley, which led to a flood of protests in the Macedonian cities, are illustrative of the period 1884-85.[12]

This already difficult situation was made worse by the coup in which the autonomous principality of Eastern Rumelia was annexed by the Bulgarian principality of Sofia, and the systematic engagement of Bulgarian gangs in autumn 1885. The defeat of the Serbs in the brief war that followed and the fruitless Greek mobilisation (the 'peace war'), lasting several months, increased the importance of the annexation. Macedonia was clearly Sofia's next target, and the Bulgarians had the boldness and know-how to conquer it. The Greek sources of the period are full of anecdotes and incidents that describe how Bulgarianism, as a flourishing political power in Macedonia, exploited and coloured all communal and social cleavages, in particular in the urban centres. Even small pro-Bulgarian cores or personal interventions were enough to set off catalytic reactions and shape ethno-political alliances. The opening of a Bulgarian school, a common aim both of the Exarchists and the Uniates, was the clearest expression of this differentiation, and also a factor in increasing tensions, given the initial refusal (1883) of the Porte to accept Exarchist Bishops on its territory. In 1888, throughout the whole of European Turkey (Macedonia and Thrace) there were 485

Bulgarian schools with 686 teachers and 23,600 pupils. In 1893 the Porte officially recognised them, and as equal to the Greek schools. The Bulgarians had similar successes in the ecclesiastical field. Sofia, exploiting the fluctuations in Greek-Turkish relations, secured the appointment of Exarchist Bishops at Ochrid and Skopje in 1890, and at Veles and Nevrokopi in 1894.[13] According to one calculation, in the region of Kastoria in 1891 only 13 Slavophone villages (of a total of 53) had joined the Exarchate, and 24 out of 100 in the region of Monastir. By 1894 the numbers had increased to 26 and 42 respectively.[14]

And it wasn't just the Bulgarians. The Rumanians were also promoting, with the zeal of the their new-found independence, their own propaganda, mainly in the *vilayet* of Monastir, where the Vlach demographic distribution was more compact. In 1887 the annual funding for their 29 elementary schools and three Gymnasium schools is said to have reached 120,000 francs.[15] Serbia's southerly descent to Nis, to land that it had been granted at Berlin, and the vision of 'Old Serbia', with Austrian encouragement, added yet another visible contestant, who was willing to invest much more in the education of the Macedonians than the Rumanians were. This role was undertaken from 1886 by the 'St Sava' educational society, under the watch of the two Serbian Consulates that had been opened in Skopje in 1887 and at Monastir in 1888. Serbia's 1887 budget included a figure of four million francs to cover a variety of national needs in Macedonia. In 1891 the Serbian government, with Russian encouragement, achieved from the Ecumenical Patriarchate the appointment of Serbian Bishops, the opening of schools, and permission to use the Slav language in the churches and schools of the communities found within the area of Belgrade's ambitions. The Patriarchate initially refused. As things were, it was obliged to compromise in 1892, in order to keep – at the expense of the Greek language – as many communities within the northern Bishoprics outside of the Exarchate. In 1893-94, 117 Serbian schools with 5,500 pupils were already operating in Kosovo.[16] Important for evaluating Greek problems and illustrative of the communal conflicts is the fact that in cities and villages where there was no Exarchist, Rumanian or Serbian camp, intense political clashes broke out between liberals and conservatives.[17]

What more could Greece do? In 1880 proclamations were signed by a mixed committee (Greek, Slav and Albanian) requesting from the European Consuls that a temporary government be set up for an autonomous Macedonia. This was yet another fruitless and vague plan by Leonidas Voulgaris. But, the time for private initiatives had passed and this was made clear a little later (1886-7) by the easy disbanding and arrest of the members of Anastasios Pichion's network in West Macedonia. The annexation of Thessaly in 1881 brought Macedonia closer to Athens, and clearly made its supervision easier. Indeed, the number of Greek Consulates soon rose to six, based not only in Thessaloniki and Kavala, but also at Serres, Skopje and Elassona. The active participation of Athens in the educational process was now necessary, as was co-ordination with ecclesiastical bodies and even the Patriarchate. Neither, however, of these two goals was easily achievable. Despite the increase in state funding from 100,000 drachmas in 1879 to 250,000 in 1880 and 440,000 in 1883, the Association for the Dissemination of Greek Letters was unable to cover increased demands. In the *vilayet* of Monastir in 1883, the average funding for the 16 Rumanian schools was over 120 Turkish lira per school, whilst the 310 Greek (and 74 Bulgarian) schools received only one-third of that figure. Delays in state funding led to delays in paying salaries, often speeding up the painful decision to disband those schools that were not judged to be 'nationally' productive. The lack of funds compounded the tension in the relations between associations, communities, and Consuls. The Committee for the Support of the Church and Education, appointed by the Foreign Ministry in 1887, took on the task

of regulating state funding, but the timing, after the great spending on the mobilisation of 1885-86, was unfortunate. The need to economise grew, and in 1889 the protests of the teachers in Macedonia became generalised. The new cuts led to insufficient funding of small communities, where alternative sources of funding were lacking but the national needs were greater, leading them straight into the Exarchist camp. This was a vicious circle, and a few generous donations from private individuals were not enough to break it.[18] Despite all this, in the 1894-95 school year, 900 schools were operating throughout the whole of Macedonia, with 53,500 pupils. This period was also marked by serious problems in the relations between ecclesiastical figures and the Greek consular authorities, as seen in the resignation of Patriarch Ioakim III in 1884. In the years 1886-1894 in particular, an increasing number of Metropolitans found themselves caught between the Patriarchal throne's needs not to compound the split with the Exarchate (only one of the Church's many problems in the Balkans) with national obligations, which the Greek Consuls were urging - sometimes scornfully - them to conform with.[19]

3. From the foundation of IMRO to Ilinden

On the afternoon of 3 November 1893, Dame Gruev, Petar Pop Arsov, Anton Dimitrov, Hristo Tatarchev and Ivan Hadzhinikolov gathered at Hristo Batandzhiev's house in Thessaloniki. The fruit of their meeting was the foundation of a secret revolutionary organisation that was to influence political developments in the Balkans for the next half century. The issue of the name of this organisation was to occupy its members for a fair while, and it was finally decided to call it the 'Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation', whilst its central committee was to be the 'Central Macedonian Revolutionary Committee'. The organisation became widely known, though, as the 'Bulgarian Revolutionary Committee', the 'Secret Revolutionary Committee' and, more rarely, the 'Internal Revolutionary Committee' - internal, that is, to Macedonia.

The conspirators came from Macedonian towns and villages, but, thanks to their studies, had been initiated in Bulgarian revolutionary ideology and socialism at just the right moment. All of them wished for the liberation of Macedonia from the Turkish yoke, but their plans for its future fate were still confused. In early 1894 there was another meeting of the founding members, this time in Dimitrof's house, at which the precise aim of the organisation was defined. It was suggested during the discussion that Macedonia be annexed immediately to Bulgaria, but this was rejected as it was certain to cause a reaction from Europe as well as from Turkey, which had a direct interest in the matter. They concluded, then, as it appears from the sources, that their goal was the autonomy of Macedonia – a less dangerous slogan – and the continuous strengthening of the Bulgarian element, with the hope either for union with Bulgaria in the long-term or, at least, participation in a federation of Balkan states. The desired strengthening of the Bulgarian element would be secured only through reforms that were to be implemented by the Porte.[20]

In Sofia, in the meantime, the Bulgarian-Macedonian organisations, formed by the thousands of émigrés either temporarily or permanently working there, had set up their own co-ordinating Supreme Committee (the Vrhovist Committee) in 1894-95 with the help of the Stoilov government and the strategic goal of a more aggressive policy against Turkey. The true leader of the Committee was Ivan Tsonchev, a friend of Prince Ferdinand, whilst its leader for the purpose of outside appearances was professor Stoyan Mihailovski. The Vrhovists' first armed campaign in Macedonia, which resulted in the capture for a few

hours of Meleniko in July 1895, was led by Boris Sarafov, a young army officer from Nevrokopi.[21] The two organisations were clearly replicating each other, and it was thus necessary to distinguish them ideologically. The positions of the 'Internal Organisation' were to be made even clearer in the summer of 1896, when Gjorce Petrov and Goce Delchev – two younger and more dynamic members – were charged with drawing up a fuller charter for the organisation. In this new charter, the influence of Bulgarian revolutionary literature and, especially, the influence of the charter of the revolutionary organisation active in Bulgaria before 1878, were clear and marked. Yet on an official level, beyond the literary influences, the organisation had a clear Bulgarian character: articles 2 and 3 foresaw that only the 'Bulgarian people' of Macedonia and Adrianople (i.e. Thrace) would participate in the struggle. They called upon the revolutionary committees to awaken the Bulgarian consciousness of the population, to spread revolutionary ideas and to prepare for revolution, which they saw as a long-term prospect. Also for the long-term was the full clarification of the position of the Slav-Macedonians towards Bulgarian ideology.[22]

The Greeks chose a similar path for their national revolution. In Athens in the spring of 1894 a group of low-ranking officers founded the Ethnike Etaireia (National Society). Some among them, like Pavlos Melas and even the young Ioannis Metaxas, were soon to reappear and enjoy popularity in the twentieth century. The purpose of the Etaireia, which grew markedly in a couple of years, was to 'rejuvenate the national sensibility'. In addition to the politicians, its ranks now included distinguished citizens, many of them known for their sensitivity over Macedonia. By the summer of 1896 the Society had formed six armed bands in Thessaly, whose aim was not revolution against the Turks but 'protests against Bulgarian claims'. The leading figure among the chieftains, veterans of 1878 from Macedonia and elsewhere, who had been enlisted for the occasion was Athanasios Broufas, a builder from Krimini near Mt Voio. In contrast with the other five bands, which could not get beyond the coast of Pieria, Broufas's band was able to enter Macedonia as far as the Morichovo highlands outside of Monastir. Yet, after a number of skirmishes, Broufas was killed and a number of his men ended up in the Turkish jails. The Society repeated its efforts the next summer, almost at the same time as the outbreak of hostilities in the Greco-Turkish war. Yet, the large band of Kapsalopoulos and Mylonas (2,000 men) from Thessaly failed to enter Macedonia, as did another of 400 men that had disembarked at Kavala to blow up the new, and fatal for the campaign, Thessaloniki-Constantinople railway line.[23]

This new Greek failure at an insurgency and the crushing of the army on the field of battle gave the Bulgarian Committees the opportunity they had been waiting for. Membership of the Exarchate increased in the so-called 'middle zone', (to the north of Monastir, Strumitsa and Meleniko), which, realistically speaking, was now the northernmost point of territory being contested by the Greeks. The arrival of an Exarchist Metropolitan in Monastir in December 1897 was indicative of Turkish intents, whilst rumours were running wild that similar postings would soon follow in Kastoria and Florina. The Committees, with the opportunity the situation provided, embarked upon a systematic and extensive campaign of executions of the leading members of the Greek camp, the most fanatic, known as *Grecomans*.[24] The evaluation for the two years 1898-1900 was most encouraging. Accomplished activists, such as Pavel Hristov and Poptraikov, were present in the area and helped to organise core armed bands in the wider Kastoria region. The arming of Exarchist villages proceeded apace, and many of these weapons had in fact been bought in Athens, through a carefully organised network. The murders of a few tax collectors and tax farmers gave the Committee the requisite guise of fighting against the tyrant. Progress would certainly have been quicker if it had not been interrupted by internal discords, caused by the wariness of

the local chieftains. This can be seen most in the refusal of Kotas Christou from Roulia to serve under the command of Markov, just arrived from Bulgaria in 1900, against his Patriarchist compatriots, and his gradual withdrawal from the Internal Organisation. Part of his problem was ideological, and the spread and maturing of the Organisation as a revolutionary mechanism throughout Macedonia quickly led to a new appraisal of its founding charter. The Organisation attempted – officially, at least – to unite all the oppressed of European Turkey under the banner of autonomy and not simply the Bulgarians, as had been the initial aim. From now on, a member could be 'any Macedonian and Adrianoupolitan [i.e. Thracian]' who fulfilled the conditions of the charter. Its goal was the full political autonomy of Macedonia and Thrace, in the struggle for which 'all the dissatisfied' had to participate and not only the Bulgarian elements of Macedonia and Thrace. The new charter of the Secret Macedonian-Adrianople Revolutionary Organisation, now known as IMRO, was issued in the first six months of 1902, as revised by Delchev and Petrov.[25] In the meantime, the kidnapping in 1901 of the American missionary Ellen Stone by the *cheta* of the socialist Sandanski had already made the organisation notorious almost the world over.[26]

The 'opening' of IMRO to all the populations was, of course, a tactical manoeuvre. The strategy for the uprising had already been laid out, the armed bands were being reassembled, and the machinery decentralised so as to make action easier. Clashes between the bands and the Turkish army had intensified already before spring 1902. In the summer of that same year, Colonel Yankov, a leading cadre of the Vrhovists, arrived at his hometown of Zagoritsani (Vasiliada, Kastoria), along with an armed band with the purpose of instigating an uprising, to be supported by Bulgaria and Russia, as soon as possible. The local chieftains - Chakalarov, Kliashev, Mitre the Vlach, etc. - opposed this idea, noting that the region was unprepared and there was a lack of weapons. Moreover, an earthquake that July had caused much destruction, mainly in Central Macedonia. But the Vrhovists were not to be swayed. In autumn 1902 it carried out operations without the help of the local chieftains, whilst General Tzoncheff led a large band in the area of Tzoumagia and Razlog. Although several villages happily joined the movement, it did not end successfully and the intervention of *bashi-bazouk* irregulars was catastrophic.

The gain for Bulgaria, however, was in the diplomatic sphere. Restraining the Committees, as urgently requested by the Great Powers, was impossible without the reforms that both the Bulgarian government and IMRO were pushing for. At the end of November 1902, the Porte agreed to appoint Hussein Hilmi Pasha as Inspector General of its European possessions, with the goal of normalising conditions. After meeting the next month in Vienna, the Foreign Ministers of Russia and Austria-Hungary, Lambsdorff and Goluchowski, proposed reforms for the Ottoman gendarmerie and rural police, revision of the tithe, the proper use of public revenues and the amnestying of political prisoners.[27] The 'Vienna Programme' was accepted, although never applied in practice. Throughout Macedonia in the spring of 1903 there were around 2,700 armed supporters of the Committees (in Turkish, *comitadjis*), organised into at least 90 gangs. The freed political prisoners had returned directly to their battle positions. The last IMRO conference before the Ilinden uprising took place at Smilovo in April 1903. The decision of the January 1903 conference for revolution was ratified; according to the proceedings this was as much due to the situation within Macedonia as to the difficult situation that the organisation had fallen into after the arrests of its members in 1901. Ratification of this decision was essentially forced through by Ivan Garvanov, president of the central committee of IMRO, and his people who – according to the protagonists – achieved the consent of the conference participants by sending out

threatening letters, despite Petrov's strong objections that the population was not sufficiently prepared.[28]

IMRO's actions in the coming months made its true goals much clearer. The bomb attacks at various places indicated that something serious was afoot. The wave of bombings in the centre of Thessaloniki at the end of April, targetting European interests, only confirmed suspicions, despite the fact that the true perpetrators were a group of young anarchists with only loose ties to IMRO.[29] Most of the evidence for this tragic phase comes from the diplomatic correspondence of the day. The French Vice-Consul wrote from Monastir: 'Their committees goad [the villagers] in every way into rebellion and actively continue their scheming, which is finding fertile ground. From the above events it arises that they kill traitors without pity as well as those who refuse to give money'. More analytical was the British Vice-Consul at Skopje, Fontana, who wrote that the Bulgarian community of the city of Shtip was 'working for a general Bulgarian rising, and are prepared to face massacre in order to attain the end they hold in view viz.: "Macedonia for the Macedonians" meaning, no doubt "Macedonia for the Bulgarians".' He added: 'The peasantry of many localities nourish, it is true, but a few aspirations and but a half-hearted desire to rise. They play hero-songs and patriotic skirlings on the Bulgarian bag-pipe, they accept rifles, extend hospitality to roving bands and contribute to committee funds with more or less stoical, if not heroic, patience. But it is doubtful whether their general idea of patriotism or nationality oversteps their fostered hatred of the Turk, and dislike to paying him taxes. In the towns, however, the feeling prevalent among Bulgarian notables, schoolmasters and the majority of the Bulgarian citizens is far deeper, and the education of the pupils in the Bulgarian high-schools is merely a re-echo of that feeling.'[30]

Given the conditions, even the most optimistic elements within IMRO could not seriously expect that a widespread revolutionary uprising would be successful, especially in the countryside. Their irreversible path towards a general holocaust can be explained through their specific diplomatic aims: Europe had to intervene directly. The events that followed only partially justified the Bulgarian revolutionaries. The July uprising, better known as the Ilinden uprising as it took place on the feast day of the Prophet Elias, as anticipated was smothered, and with heavy losses despite the significant assistance coming out of Bulgaria. Even though the Turkish lodgings on a number of *chifliks* were set ablaze, the military defeat was wholesale and the short-term diplomatic gains not as expected. In September 1903, on the sidelines of a meeting between the Emperors of Russia and Austria-Hungry at Franz Josef's hunting lodge in the city of Mürzsteg in Styria, a reform programme was prepared that was deemed acceptable both to the Porte and the other Powers. The plan aimed for the application of the Vienna agreements and the restoration of damages and peace, before Macedonia slipped into a new cycle of rebellions. Specifically, it foresaw the appointment of two Civil Agents (a Russian and an Austrian) as advisors alongside Hilmi, the reorganisation of the gendarmerie by European officers, a rearrangement of administrative areas so that they would include, as much as possible, ethnically homogenous populations, reform of administrative and judicial institutions to benefit the Christians, appointment of an evaluation committee for political crimes, economic support for the suffering populations, disbanding of the irregular military bands and application of the new tax collection methods that had been decided at Vienna. Autonomy had not been achieved, but the destruction of the towns of Krusovo and Kleisoura and of dozens of other villages with a doubtful participation in the uprising, the plundering, the enslavement and the 40,000 homeless refugees succeeded in publicising the propaganda of IMRO and Bulgaria on the Macedonian Ques-

tion throughout the whole of Europe. It was a significant gain that could be put to future use.[31]

4. The Struggle over Macedonia

Whilst the Great Powers were working to establish peace in Macedonia, the Greek government had already seriously begun to consider becoming more actively involved.[32] There was nothing surprising in this. Since the beginning of the century there had already been an increase in generous donations for the education of the Greek Macedonians, but also the thought that violence could only be met with violence. There were now over 1,000 Greek educational institutions with around 70,000 pupils.[33] Significant changes had taken place in the church, the most important being the invitation to the former Ecumenical Patriarch Ioakim III in March 1901 to assume the Patriarchal throne once more, with the support of the Greek government.[34] At the same time, new Metropolitans were being placed in strategic positions: Germanos Karavangelis at Kastoria, Chrysostomos Kalafatis at Drama, Ioakim Foropoulos at Monastir, and others. All were now operating openly in favour of the Greek national position, the most aggressive being Germanos of Kastoria, who proceeded immediately with moves to break the Bulgarian Committee's network and to form armed bands, by winning over Kotas Christou and other disgruntled members of IMRO.[35] The diplomat Ion Dragoumis, son of Stephanos, arrived to assist him in this task in November 1902, having successfully requested to be appointed secretary in the Consulate at Monastir. Within this city, the network of which was spreading throughout the whole of Macedonia, organisational cores started to be formed, in other words, the Greek national committees known as Amyna (Defence). They were filled by the most bold and Greek-oriented elements in the city and surrounding towns, who saw that the Bulgarian Committee's aggressive policy was endangering the whole of the social and economic structure. Weapons began to reach Macedonia through the activities of the old members of the Ethnike Etaireia, who were serving as officers in Thessaly. Dragoumis sent flaming letters in all directions, even requesting his brother-in-law Pavlos Melas to organise a military coup, with General Timoleon Vassos at its head, to save Macedonia.[36] The Consulates received orders to strengthen defence. Under Karavangelis's pressurising, the Dragoumis circle sent the first armed band comprised of eleven Cretans in May 1903. Indeed, this band clashed with the Bulgarians on the very first day of the Ilinden uprising, and escaped to Greece with much difficulty.[37]

On 15 August 1903, at the instigation of the Macedonian associations of Athens, a rally was held in response to the dramatic events unravelling in Macedonia. This was followed by a decision to send two exploratory missions to Macedonia: one with the four military officers Kontoulis, Kolokotronis, Papoulas and Melas, and the other with Georgios Tzorbatozglou, interpreter at the Consulate of Constantinople. The missions finished their work in the summer of 1904, but their proposals differed. Even the views of the officers disagreed among themselves. Kotas's arrest, after having being betrayed by Germanos Karavangelis, increased worries as to whether it really was possible to undermine the superior Bulgarian organisation.[38] Yet, in reality, the countdown had started already in the spring. This was when Demetrios Kallergis was appointed Consul at Monastir and Lambros Koromilas Consul at Thessaloniki. A group of officers was also seconded to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to serve as 'special secretaries' in the Consulates and Sub-Consulates. In late May, the Macedonian Committee was established by former members of the Ethnike

Etaireia, with Demetrios Kalapothakis, owner of the up-and-coming newspaper *Embros* and former director of Harilaos Trikoupis's political office, as its president. From its founding charter, it can be seen that the Committee assumed wide responsibilities, extending to the conscription and preparation of the bands. Although the Greek government covered its expenses and appointed half the members of its Administrative Council, it was clear that the parallel activities of private individuals and the state portended complications. Over the next few years, the co-ordination of the campaigns and the distribution of men and materials were anything but smooth.[39]

In late July 1904 it was decided to send new bands to Macedonia. By mid-August the bands of Thymios Kaoudis and, a little later, Pavlos Melas, managed to enter the province. The diplomatic services followed their actions from afar, through the usual informants. Doubtless, there was satisfaction at the first Greek successes, focusing, however, more on the surface effects of the psychological battle for the hearts of the villagers rather than on actual armed clashes. The death of Pavlos Melas in October 1904 was in many ways a milestone in the Struggle for Macedonia. A courteous and generous man, a sensitive ideologue who, although ready to adopt the archetypes of the *Klepht* tradition,[40]was in truth unable to adopt the harsh rules and suffer the physical exertion of irregular warfare, ending thus as a tragic hero.[41] More than anything, his loss signified the triumph of romantic nationalism, sealed with his sacrifice for the homeland: a fate which, as we can see in his writings, Melas seemed to have been seeking. A few days after the death of Melas, the band of Georgios Katechakis (Rouvas) crossed the frontier, followed in mid-November by Georgios Tsontos, who soon became the most important army officer in the Struggle.[42] These two bands, along with Kaoudis's men, struck the first blows against the Bulgarian side and were the first to restore Greek prestige in the eyes of the local population.

Winter suspended military activities. Preparations for the summer 1905 counter-attack began with the arrival of special secretary Second Lieutenant Konstantinos Mazarakis-Ainian from Athens. Mazarakis, reflecting Koromilas's views, tried to promote the solution of the unified command of the Struggle under the General Consulate of Thessaloniki, pointing to the weaknesses of the Committee. But, the latter already enjoyed enough political support and had the requisite prestige to neutralise any attempts to limit its activities. Despite its healthy morale, the Greek counter-attack was in practice a far more complex and intricate issue. Given how dispersed and fragmented the centres of decision making were, from the offices of the newspaper *Embros* and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Athens to the peaks of Mt Vitsi, the villages of Mt Voio and the national committees of the small towns, with all their idiosyncrasies, the organisation of the infrastructure, the planning by the military staff and its consistent application were far more difficult than the guerrilla war in the mountains was. Lambros Koromilas emerged as the leading figure here, sending out hundreds of forceful and goading letters to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. These documents show that Koromilas was aware of his superior skills, but also that his personality sometimes made him difficult to work with. It is beyond doubt, however, that the General Consul was the essential factor in the Greek Struggle for Macedonia.

Indeed, it is clear from Koromilas's letters that he used the personal prestige that he enjoyed to push the Greek government into participating more actively than it had done in 1903-1904. In January 1905, before even receiving final approval for the necessary expenses, he was already envisioning the spread of operations from Central to Eastern Macedonia as far as Meleniko and Stroumitsa. He had also gone ahead with smuggling

weapons and arming the hinterland through the Consulate, perhaps even on occasion pre-empting the government itself with his passion and rhetoric. His constant refrain was that thousands of arms and explosives should be ordered. His collaborators were the 'special secretaries' who, as section leaders, kept up with every detail of the developments through their entrusted agents. They knew and photographed people and things, compiled reports for the Macedonian Committee and held daily sessions within the building of the General Consulate, all under the watchful eye of the Ottoman authorities. In Monastir around the same time a great deal of thought was being given to the future of the operations. In the absence of orders from above, the diplomats sought to formulate a plan for the rational distribution of the bands and military duties in advance, reserving the co-ordinating role for an officer positioned at the Consulate, just as Koromilas was also proposing for the *vilayet* of Thessaloniki. Events showed just how right they were. But, the 'uniform action', the 'meticulous groundwork' and the 'complete organisation' that Koromilas and his colleagues were asking for in advance remained an unattainable dream.[43]

Despite these concerns, in the spring of 1905 at least 565 men had been found and organised into sizeable bands under the command mainly of Greek army officers and the supervision of the Committee. At the same time, there were around 122 men operating in Central Macedonia under the command of non-commissioned officers and local chieftains (seven bands), as well as 109 militiamen (twelve bands). In addition to these, another 178 men were due to arrive imminently. That autumn in the same area there were 13 groups of *andartes* (215 men) ranged against an approximately equal number of armed Bulgarians and 32 groups of militiamen (183 men). Furthermore, already from November 1905, there were 14 small bands with a total of 85 men in East Macedonia. The simultaneous presence of 1,000 armed Greeks, at the moment that there were indications that the Turkish army was beginning to abandon its passive stance, was bound to result in no end of accidents and great loss of life, the most well-known victims being the officers Marinos Limberopoulos (Krobas), Michail Moraitis (Kodros) and Spyridon Frankopoulos (Zogras). On the other hand, the increase in the number of militias, the advance towards Morichovo and East Macedonia, the extension of control to Kastanohoria and the plains to the north and south of Florina and the securing of the vital arterial routes around Monastir, all within ten months, gave the Greeks a significant military advantage of undoubted importance.

The Struggle had not, however, been finally decided. From early 1906, when the first wave of enthusiasm had died down, the problems that the diplomats had noted in good time began to appear in the *vilayet* of Monastir: collapse of the bands in the northern zone, an inability to follow operations in the southern zone, irregularities in the use of funds, the absence of officials in the centres and lack of co-ordination of the entry and progress of the bands. The consequences were immediate and tragic: Georgios Skalides was killed in March, Christos Prantounas in April, Antonios Vlachakis in May, Konstantinos Garefis in June, Evangelos Nikoloudis in July and along with them dozens of *Makedonomachoi*, the victims, in most cases, of senseless clashes with the Turkish army. It is also illustrative that by September 1906 the regular force with operational abilities in this same region did not exceed 200 men - perhaps just a little more than the *comitadjis* - Vitsi had been abandoned, Korestia could not be controlled and the Exarchists had launched murderous counter-attacks with many victims. By contrast, the incidents resulting from the collapse of discipline in the Patriarchist camp had increased greatly. At the same time, however, Lambros Koromilas in Thessaloniki was in the fortunate position of being able to note the continuing improvement of the Greek positions as the bands of Agapinos (Agras) and Demestichas

(Nikephoros) made successful progress in the marsh of Yiannitsa. He was hoping that the many lakeside villages whose economies were dependent upon the flora and fauna of the marsh would in this way come under their control.[44]

The close of the third year of armed operations found the Greek side holding on to the comparative advantage it had gained throughout Macedonia in 1905. Even so, it was quite clear that in some areas there was a divergence from adherence to the desired aims, or even departures from fundamental positions of interest. The documents from the consulates do not leave any doubt that these problems were especially apparent in Western Macedonia. The crisis that was smouldering in the *vilayet* of Monastir in 1906 appears to have been the result of a combination of geographical factors. Its adjacency to the Greek state increased the opportunities for a successful infiltration of the bands, in contrast to the always programmed but at the same time problematic and fretful disembarkation by sea at Halkidiki and Roumlouki, south of the marsh of Yiannitsa. In any case, the border between Greece and Turkey was an area traditionally rife with all kinds of *Klephts* and *Armatoloi*. It was natural, then, that they were to be found in larger numbers in mountain Macedonia than in the central and eastern plains, where the landings were under the almost complete control of the Greek state. Even Monastir, the administrative centre in the west, was essentially cut off from many of the scenes of operations, in contrast to the luxury of the railway communications with all the centres in his jurisdiction that Koromilas had available to him. The distance from the operations in Grevena, Kastanohoria, Korestia, etc. increased the difficulties of co-ordinating the large numbers of armed men, whilst the inherent communications difficulties made the chaotic picture worse. Finally, the problem of the centralised command of the local committees was incomparably more serious in the west, where parochialism and the traditional form of the economy undermined any interventions from outside. The new class of enthusiastic patriots, supported by the arms of the bands, came into conflict with the establishment of the traditional local notables. By contrast, the pressures from ‘on high’ produced more immediate results from the *chifliks* of the plains.

It appears that the all-powerful and highly successful IMRO was considered by the Greek diplomats - who obviously preferred to see their connections among the ‘interior’ Greek organisation in contradistinction to that of the ‘supreme’ Committee in Athens - to be a model for organisation and action. In reality, however, neither was the Bulgarian struggle running so smoothly. In their camp, as in the Greek camp, the causes of the conflicts were anything but ideological. The break-up of the Exarchist base into two parties came, as the evidence indicates, from the villagers’ inability to satisfy IMRO’s longstanding financial demands. During the decline that followed the Ilinden uprising and which intensified after the Greek counter-attack of 1905, the pressures, failures and ambitions of the captains, as well as the unwillingness of the Bulgarian state to intervene with reforms created an explosive mix which not only undermined Bulgarian irredentist policies in Ottoman Macedonia, but in the long-term had an explosive effect on social stability in Bulgaria itself.

The lack of a direction for the Struggle on the part of both Greeks the Bulgarians was even more profound within the context of the adverse conditions created by the interventionist policies of the Great Powers and the equally obstructive policy of the Porte. The presence of the former in Macedonia coincided with the escalation in Greek activities, which were seen as a destabilising factor for peace. Even if the French, British and Italians appeared to be irritated by the initiatives of the Austrians and the Russians in Macedonia, there do not appear to have been serious disagreements with the policy that was being ap-

plied. They all neglected the fact that the Greek bands were simply trying to replace the previous regime, because the European short-term interest was to maintain Bulgarian abilities to the point where they could neutralise Greek abilities without at the same time undermining Ottoman control. The Sublime Porte also fell in with this 'biased' policy, and perhaps not as unwillingly as the Inspector General of Macedonia, Hilmi Pasha, in his discussions with Greek diplomats would have had them believe. Once the subversive potential of the Bulgarians had been neutralised, Turkey ended the favourable neutrality that it had shown towards the Greek bands at the beginning of the Macedonian Struggle, and embarked upon 'relentless persecutions'. Officially, of course, Hilmi played the role of Philhellene with impressive dexterity, whilst caught between European and Sultanic pressure, continuing to ensure the Greeks that his main interest was to suppress the Bulgarian gangs and politely discouraging the formation of new Greek bands, supposedly so that they would not distract the Ottoman army. But to leave the pursuit of the *comitadjis* exclusively to the Turks, thus excluding the involvement of Greek bands, was not a realistic possibility. The Exarchists' skill in covert activities was by now well known on the Greek side, as was the potential of the presence of only a few armed men to force people to change their beliefs.[45]

It was not just, however, the military progress of the Struggle and its international relations that focused the attention of the Greek diplomats. They clearly believed - and with good reason - that any economic steps taken would be as equally productive. These included a series of proposals and plans about which, since they never came sufficiently to fruition, very little is known. Instead, they passed into history as aspects of the economic war that Cavalry Second Lieutenant Athanasios Souliotis pronounced on the Exarchist professionals and workers of Thessaloniki. The situation, however, was far more complex than a simple economic blockade and was primarily linked to rapid changes in the Macedonian economy, which shall be examined below.[46] Four aspects of these economic changes were primarily connected to the Struggle: emigration to America, the buying and selling of land, the opening of branches of banks, and the competition between professionals in the urban centres.

The immigration flow to the United States, which was manifested primarily after the Ilinden uprising, around 1905, had become particularly serious throughout the whole of the Slavophone zone of the *vilayet* of Monastir. It had become a strategy planned and rigorously applied by almost every extended family. In that year, 5,500 young men emigrated from the region of Monastir alone, the great majority of them from the villages which were suffering the most at the hands of the armed bands. This strategy had already spread to the western parts of the *vilayet* of Thessaloniki by the end of 1905. The consequences of this were negative firstly for the Turkish public sector, which despite so wishing was unable to contain this migration. The shortage of men also affected the Committees, who were thus denied manpower and funds, and they even attempted to control the immigration networks. Even so, a far more important development in the long-term was not so much the shortage of men in Macedonia but the migration of various Exarchists and Patriarchists to the American continent. Both Greece and Bulgaria seemed to have understood immediately the importance of this. From the Greek perspective, priority had to be given to the peaceful coexistence of the Patriarchist Macedonians with migrants from the Greek state and to avoid the misguided marginalisation of the Slavophone Patriarchists as Bulgarians. Whenever this did happen, the Slavophone returnees to Macedonia, with all the prestige that their dollars gave them, rushed to avenge those who had jeered at them by siding with the Bulgarian

Committee. This was a process that required a rather delicate handling which, as history has shown, could not be secured just with the presence of one satisfactory prelate or a diplomatic representative, as observers at the time proposed.[47]

The abandonment of crops, the blow dealt to the *chifliks* by the lack of manpower and the inflow of foreign currency naturally resulted in a rapid increase in the buying and selling of land. This situation favoured certain measures that would have allowed, through the renting of *chifliks*, grazing areas and forests, the resettling of Patriarchist populations, thus creating a safe passage for the armed bands and the installation of guards. Particular attention was paid to the lakes, i.e. the shallow marshes of Yiannitsa, Amatovo and Artzan, as they were not only natural bases for the operations of the armed bands but also supported the economies of the neighbouring villages. Even so, the implementation of these proposals, despite the expected benefits, came up against the stated reluctance of the credit agencies - even the Greek ones - to risk their capital in the uncertain environment of the Macedonian hinterland.

In the urban centres the problems faced by the national struggle were not due to lack of capital but to the structure of society itself. The monetisation of the economy, the acceleration of trade patterns, improvements in communications and, primarily, the sense of insecurity drove an ever-increasing number of Slavophone peasants and small business people to the urban centres, either temporarily or permanently. Here, they settled in certain marginalised neighbourhoods, such as Dragor and Exoches near Monastir or Kilkis near Thessaloniki. The unavoidable social differences and economic tensions of the newly-arrived small shop owners, traders and workers with the established class of Greek-and Vlach-speaking merchants, but also among themselves, increased the effectiveness of the financial assistance given by the Bulgarian and Rumanian Committees, which were searching everywhere for 'social disasters' whom, in return for money, they would then add to the Committees. Settling of doctors and teachers in the hinterland and maintaining of *Makedonomachoi* as small traders in the urban centres was beneficial for the needs of the Struggle but it did not help especially in smoothing out the social differences or the fervent national feeling that they fed. Even in the Greek sources, we can easily see the gulf – if not dislike – that separated villagers and city-dwellers, as well as the political passions that were growing even within wholly Greek-speaking communities.[48]

The most important change during the last two years of the Struggle (1907-1908) was that of the rapid realignments on the diplomatic scene, or rather the feeling - sometimes mistaken - that such realignments were taking place. It was obvious that things were not going well for Bulgaria. The countdown for Sofia's Macedonian policy had already begun. The Greek government, on the other hand, continued throughout the whole of 1907 to draw the ire of the Porte, all the Great Powers, and in particular Britain, which always appeared to be well informed. Indeed, from the archival material for this period, we can see just how important was the role of the European observers in meting out blame. We can easily ascertain the irritation of the Greek diplomats, who would censure the British and French Consuls and officers for barely veiled pro-Bulgarianism and bias against the Patriarchist population. Although they could be accused of ineptness and an inability to see things from the perspective of the Europeans, i.e. that the main problem to the peace efforts of the Great Powers was indeed the Greek bands, their irritation was not entirely groundless. The impressions of the on-site observers reinforced and hastened the decision of the Powers to put diplomatic pressure on the Balkan states, in particular on Athens, so as to take steps not simply to discourage but also curtail guerrilla actions and, moreover, to support the de-

mands of the Porte for removal of those diplomats and Metropolitans who were implicated – according to the foreign observers – in the Greek armed struggle.[49]

It is not easy to answer the question as to what would have happened in Macedonia if the Young Turk movement had not cut off developments in the summer of 1908. In reality, there was no serious prospect of war between Bulgaria and Turkey. Like Greece, Bulgaria was not in a position to ignore the Great Powers completely, but neither did it have much room for reconciliation with the now decimated Committees. And, despite firing the occasional threat and spreading the odd rumour, neither had Turkey made any substantial preparations for a battle on its northern borders, and indeed at a time when disaffection within the Ottoman armed forces over delayed wages had began to lead to desertions. It seems, however, that the Greeks were justified in criticising the Turks for opportunism: the Bulgarian interest in Macedonia was not going to end soon and the long-term Turkish aims were not being served at all by the selective pressure being put on the Greeks. Indeed, if we are to take the details provided by the Consuls at face value, there is nothing to suggest that the actions of the Bulgarian *comitadjis* had been reduced significantly. The murder of Agras in June 1907 had electrified the atmosphere. Taxation of the Patriarchists by IMRO continued, wherever and whenever this was possible. Threats and murders were part of the daily agenda. The penetration of bands from Bulgaria into Macedonia had not stopped, and their collaboration with the pro-Rumanian Vlachs of Almopia was deepening and drawing on their conflict with the Greek Vlachs of Vermio. Moreover, the Porte had recognised a separate Vlach *millet* in 1905. The activities of renowned *voyvodes*, with their many associates, in the eastern *kazas* still had strong roots, and in February 1908 began to take on worrying dimensions.

Of course, IMRO was not itself in the best possible condition: its network suffered from leaks thanks to the difficulties in handling documents. Dozens of unrepentant Exarchists were leaving Kastanohoria for Bulgaria, obviously in order to regroup as their area had fallen under the control of the Greek bands. The leaders of the Exarchist community in Thessaloniki were clearly not willing to invest in a new movement, and the economic war waged by the Greeks had caused them quite a few difficulties. Desertions of chieftains to the Greek bands were increasing. Fortunately for the Bulgarian committees, however, even the Greek side, for a variety of reasons, was not in a position to eliminate them completely. After two years (1905-1906) of continuous efforts in Central Macedonia the Greeks had not managed to take control of the areas to the east and north of the lake of Yiannitsa, and the *comitadjis*' escape routes to the marshes remained clear. Until Nikiforos began to operate outside the marsh and against Exarchist villages, the results of the efforts that he and Agras made, under truly adventure-story conditions, were not proportionate to their sacrifices.[50] Even so, the European outcry led to the suspension of operations, and the attacks on pro-Rumanian elements led to retaliations against the Greek communities in Rumania. In Macedonia again, a run of bad luck and mistakes led in less than two months (May-June 1907) to the obliteration of the bands of Captains Fiotakis, Foufas, Ziakas, Gouras, Flabouras and Doxoyiannis, and to the arrests of many band members. The death of the extremely popular Andreas Stenimachitis, an able warrior and patriotic orator, in Eastern Macedonia shocked the Patriarchist population, as did the forced departure of Bishop Chrysostomos of Drama a little later.[51]

In early 1908 it appeared that the condition of deliberate inaction had spread from Monastir to the region of Drama. This was not for a lack of enthusiasm; it was simply that efforts at calculated violence were impossible given the very nature of IMRO bands. As

Consul Dimaras wrote, 'these bands were a rabble made up of necessity by villagers who, after having carried out their pre-planned attack, abandoned their weapons [and] went back to their agricultural duties.' An attack against their bases meant an attack against villages and such actions only brought problems on the diplomatic level.[52] This was not, however, the only weakness. Tegos Sapountzis, staff member in Florina, observed that the reasons for this ebb in the action were the unsuitability of certain figures, the involvement of the bands in local community issues and the lack of a propaganda campaign. He also noted the vacuum created in some areas by the long-term absence in Athens of individuals with influence and economic clout, who, despite the continuous and convoluted exhortations for their return, were hesitant about going back to their towns and villages. To these we could add a variety of untold squabbles between local notables, clergy and other actors.

The other side of this seeming inactivity was a shift towards non-military options, especially to the economic battle. Athanasios Souliotis and Georgios Modis have left eloquent accounts of such initiatives in Thessaloniki and Monastir respectively, but in the countryside the rules were far harsher. The villagers did not have many options, and so their exclusion from bazaars, trade fairs and the labour market was catalytic, and far more effective than any national propaganda. As for the rest, however, the notion that one study demonstrating the superior economic status of the Greek element would influence European public commentators and financiers in favour of Greek interests was naive, especially when even Greek banks did not dare, for economic reasons, to break off their transactions with the Bulgarians. A complete economic boycott of Bulgarian economic interests was a highly complex matter, which would never have been carried out unless peace was restored in the country and Greek retailers did not change their credit terms.

Yet, it was too late for a spectacular re-organisation of Greek operations. The organisation of the Greeks in Macedonia had reached its limits. With Koromilas's definitive removal in September 1907 the road was open for the command operations of the Struggle to be unified. The well-founded suspicion that the *vilayet* of Thessaloniki would be placed under the responsibility of the Athenian Macedonian Committee, i.e. of the civilians, provoked the reaction of the officers (the special secretaries) in the Consulate of Thessaloniki, who proposed as an alternative solution that Colonel Panayiotis Danglis take over the directorship of the Committee. At the moment that Danglis was making his first contacts and laying down his plans, the situation was already out of control. The murder of Theodoros Askitis, interpreter for the Thessaloniki Consulate, only a few days later mobilised public opinion even more. At a rally in the square of the Varvakeios Lyceum on 16 March 1908, the 'People of Athens and Piraeus' - in other words the Macedonian circles and their friends - pronounced to Prime Minister Theotokis and Crown Prince Constantine that the Macedonian Committee no longer enjoyed their trust and that it was responsible for the worsening of the situation in Macedonia. In the second part of their complaint, at least, they were not entirely justified, but the pronouncement was signed by almost 400 chieftains. Despite the pressures, the memoranda and the threats of resignation from the officials at the Consulates and from Danglis himself, the attempt to direct the Committee failed. Danglis did not have the same influence as his opponents and Prime Minister Theotokis was inherently unwilling to push the situation to the limits. Given these conditions, it is striking that, almost out of inertia, the 'front' held up, and the relief felt at the news of the Young Turk revolution and of the amnesty for the *andartes* was entirely understandable. The Young Turk revolution provided the opportunity for replacing the Committee with the Panhellenic Organisation (PO), a creation of Danglis, Ion Dragoumis and a number of other officers. The PO, a vehicle less for battle and more for spying and propaganda, did not really have

much room for action. Greek-Turkish relations were at a low point, and this reality meant that, for the time being, the *Makedonomachoi* had to remain in their barracks.

The psychological gap after almost four years of campaigns in Macedonia was great and the reactions many. The complaints about the lack of sufficient moral and material rewards were being heard from as early as spring 1908. The non-commissioned officers who hoped to be promoted to warrant officer rank and had believed that their gallant bravery on the field of the guerrilla battle would pave the way for their joining the officer ranks were belied. They were just the tip of the iceberg, but their complaints varied, from transfers and financial claims to issues of moral conduct. Favourable promotions became competitive and the agitation was obvious. Conspiratorial groupings started to form, memoranda and recommendations be submitted by Danglis to the King and the Crown Prince. The inability to satisfy the veterans was breeding danger in Macedonia, and Dragoumis's old ideas were finding fertile ground.

In February 1909, amidst all this confusion, Kalapothakis found the opportunity to publish a series of slanderous articles in *Embros* openly charging the Theotokis government with having abandoned action in Macedonia and attacking the leadership of PO by calling it 'an official terrorist centre.' A few weeks later, a number of lower-ranked officers began preparing conspiratorially for what was eventually to become the Goudi Rebellion. The *Makedonomachoi*, either as members of the PO or as veterans of the Committee and irrespective of rank, took a leading role, giving the Rebellion its requisite credibility. The motives of the national fighters were incontrovertible and their concern for national interests genuine. Kalapothakis, satisfied by Theotokis's resignation, himself proposed Kyriakoulis Mavromichalis as Prime Minister. His brother-in-law, parliamentary deputy and former minister Alexandros Romas, was a governing member of the Committee. Until Venizelos came to power, in particular during the brief government of Stephanos Dragoumis, a number of associates and friends of the Macedonian Committee found themselves in various administrative positions. The *Makedonomachoi* officers had become so powerful that, despite the objections of Stephanos Dragoumis, they were able, with the assistance of Perikles Argyropoulos, to have their old acquaintance from the Monastir Consulate, the diplomat Dimitrios Kallergis, appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs. In 1909, the living legends of the Struggle for Macedonia, transferred the living of the mountain *andartes* to the political arena of Athens. The effect was splendid, although the reason for this went deeper than the displeasure of the *Makedonomachoi*. Kalapothakis did not live long enough to see the results. But, the generation of the officers of the Struggle for Macedonia were to enjoy many distinctions both in the military and in politics, and in both political camps during the inter-war period. Their entry into politics had another important consequence. The patrician officers and other now victorious army commanders were led for one more time to collaborate with the villagers of Macedonia, their old fellow fighters, this time to set up not national but political networks and alliances, which would last longer than any of them hoped.[53]

In the meantime, since the start of the 1908 election campaign, the situation in Macedonia was getting worse. From the moment that the newly-founded political clubs were nothing more than a front for the national parties and committees, it was to be expected that the election campaign would turn into a new Macedonian Struggle, in which the local armed groups again played a decisive role. The Greeks sided with the Liberal Party, which supported decentralisation and the right of self-government for religious and national minorities. It seemed initially that these moderate views would win. Indeed, both the more

conservative members of IMRO as well as the Federalist wing supported decentralisation and self-government, joining forces with the notorious *voyvodes* Sandanski and Chernopeev. After the disappointment of the elections, which failed to demonstrate the political (and therefore national) strength of the Greeks to the degree that was desired, and also the subsequent pro-Sultan counter-coup of March 1909, things changed. Whilst the Greek officers were turning to the political arena, their Turkish colleagues had started to apply a hard-line Turkish nationalist interior policy, which also had adverse effects on the socialist movement.[54] Nationalism brought more nationalism, and the reappearance of the Cretan Question complicated matters further. IMRO mobilised once more and the Greek villages were again armed. The legal reform to the ownership status of churches and schools in Macedonia, which essentially closed them whenever they could not be shared, led to fierce Greek protests.[55] Order was maintained only through the use of state terrorism, which continued the work of the committees through pre-emptive murders of Patriarchist and Exarchist elements under the mantle of the 'counter-revolutionary' laws that had been passed in late summer 1909.[56]

At the same that the contacts for the formation of a Balkan alliance were progressing, Young Turk pressure led to the alliance of the Greeks and Bulgarians with the opposition Liberal Union, which had been founded in November 1911. The collaboration did not produce any tangible results as the Liberals were crushed in the elections of April 1912, within the climate of violence created by the Young Turk committee, which since the successful counter-revolution of 1909, had now evolved into a political party.[57] Over the next few months there followed a few isolated instances of collaborations between Greek and Bulgarian bands, whilst Athens and Sofia aided all the more openly the penetration of armed fighters into Macedonia without, of course, having fully secured that there would be no attacks on each other's bands.[58] It was impossible for both the blood that had been shed and divided the two sides and the great symbolic value with which the Struggle for Macedonia had been invested to be neutralised through either guidelines or the military alliance of the first Balkan War.

5. Economy and society of Macedonia[59]

The social divide that grew after 1870 and ultimately led the Christians of Macedonia into a 'civil' war cannot be fully interpreted without referring to the equally turbulent and difficult broader context of the social and economic changes that were taking place. The Sublime Porte took out 14 loans between 1854 and 1874. Even though the Ottoman Empire's foreign debt reached 242 million Turkish lira, the vast majority of the population was not aware of any economic progress. In 1875 servicing the debt took up three-quarters of the state's income, and the tactic of short-term, high-interest internal loans made the problem even worse. Increasing the population's tax-paying ability continued to be the preferred solution, but the practice of tax farming was far from being considered a secure method by which to fill the Sultan's coffers. Comprehensive modernisation was by definition impossible for the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century, since almost all its potential institutions and their goals were associated with centrifugal policies and national powers. Even so, the modernisation of various aspects was a process that was already underway. In Macedonia – its southern regions in particular - the rural economy, albeit fragmentedly, had been integrated into the global economy. The existence of natural sources of energy in semi-mountainous areas and the availability of labour had already led – again, with a myriad problems in certain areas – to the opening of a number of industrial cotton thread produc-

tion units for local consumption. The problem, however, of the general development of Macedonia still remained.

Since the Empire's industrial experiment had failed and improvement of the road transport system was faltering, it was time to try out the era's latest technological innovation, which had even garnered the support of Sultan Abdul Aziz and his Grand Viziers Ali and Fuad - the railway. For many, the railways were a magical solution since they would attract European capital, spur industry and agriculture, raise living, administration and security standards and, as such, increase state revenues. It was too good a scenario to be true. The grandiose plan for Turkey's Balkan railway network was undertaken by the company of Baron de Hirsch. The agreement foresaw the construction of 2,550 km of railway track along the length and breadth of the peninsula. Included in the plan was the Thessaloniki-Skopje-Mitrovitsa line, construction of which began in February 1871 and was completed in December 1874. After intense diplomatic manoeuvring and under the constant pressure exercised by various business interests, construction began in the autumn of 1886 on the highly promising connecting Skopje-Vranje line, which opened in 1888 to connect Thessaloniki with Belgrade and Vienna, via Nis, and as such with the European railway network. The guaranteed kilometre compensation for the Thessaloniki-Nis line from 1885 onwards was set at 7,000 French francs. Construction on the Thessaloniki-Monastir line began only in June 1891, and was completed three years later. The construction terms were exceptionally onerous for the Ottoman public purse and included, in addition to infinite forms of assistance for important materials and the provision of resources in the surrounding area, an annual guarantee of kilometre profit of 14,300 francs to be paid out of public funds to the construction company, which was funded by the Deutsche Bank. In September 1892 the final contract was signed between the Porte and René Baudouy, a French banker at Constantinople who also represented a French firm of which the Banque Impériale Ottomane was a shareholder. The terms of the project again favoured the foreign company. The guarantee for a 510-km line that would unite Thessaloniki with Alexandroupolis and the Sofia-Constantinople line rose to 15,500 francs a kilometre, even though its commercial prospects were by definition limited. Construction took place between June 1893 and March 1896, the worst moment for Greek strategic interests; hence the desperate disembarkation of National Society men at Kavala.

Work on the construction of the lines made apparent the communications problem in constructing and maintaining the road network that connected the centres of production and distribution with the railways stations, which on the whole were located far from the cities they were supposed to be serving. Each new construction, therefore, involved an attempt at improvement, which, however, fizzled out fairly quickly. Alongside the construction of the first railway lines, an effort at upgrading the port of Thessaloniki was initiated. Demolition of the seafront walls allowed for a dock to be built, but this was finished a decade later. The routes of the ferry companies also increased. Within ten years (1872-1882) the maritime traffic of Thessaloniki increased threefold. The work for the railway connection (1886-88) with Central Europe initiated a new cycle of maritime activity on the part of various countries, which connected the city on a regular basis with Volos, Piraeus, Kavala, Trieste, Liverpool, London and Marseilles. The sharp rise in traffic in the port of Thessaloniki revived the question of its complete overhaul, but, despite the studies that had begun in 1888, the greater part of the works was not completed before 1903 and the port was not connected with the railway station until 1909. Even so, the complaints of the business world over the

slowness of the works and the high mooring dues did not prevent a sharp rise in commercial traffic, in particular after the political developments of 1908.

The growth in Thessaloniki trade and the direct communication established between importing and exporting firms improved the situation in the credit sector significantly. From around 1890, the European firms began to give credit to the merchants of Macedonia for between three to eight months. This benefit passed from the wholesale to the retail side, and even affected small consumers in the villages. With the foundation of the Commercial Club in Thessaloniki in 1895, commercial exchanges became even more standardised. Prior to this, the Banque de Salonique had been founded in 1888, with capital provided by the Austrian Länderbank, the French Comptoir d' Escompte and Allatini Bros of Thessaloniki. The Bank attempted to open a branch in Monastir in 1893, but this proved unpopular thanks to its high interest rates. In 1899 the Bank of Mytilene opened a branch in Thessaloniki. This was followed in 1905 by the Bank of Industrial Credit of Athens, in 1906 by the Orient Bank and in 1908 by a Serbian bank. By the beginning of the 20th century, bank credit had come to play a catalytic role in Macedonian trade. Even so, despite the best efforts of the Consuls, almost all the banks remained concentrated in Thessaloniki. Only the Banque Impériale Ottomane had other branches, in Monastir, Skopje, Drama and Serres, and the Orient Bank opened branches at Monastir and Skopje in 1906 and at Serres in 1910. In the rest of Macedonia, credit was in the hands of local merchants, who on occasion were also authorised representatives of the banks.[60]

The gradual connection of Thessaloniki to the hinterland by railway and the favourable changes to the credit and lending system resulted in the stable and quick supply of large amounts of goods at low prices to the internal market. It was thus necessary to renew stocks according to the needs of the local markets. In other words, shops started to become viable commercial enterprises. From the moment that the merchants acquired stable bases, the future of the trade fairs had been decided. The competition between travelling peddlers and settled shop owners was one-sided. A reduction in the status of trade fairs was unavoidable, although they did not disappear altogether, whilst shops began to flood the cities and, in the form of grocers, arrived also in the villages. The caravans had a similar fate. The new borders limited their movements, whilst the decline of the trade fairs and the coming of the railways limited their volume. Those muleteers who remained faithful to their profession found a profitable occupation in transferring goods from the railway stations to the cities that they served. The trade network in general also underwent important changes. Construction of the Thessaloniki-Mitrovitsa-Nis line distanced a significant number of villages from the market of Monastir and several northern cities (Skopje, Stip, Pirot) from that of Thessaloniki. The Thessaloniki-Monastir line, on the other hand, led to the commercial independence of Florina, Kastoria and Kozani and the rise of Amyntaion. Rail connection with Constantinople isolated Kavala and channelled a section of the trade of Serres to Thessaloniki, which, in any case, bore most of the fruits of the changes to the trade network.

The changes in the market and in communications corresponded to analogous demographic changes. The Turkish census that commenced in 1881 and was completed in 1893 gave the population of the two *vilayets* of Thessaloniki and Monastir as 989,844 and 664,399 inhabitants respectively, a total of 1,654,243 as opposed to 1,378,000 in the middle of the century and around 1,000,000 in 1830. Muslims made up 45% of the *vilayet* of Monastir and 35% of the *vilayet* of Thessaloniki. According to the same census, Exarchists already constituted 46% of the Christian population of the two *vilayets*, but the data for

such estimates is far from considered precise. More accurate, at least in terms of proportion, were the data for urbanisation. From 24,700 inhabitants in 1870, the population of Serres reached 32,000 in 1900; from 7,000 inhabitants in 1870, Kavala had a population of 22,000 in 1898 and 24,000 in 1908. Kilkis doubled its population between 1870 and 1898, as did Kastoria between 1850 and 1888. From a population of 10,000 in 1850 Edessa reached 25,000 in 1900; Florina rose from 10,000 in 1888 to 12,000 in 1908, and Prilep from 13,000 to 17,000. A similar population rise could be observed in many towns and large villages lying on the path of the railway tracks, whilst simple railway stations grew into flourishing transit centres. A typical example of rapid growth is that of Gevgeli. Of course, the largest section of the urbanised population was concentrated in the capitals of the *vilayets*. Skopje had 20,000 inhabitants in 1870 and remained an agricultural town until at least 1880. In 1886 its population was 26,000, in 1900 32,000 and in 1910 40,000. From 45,000 in 1850 Monastir reached a population of 60,000 in 1912. Thessaloniki, which already had 80,000 inhabitants in 1870, reached 100,000 in 1880 and perhaps 120,000 before 1890. In 1905 the British Consul estimated its population at 150,000 and in 1912 at 180,000, an inflated estimate since the 1913 census gave it less than 160,000 inhabitants. Despite the population leap, the proportion of Muslims in the town was steadily declining and tending to fall to below 30%, a proportion that the Christians could not exceed. The trains and the ships did not transport people only to the cities. The volume of immigration, which greatly surpassed traditional levels, was particularly significant. As has already been mentioned, the principality of Bulgaria, initially absorbed a significant number of immigrants, which may even have surpassed 200,000 in the period 1880-1900. In the meantime, emigration to the United States of America had taken off, but from 1895 until 1902 it did not exceed a total of 1,700 people. The destruction caused by the earthquake of 1902, the uprising of 1903 and the outbreak of the Struggle for Macedonia led to a mass exodus of the Christian male rural population. Emigration to the USA, Canada and South America alone in the period 1900-1912 surpassed 50,000 and possibly reached 75,000 Slavophone, mainly young, men.

The mass exodus from the rural areas was most definitely connected to political developments: the 1903 uprising and the horrific events that followed. Yet, the socialist proclamations of IMRO, the civil conflict among the Christians and the exodus to the cities and the New World cannot be fully understood without examining certain economic developments. Already in 1860 the ratio of small cultivators to farm tenants and agricultural labourers was one to five. The high cost of land in comparison with the depreciated wages denied the landless the opportunity to provide for themselves. In addition, as a result of mounting debts and the boom in usury exercised by the landowners, a sizeable number of tenant farmers found themselves in a position that differed little from slavery. This desperate situation encouraged IMRO, in its preparations for the Ilinden uprising, to adopt the slogans of the dissolution of the *chifliks* and the writing off of debts. Bankruptcy, however, was not just the preserve of the landless and smallholders. Many Muslim landowners were also being forced to give over their *chifliks* to their Christian and Jewish creditors. At the beginning of the 1880s this phenomenon had begun to take on disturbing dimensions, and was already the norm for Muslim landowners.

The reasons for the bankruptcies were complex. The opening of the railway lines in the 1870s and the increased demand for cereals during the Eastern Crisis (1876-78) expanded the zone of commercialised farming and led to the accumulation of further quantities of exportable cereals in the port of Thessaloniki. After 1881, however, as a result

of the departure of Muslims from Thessaly, the annual flow of agricultural labourers to the Greek state increased, thus leading to an increase in wages in Macedonia at a time when railway duties were still high and the roads non-existent. An increase in the price of cereals was therefore unavoidable. During the same period, however, i.e. the 1880s and 1890s, imports of cheap cereals into Europe from the United States, India and Russia jumped. This reduced competitiveness led to the collapse of agricultural prices in Macedonia, with the price of wheat falling by 40% in the period 1881-1889. The importing of agricultural machinery with reduced tariffs failed as a result of the problematic mechanism for distributing the machinery, the ignorance of the landowners and the fierce resistance of the agricultural labourers to any innovation that would endanger their wages. A characteristic illustration of this is that in the area of Edessa in 1912 there were only 12 iron ploughs as opposed to 1,600 wooden ones. The state attempted to amend the problem of Muslim debt through the proper operation of the agricultural banks, which had officially been in existence since 1868. The results, however, were not as expected since the granting of low-interest loans was not decided upon in an impartial manner, whilst much capital was squandered each year on the state loans. Neither did the agricultural schools (1888) immediately yield the results. The shortage of men, in particular with mass migration and the outbreak of armed conflict, left little room for survival from cereal cultivation. Contradicting all hopes, wheat exports from Thessaloniki rarely exceeded 100,000 tonnes until the end of the 19th century, even though at best Macedonia's wheat exports could reach 450,000 tonnes. In the period 1906-12 there was even an annual import of wheat of around 17,000 tonnes a year. Insolvency was therefore unavoidable for the Muslim landowners. And it was to be expected that their replacement by Greeks would burden the already strained relations of the latter with the Slavophone Exarchist tenant farmers even further.

For all those willing to be flexible, the shift to other crops was imperative. The most serious alternatives were cotton and tobacco. Cultivation of both crops had already begun to gain ground in Macedonia in the mid 1890s. The demand for Ottoman tobaccos by American firms in the early 20th century led to a sharp rise in the prices offered (200-300% in two years). Tobacco exports from the port of Thessaloniki, which in the past rarely exceeded 500 tonnes annually, were over 1,000 tonnes in 1899, remained over 2,000 tonnes annually during 1904-1909, reached 2,500 in 1910, were almost 3,000 in 1911 and achieved a record 5,795 tonnes in 1912. From 1904 until 1912 tobacco cultivations in the *sanjak* of Thessaloniki increased by 125%, whilst production tripled. During the same period, annual tobacco exports from Kavala exceeded 10,000 tonnes; they were, that is, almost twice that of the previous decade. There was also an interest in cotton crops, the production of which was secured by the local cotton mills, whilst alternative solutions were poppies (the price for unprocessed poppies rose significantly) and silkworm farming, since the Council for the Ottoman Public Debt Administration had in 1888 assumed responsibility for collection of the silk tax. Such cultivations could reap cash profits without their being such a great need for male labour. They were, however, also more vulnerable within the context of a generalised war being conducted by irregular armed bands.

In the industrial sector, the situation was not amazing but some progress had been achieved. The city of Thessaloniki, with all its geographical and communications advantages and in particular the advantage of cheap working-class Jewish labour, acquired its first industrial base in the form of a few steam-powered flourmills, soap manufacturers, a distillery and a cotton mill before the end of the 1870s. After the end of the Eastern Crisis, the number of factories rose rapidly - as did the population - and new units made their appearance: the Torres-Mizrahi cotton mill and the Regie cigarette manufacturers. With the

exception of the cotton mill at Naousa, the only noteworthy facilities in the hinterland were a number of steam-powered flourmills, which made their appearance at Monastir, Prilep, Edessa, Kilkis and some other small towns. Industrialisation speeded up especially after 1888, although the choices made by entrepreneurs were more or less the same. New flour-mills, soap factories and distilleries, as well as icemakers, breweries, macaroni makers, tanners, and tile makers offering cheap goods made their appearance in most towns and cit-ies. There was also some expansion in chrome and antimony mining, but competition with the production at New Caledonia was particularly fierce, despite protectionist legislation in 1906. However, the most important specialisation in Macedonian industry during this pe-riod was in cotton. On the eve of the Balkan Wars, Thessaloniki and Naousa had three cotton mills each, whilst Veroia and Edessa had two each. They employed 2,920 male and female workers, and production reached 4,500 tonnes of thread, most of which was sold locally in Macedonia. This was also the most impressive fact: despite the rise in local in-dustry, imports of industrial goods, raw materials and foodstuffs were continuously and impressively rising. They fluctuated between around a value of 1,500,000 pounds sterling in the twenty-year period 1880-1900, and 2-2,500,000 from 1900 to 1908. Even more im-pressive was the transformation in the mentality of the local population. Numerous charming contemporary accounts as well as statistical data show that the people who were filling the urban centres quickly changed their views on dress, food, entertainment and con-sumption in general. Their example was followed by the rural population, slowly but still surely.

6. Evolution or development?

Could this evolution be anything other than economic growth? Let us take a closer look at which direction the money was really flowing and how much of it ended up in the public coffers. First of all, we should understand a few technical details about the railways. The railway lines, as stated, were built with European capital – before the century was out, the greatest part was under the control of the Deutsche Bank – and with the system of annual kilometric guarantee. In order to appreciate the size of the guarantee fully, it should be noted that the profits of the first Thessaloniki-Nis line only after 1900, and with difficulty, exceeded the compensation, the line to Monastir only four times by 1912 and the connect-ing line with Constantinople never. The worst thing was, however, that for the latter two lines the Ottoman government had, as usual, promised the tithe from the *sanjaks* of Monastir, Thessaloniki, Serres, Drama and Komotini as the guarantee. The right to collect the tithe from these regions was sold at auction, and the tax farmer deposited the tax with the Council for the Ottoman Public Debt Administration, which had assumed running of the economy in 1882. The Council paid the guarantee to the companies, and deposited the remainder, if there was any, in the Treasury. The Ottoman public purse never saw a penny of profit from the railways.

As for the contribution of the railways to the development of the rural economy, this can be calculated in three ways. Firstly by estimating the expansion of cultivated land, sec-ondly by the increase in public revenues, and thirdly by the effect on exports. From what we know, the railways led to an increase in cultivated land in some areas; in the long term, however, all evidence points to a decrease in cultivations as a result of immigration and in-security. From the little data that we have for the period 1893-1900, it appears that public revenues increased in the *vilayets* of Thessaloniki and Monastir, but it is difficult to attrib-

ute this solely to the opening of the Thessaloniki-Monastir line. More enlightening is the criterion of exported products. Cereals exports jumped for a while in the 1870s, but then fell again to levels lower than before. If we compare the quantities of cereals transported to Thessaloniki on the railways, it can easily be seen that, rather than equalling out the trade balance, wheat supported urban growth. As for other products, exports of unprocessed silk increased, but, again, the largest proportion was used locally, and this seems also to be the case for cotton. The case of tobacco, the jump in exports of which could be used as evidence of the direct benefit of the railways, was more related to the shortage of men and the high market prices offered. Moreover, most tobacco exports were from the port of Kavala, which did not have a railway link with the hinterland. The final conclusion is that, to the extent to which agriculture contributed to the rise in public revenues, this had little to do with improvements in infrastructure.

After agriculture came industry. It goes without saying that the gains in this sector should not be sought in the heavy industrial materials used in building the railways. Only a few European countries had such gains over the globe during the 19th century: Britain, Belgium, Germany and France. The question here is not whether the railways helped provenly in the industrial development of Macedonia and Thessaloniki, as a means of transport for either raw materials or industrial products. With the exception of the mining of metal ores, the answer is positive in all sectors. The improvement in communications did indeed bring capital into regular contact with natural resources, sellers and buyers, cheap labour with cheap money, the coasts with the hinterland, machinery with raw materials, and there is a plethora of figures to support this. This flourishing is clearly connected with urbanisation, the shift to industrial cultivations and the great financial flow that invisible resources secured. But these new factors were also driving even greater imports of industrial products, suitable for the new consumer models, that were in no case being balanced out by exports; products that, through the railways, had easier and cheaper access to the hinterland. The gains brought by industry, then, were cashed in on only by the entrepreneurs and merchants of the industrial products.

It is clear that if we want to shine light on the situation we must return to an analysis of the correlation between administrative measures and economic growth. In 1889 the Belgian Consul in Thessaloniki remarked that if customs duties were increased the Thessaloniki market would be a lost cause for European commerce. He was implying that local production was developing in quantity and quality, but was not competitive because of prices. The industrial boom which followed the 3% increase in customs duties in 1906 and the total exemption from customs of all industrial goods in 1908 shows that, in conjunction with the necessary administrative reforms, such a policy could have had impressive results. But, the political costs for Turkey were too onerous. Quite simply, and understandably, her creditors were not willing themselves indirectly to cover the country's public debt through customs duties.

On the other hand, there was also the question of the price of train fares, reduction of which could have contributed to spurring agricultural exports. And here the problem was also political. The lack of a road network, either in a feeder role or as competition, and the firms' monopoly led to high fares. Even so, Macedonia's agricultural economy was exceptionally fragile as a result of the local difficulties and global competition. As such, the firms' profit margins were, as it turned out, small and the pressures made them even smaller. For the Monastir and Constantinople lines in particular, the completion of which coincided with a political and economic slump, any reduction in fares would have had un-

welcome results. If the firms' profits were curbed, then the amount paid from the public purse would increase. Since the guarantee paid was one tenth, taxation would have to have increased in order to save money and other public spending be reduced. Otherwise, the high fares would have curtailed an increase in productivity and reduced cash flow would have again made tax collection problematic. It was a vicious cycle, from which neither the state, or the landowners or the farmers could escape.

This problem becomes particularly noticeable if we examine it on the level of the budget of the *vilayets*, using the available data. In 1899 the Vali of Thessaloniki admitted that he was not in a position to cover the expenses of the public services because of the railway guarantees. Indeed, the public expenses for the *vilayet* of Thessaloniki in the financial year 1900-01 were 940,000 Turkish lira. 250,000 lira went to the railway compensation. The local budget deficit was 240,000 lira. In the financial year 1902-03, public expenses were 424,000 lira and railway compensation was 192,000 lira. Even after the remarkable economic growth, the heavier tariffs and other economic measures, expenses for the 1909-10 financial year were 3,165,000 whilst the compensation was 414,000. The issue of the *vilayet*'s budget is, of course, much broader. But what matters is that each year one line burdened the budget to the tune of 36,000 lira and the other to the tune of 200,000 lira, without factoring in that a great part of the income was derived from the transport of army materials and units, which ultimately still came out of the Ottoman public purse.

The public deficit had one other interesting dimension. As a means for normalising the ethnic discords in Macedonia, which had climaxed at the beginning of the century, the Great Powers pushed for economic reforms in agriculture, before there erupted an undesired, from the perspective of international diplomacy, Bulgarian-Turkish conflict, which, if nothing else, would have suspended payments of Turkey's public debt. These reform programmes strictly forbade tax farming, and the level of the tax owed was to be calculated per resident not per village. In order to avoid perpetual abuse, the level of the tithe was set at the average of the figures for the previous five years. The weather and fertility of the land would be taken into account and, perhaps most importantly, the Albanian rural guards, notoriously inclined to corruption, were replaced by local guards. The reform was introduced on an experimental basis in 1904 in 30 villages of the *kaza* of Monastir, and was expanded in 1905 to 494 and in 1906 to a total of 937 villages in different provinces of Macedonia. Yet the programme was abandoned in 1906. The area was in the grip of the Bulgarian gangs, and thus a necessary precondition for the programme's success was the maintenance of strong military forces in the area, as well as gendarmerie units, the reorganisation of which, as mentioned, was the responsibility of an international group of officers. For all this money was needed. Moreover, it was precisely during the years of this reform (1904-1905) that the Greek counter-attack intensified, delivering the final blow to public safety. Insecurity soon led to mass emigration. During the period 1910-1912 immigrant remittances reached 1,000,000 pounds sterling a year. All those who stayed behind shifted maniacally to tobacco production, which was in demand as never before. Overproduction of this crop almost became the currant question of Macedonia.

Remittances most of all, tobacco second, and the secret national funds of every form, calculated at 200,000 pounds sterling a year, supported the trade balance of Macedonia, in a period when imports had rocketed sky-high. The goods that entered the hinterland changed living conditions and, most significantly, they undermined to a great degree – although, of course, not completely – the feeling of self-sufficiency and self-consumption that character-

ises traditional peasant societies. A significant, yet unknown, part of the commercial profits were invested in the land, which was now obviously passing into the hands not only of the leading merchants, but also of the Christian smallholders. Even more was invested in the urban centres, in particular Thessaloniki, which acquired its well-known cosmopolitan air, as testified to in the remaining grand villas of today's Vasilisis Olgas Street - Queen Olga Street, formerly known as the Street of the Towers (Pyrgos Street) or Countryside Street (Exochon Street). Was this a quantitative shift in economic sizes, or an important step at modernisation, and whom did it benefit in the end? Development, as a product of modernisation, contains the element of a scientific and technological revolution. Was this element sufficiently present in Macedonia? If we were to study the specific impediments to modernisation, we would see that many of them disappeared, or at least were reduced, thanks to the railways and all the infrastructure changes to the economy that they brought about. But, as we saw, modernisation in Macedonia was not only disconnected from state policy, it ultimately undermined it socially and economically. Whilst the state was paying compensation, it was struggling to find taxable peasants and was moving troops about here and there; the profits from trade and immigrant remittances were being used to build imposing schools, set up nationalist associations, pay teachers and feverishly buy up Muslim properties. The framework of social co-existence was being knocked down from inside. In short: modernisation in Macedonia was a self-defeating process, from the moment that it coincided with the surge in Balkan nationalisms. This can be ascertained in the ominous estimates of the Greek economists in 1912 for the future of a divided Macedonia and the serious problems facing Thessaloniki. The villagers of China were afraid that the railways would interrupt the peaceful sleep of their ancestors. In the case of Macedonia, it looks as though these fears were real. The whistles of the trains, the clanging of the factory machines and the school bells woke Alexander the Great, Tsar Samuel and Stephen Dushan, who now sought, through the mouths of the teachers and the columns of the newspapers, the retrospective justification of their struggles from yesterday's illiterate peasants.

Notes

1. M.T. Laskaris, *To Anatolikon Zitima 1800-1923* [*The Eastern Question*], Thessaloniki 1948-55, repr. 1978, p. 270. The most comprehensive collection of articles on communalism has been edited by A. Karathanasis, *Symposion. I diachroniki poreia tou koinotismou sti Makedonia*, [*Symposium. The diachronic path of communalism in Macedonia*], Thessaloniki 1991.
2. Demetrios Stamatopoulos, *Metarhythmisi kai ekkosmikevsi. Pros mia anasynthesi tis istorias tou Oikoumenikou Patriarchiou ton 19o aiona* [*Reform and secularisation. Towards a recomposition of the history of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in the 19th century*], Athens 2003, pp. 339-44.
3. For a brief survey, see Evangelos Kofos, 'Macedonia' *Istoria tou Ellinikou Ethnous* [*History of the Hellenic Nation*], vol. 13, Athens 1977, pp. 386-87. The main monograph on the subject is Stephanos Papadopoulos, *Ekpaideftiki kai koinonikoi drastiriotita tou Ellinismou tis Makedonias kata ton teleftaio aiona tis tourkorkatias* [*Educational and social activities of the Hellenism of Macedonia in the last century of Turkish rule*], Thessaloniki 1970.
4. See analytically, Athanasios Angelopoulos, *Ai xenai propagandai eis tin eparchian Polyanis kata tin periodon 1870-1912* [*Foreign propaganda in the province of Polyiani in the period 1870-1912*], Thessaloniki 1973.

5. Asterios I. Koukoudes, *Oi Vergianoi Vlachoi kai oi Arvanitovlachoi tis Kentrikis Makedonias* [*The Vlachs of Veroia and the Arnaut-vlachs of Central Macedonia*], Thessaloniki 2001, pp. 121-2.
6. Spyridon Sfetas, *I Diamorfosi tis slavomakedonikis taftotitas* [*The Formation of Slav-Macedonian Identity*], Thessaloniki 2003, pp. 11-45.
7. The fullest account is given by Apostolos Vakalopoulos, 'Ta dramatika gegonota tis Thessalonikis kata to Maio 1876 kai oi epidraseis tous sto Anatoliko Zitima' ['The dramatic events in Thessaloniki during May 1876 and their effects on the Eastern Question'], *Makedonika,* 2 (1941-52), 193-262, where the inquiry into the events is published.
8. Laskaris, *op.cit*., pp. 275-84; Evangelos Kofos, 'The fight for freedom 1830-1912', in M.B. Sakellariou (ed.), *Macedonia: 4,000 Years of Greek History* and *Civilisation* Athens 1982, pp. 455-6 (page reference to Greek edition), and *I Ellada kai to Anatoliko Zitima, 1875-1881* [*Greece and the Eastern Question*]*,* Athens 2001.
9. Kofos, *Eastern Question*, pp. 151-2; Konstantinos A. Vakalopoulos, *O Voreios Ellinimos kata tin proimi phasi tou Makedonikou Agona 1878-1894* [*Northern Hellenism and the early phase of the Macedonian Struggle*], Thessaloniki 1983, pp. 71-7.
10. Evangelos Kofos, *I epanastasis tis Makedonias kata to 1878. Anekdota proxenika engrapha meta syntomou istorikou episkopiseos* [*The 1878 revolution of Macedonia. Unpublished consular documents with a brief historical survey*]*,* Thessaloniki 1969, and *O Andartis Episkopos Kitros Nikolaos* [*The Guerilla Bishop of Kitros Nikolaos*] Athens 1992; John S. Koliopoulos, *Brigands with a Cause. Brigandage and Irredentism in Modern Greece 1821-1912,* Oxford 1987, pp. 192-212; K. Vakalopoulos, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-9.
11. K. Vakalopoulos, *op. cit.,* pp. 78-106, 177.
12. K. Vakalopoulos, *op. cit.,* pp. 144-51; Ioannis Koliopoulos, 'I Makedonia sto epikentro ethnikon antagonismon (1870-1897)' ['Macedonia at the centre of national contestations'], in I. Koliopoulos and I.K. Hassiotis (eds), *I neoteri kai synchroni Makedonia*, Thessaloniki 1992, vol. 1, pp. 503-4.
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14. Public Records Office, Foreign Office (FO)/195/1849, Shipley to Blunt, Monastir, 31 March 1894, ff.103-107and Blunt to Currie, Thessaloniki 20 April 1894, f.86.
15. K. Vakalopoulos, *Northern Hellenism,* p. 301.
16. Nikolaos V. Vlachos, *To Makedonikon os phasis tou Anatolikou Zitimatos 1878-1908* [*The Macedonian Question as a stage of the Eastern Question*], Athens 1935, pp. 178-81; K. Vakalopoulos, *Northern Hellenism,* p. 82.
17. See P. Pennas, 'Erides peri tin koinotikin organosin tis poleos Serron kai ta praktika tis en Serrais Exarchias ton mitropoliton Thessalonikis' ['Discontent over the community organisation of the city of Serres and the proceedings of the Serres Exarchate of the metropolitans of Thessaloniki'], *Serraika Chronika*, 2 (1957), 67-125; S. Zapanti, 'Oi endokoinotikes erides stin elliniki koinotita tis Thessalonikis apo to 1881 mechri to 1912' ['Inter-communal discord within the Greek community of Thessaloniki from 1881 to 1912'], *X Panellinio Istoriko Synedrio (Maios 1989). Praktika*, [*10th Panhellenic Conference (May 1989). Proceedings*], Thessaloniki 1989, pp. 119-147; Perikles Vakoufaris, 'O anatheorimenos kanonismos tis ellinikis koinotitas Thessalonikis tou 1874 kai oi dienexeis ton koinotikon archonton' ['The revised regulations of the Greek community of Thessaloniki of 1874 and the community leaders'], *Thessaloniki,* 3 (1992), 169-184.
18. Sophia Vouri, *Ekpaidevsi kai ethnikismos. I periptosi tis voreiodytikis Makedonias, 1870-1904* [*Education and nationalism. The case of north-west Macedonia*], Athens 1992, pp. 83-101.

19. K. Vakalopoulos, *Northern Hellenism,* p. 204, and *Macedonia on the eve*, p. 53. The best study on the problems between the Patriarchate and the diplomats is that of Christos Kardaras, *To Oikoumeniko Patriarcheio kai o alytrotos ellinsimos tis Makedonias, Thrakis, Ipirou* [*The Ecumenical Patriarchate and the unredeemed Hellenism of Macedonia, Thrace and Epirus*], Athens 1996, pp. 211-382.
20. For a brief discussion, including the most important Bulgarian sources, see the unpublished dissertation by Anna Panayiotopoulou, 'Apo ti Thessaloniki sto Krusovo: Ideologia, organosi kai drasi tis EMEO' ['From Thessaloniki to Krusovo: the ideology, organisation and activities of IMRO'], University of Thessaloniki, 1993.
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22. Perry, *op. cit.,* p. 65; Panayiotopoulou, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-53; Sfetas, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-8.
23. K. Vakalopoulos, *Macedonia on the eve,* pp. 101-26.
24. See the catalogue of victims attached to FO 195/2089, Biliotti report No 38, Thessaloniki, 20 April 1900, ff. 128-133.
25. Panayiotopoulou, *op. cit.,* pp. 54-7.
26. See, in addition to Laura Beth Sherman's earlier study *Fires In The Mountain. The Macedonian Revolutionary Movement and the Kidnapping of Ellen Stone*, New York 1980, Teresa Carpenter's more recent *The Miss Stone Affair. America's First Modern Hostage Crisis*, New York 2003.
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28. Vasilis K. Gounaris, 'O Makedonikos Agonas kai i proetimasia tis apeleftherosis' ['The Macedonian Struggle and the preparation for liberation'], in I. Koliopoulos and I.K. Hassiotis (eds), *I neoteri kai synchroni Makedonia*, Thessaloniki 1992, vol. 1, pp. 508-27, esp. 509-10; Panayiotpoulou, *op. cit.,* p. 61.
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30. Extracts from the Museum of the Macedonian Struggle publication, edited by Vassilis K. Gounaris, Anna A. Panayiotopoulou and Angelos A. Hitzides, *Ta gegonota tou 1903 sti Makedonia mes apo tin evropaiki diplomatiki allilographia* [*The events of 1903 in Macedonia through European diplomatic correspondence*], Thessaloniki 1993.
31. Gounaris, 'The Macedonian Struggle', pp. 510-11; Sowards, *op. cit*., pp. 30-31. On the articles of the reform plan in detail, see Vlachos, *op. cit*., pp. 294-301.
32. For a multi-dimensional approach to the period, see the recent study by Vemund Aarbakke, *Ethnic Rivalry and the Quest for Macedonia, 1870-1913,* Boulder 2003, which does not, however, attempt to interpret the events.
33. Vouri, *op. cit.* pp. 101-8.
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37. Angelos Hotzides, (ed.), *Efthymios Kaoudis. Apomnimonevmata* [*Efthymios Kaoudis. Memoirs*], Thessaloniki 1996.
38. Andreas P. Andreou, *Kotas (1863-1905)*, Prespes, 2002, pp. 154-72.

39. GES/DIS, *O Makedonikos Agon kai ta eis Thrakin gegonota* [*The Macedonian Struggle and the events in Thrace*], Athens 1979, pp. 346-8.
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44. See the documents in Karabati et al (eds), *I elliniki antepithesi sti Makedonia 1905-1906: 100 engrapha apo to Archeio tou Ypourgeio ton Exoterikon tis Ellados* [*The Greek counter-attack in Macedonia 1905-1906: 100 documents from the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs*], Thessaloniki 1997.
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49. See the documents in Karabati et al (eds), *I teleftaia phasi tou Makedonikou Agona: 100 engrapha apo to Archeio tou Ypourgeiou ton Exoterikon tis* Ellados [*The last phase of the Macedonian Struggle: 100 documents from the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs*], Thessaloniki 1998.

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56. Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, Oxford 2001 (3rd edition), pp. 217-219.
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X. The Historiography and Cartography of the Macedonian Question

by Basil C. Gounaris

1. The contest for the Ottoman inheritance in Europe

From the moment that the word 'Hellas' was deemed the most appropriate for the name of the modern state of the Romioi, the question of Macedonia, in theory at least, had been judged. Historical geography – according to Strabo's well-known commentary – placed the land of Alexander within Greece, but in actuality, of course, the issue did not concern the Greeks directly. Their territorial ambitions extended at a stretch beyond Mt Olympus. Moreover, until the mid-19th century at least, the absence of any rival competitors meant that the identity of the Macedonians was not an issue yet. Knowledge of their history in medieval times was foggy, whilst the multilingualism did not surprise anyone: to be an Orthodox Christian was a necessary factor, but also sufficient enough for one to be deemed part of the Greek nation.[1]

If there was any concern over Macedonia and its inhabitants, then this was clearly to be found within the Slavic world, in particular within the Bulgarian national renaissance and its relations with both Russia and Serbia. Prior to the foundation of the Greek state in 1822, Vuk Karadjic, the leading Serbian philologist and ethnographer included some Slavic folk songs from Razlog as 'Bulgarian' in one of his publications. In 1829 the Ukrainian Yuri Venelin also classed the inhabitants of Macedonia as Bulgarians, in his study *The Ancient and Present-Day Bulgarians and their Political, Ethnographic and Religious Relationship to the Russians*. In 1842 the Czech geographer P.J. Safarik, who lived at Novi-Sad but had never travelled to the southern Balkans, produced his ethnographic map, the fruits of a twenty-year labour, in which the Macedonians occupied a huge area from Dobrusha as far as Ochrid and Thessaloniki.[2] A little later (1844-45), Victor Grigorovic, professor of Kazan University, found himself in north Macedonia, a good deal before the Great Idea that was at that moment being born in the Greek parliament ever reached those parts. His contact with Dimitar Miladinov at Ochrid was decisive in inspiring the latter's interest, and that of his brother Konstanin, in collecting Slav folk songs. These were published in 1861 as *Bulgarian Folk Songs*, with funding from the eminent supporter of the Southern Slav idea, the Catholic Bishop Strossmayer, at a time when this idea did not exclude the Bulgarians. A similar work by Stefan Verkovic, attaché of the Serbian principality at Serres, *Songs of the Macedonian Bulgarians*, had been published only a year earlier (1860) in Belgrade. This was followed in 1867 by Verkovic's submission to the Moscow ethnographic exhibition of his notorious 'Song of Orpheus', in 1868 by his study *Table of the Life of the Macedonian Bulgarians* and in 1874 by his publication in French of the 'Veda Slave', the bogus 250,000-line Pomak epic. With the rise of Russian pan-Slavism in the late 1860s,[3] it became clear that Verkovic's pro-Bulgarian works were not at all in keeping with the interests of Belgrade, which instead now supported a new cycle of studies and theories, with Milos Milojevic, a professor of Slavic Studies playing a leading role. Following the road trailed by Verkovic for the conquest of ancient Thrace, Milojevic attempted to detach the Macedonians from the Bulgarians and to attach them to ancient Macedonia and Alexander the Great, the most powerful living symbol of the ancient world. Such a detachment was particularly necessary after the foundation of the Bulgarian Exarchate. Yet, from the beginning of the 1870s, it was clear that attempts to codify Macedonian history and the Slav-Macedonian language, and to integrate them into the as yet un-

formed framework of either Serbian or Bulgarian literature were creating conflicts and problems of a parochial nature.[4]

Concern over the issue was not a Slavic privilege. After the Crimean War, the West was equally concerned for the future of the European inheritance of its 'sick man', of which Macedonia was an important element. It was an area rich in raw materials, wheat and cotton, which proved to be of great value for the Western markets during periods of military conflict (1853-56, 1861-65 and 1877-78). The mission of the French explorer Guillaum Lejean, commissioned by his government, led to the publication of an ethnographic map of European Turkey in 1861.[5] Macedonia was discovered once more through the texts of a new generation of travellers, including Mary Walker,[6] the Austrian diplomat and ethnographer Georg von Hahn,[7] Georgina Mackenzie and Adelina Irby,[8] Lady Blunt, the wife of the diplomat Sir John Blunt,[9] the archaeologist Leon Heuzey, a member of the French Archaeological School of Athens,[10] Lieutenant Colonel James Baker, who passed through Macedonia in 1874,[11] Valentine Chirol, correspondent of the newspaper *Levant Herald*, in 1880,[12] and the prolific Leon Hugonnet, who in 1886 published a book on 'unknown Turkey', which also included Macedonia.[13] Such texts could hardly be described as academic studies or even unbiased observations. It is widely acknowledged, for example, that Madams Mackenzie and Irby had been heavily influenced by Georgi Rakovski, and thus found Macedonia to be a great Bulgaria, which included not only its Slavophone population, but that of Thessaloniki as well. Generally speaking, however, the highlighting of the Slavic character of Macedonia on the basis of speech was a useful precept for Bulgarian rights, thanks to the overwhelming publicity that the Bulgarian issue was soon to garner throughout Europe.[14] It was also to provide the basis for much of subsequent map production.

In Greece, research and interest in Macedonia was initially almost the personal undertaking of Margaritis Dimitsas, a Vlach-speaker from Ochrid who was a schoolmaster at Monastir, Thessaloniki and, finally, Athens. Once he had gotten over his initial views on 'Hellenimacedonianism', his ambition to write a history of the 'Macedonian nation',[15] and failed in his efforts for the linguistic cleansing of Macedonia, he finally dedicated himself, with greater success, to cleansing the Greek past of the Slavs.[16] In the beginning, however, he did not have many supporters. Of the few Greeks who had seriously concerned themselves with Macedonia prior to the emergence of the Eastern Question and the redrawing of the borders in 1878, we can count first of all Constantine Paparrigopoulos, who in 1865 had finished the second volume of his great history, with its chapters on ancient Macedonia,[17] and Ioannis G. Vasmadjides, author of the ethnographic treatise *I Makedonia kai oi Makedones pro tis ton Dorieon kathodou* [Macedonia and the Macedonians before the descent of the Dorians]. All of them expounded incurably.

After the foundation of the Bulgarian Exarchate (1870) and the schism with the Ecumenical Patriarchate (1872) publishing interest intensified. The Athenian newspapers (and the Greek newspapers of Constantinople) were flooded with anxious letters from East Rumelia and Macedonia, where the Exarchate had begun to infiltrate. But, despite the noise, it was too late to make up for the scholarly gap on the ethnographic composition of modern Macedonia. At the Constantinople Conference in 1876, a newly drawn (1876) ethnographic map by the German Heinrich Kiepert, possibly using data provided by Verkovic, was used on the suggestion of Count Ignatieff.[18] It became clear that the Greek arguments about antiquity did not suffice, and so Athens proceeded with certain systematic moves, resulting in the production of three pro-Greek maps, those of Edward Stanford, A. Synvet and F. Bianconi. The first was based upon data provided to the British geographer by the Association for the Diffusion of Greek Letters via Ioannis

Gennadios, the Greek chargé d' affaires in London. The same data had been brought to the attention of Kiepert by Paparrigopoulos himself, who requested, and got, a partial adjustment made to the 1876 edition. The second map was drawn up by A. Synvet, professor of Geography at the Ottoman Lyceum of Constantinople, with data provided by the Ecumenical Patriarchate. Bianconi, a French engineer with the Ottoman railways, based his map on the Ottoman tax registers. The frequent reference to non-Muslims as Romioi and the association of all Romioi everywhere with the Greeks was exceptionally favourable to Athens. On all three maps, Slavophones who adhered to the Ecumenical Patriarchate and Vlach-speakers were classified as Greeks.[19] And this is why the maps were taken to the Congress of Berlin (1878). Along with them went the map of Karl Sax, former Austrian Consul at Adrianople. Sax, on the basis of the diplomatic sources that he had available to him, limited Bulgarian predominance within Macedonia, distinguishing between the Serbo-Bulgarians (to the north of Nish) as well as between adherents of the Exarchate and the Patriarchate, Uniates and Muslim Bulgarians (Pomaks).

As part of this renewal of Athens's Macedonian interests, which followed the foundation of the principalities of Bulgaria and Rumelia, two of the most able 'newspaper men' of the day published their views extensively. The first was the then parliamentary deputy Athanasios Papalouka Eftaxios, author of the study *To ergon tou ellinismou en Makedonia* [The work of Hellenism in Macedonia] (1880). The other was the publisher of the newspaper *Sphaira*, Ioannis Kalostypis, who published the treatise *Makedonia, itoi meleti oikonomologiki, geographiki, istoriki kai ethnologiki* [Macedonia, being an economic, geographical, historical and ethnological study] (1886). Both had lived and served in Macedonia during the 1870s and saw the union of Macedonia as salvaging Greece from its territorial, economic but also ideological asphyxiation. Both defined Macedonia in the broadest possible way, for obvious reasons. Kalostypis's study, which he dedicated to the adolescent heir to the throne Constantine, was essentially a response to the publication of Atanas Shopov, secretary of the Bulgarian Exarchate in Constantinople, who under the pseudonym Ofeikov revived the issue of the borders of Bulgaria as foreseen in the Treaty of San Stefano.[20] The annexation of East Rumelia had confirmed the concerns of all in the worst possible way. Nikolaos Schinas, a French-educated officer and engineer French education, undertook an on-the-spot survey, producing the impressively detailed three-volume *Odoiporikai simeioseis Makedonias, Ipeirou, neas orothetikis grammis kai Thessalias* [Traveller's notes to Macedonia, Epirus, the new border and Thessaly] (Athens 1887). His information would have been of exceptional importance ten years earlier. But such studies were the most suitable for neutralising the effects of 'public commentators, cartographers and journalists', whom Kalostypis justifiably criticised as drawing their information from suspect sources.

Indeed, with autonomy, Bulgarian academic interest in Macedonia moved on two levels. Within the Principality, the strong Macedonian lobby, organised into associations, published a variety of leaflets pushing their demand for decisive movements within Macedonia. In 1880 the newspaper *Makedonets*, published by N. Zifkov of Rouse openly proposed that arms be sent. In the same city in 1888 the newspaper *Makedonja* was published by Kosta Sachov, whose ideas are believed to be the ideological origins of the IMRO. The newspaper *Loza* was published in Sofia in 1891 by a group of young people who wanted to revive the Slav-Macedonian dialect and to 'awaken' the Macedonians. It was followed in 1893 by *Yugozapadna Bulgaria* (*Southeast Bulgaria*), and in the same year Sachov published, in place of *Makedonja*, banned due to Ottoman protestations, the *Macedonian Voice* (*Makedonski Glas*), in which the foundation of an organisation dedicated to the Macedonian issue was proposed. This

was a few days before the foundation within IMRO in Thessaloniki. But the Bulgarian government did not remain inactive. At the time the Army Ministry had asked Giortse Petrov, a future leading figure of IMRO, to gather material on Macedonia, which was published in 1896, whilst Petrov was rewarded with a state scholarship to study – what else – cartography in Europe.[21]

The second level of Bulgarian interest was Europe. Immediately after autonomy was gained, the British-educated economist and later politician Ivan Gesov, already a regular correspondent for *The Times* and the *Daily News*, had just toured and completed a successful propaganda campaign in France and Britain. In the following decades, the European press was so pro-Bulgarian as to provoke regularly the surprise and anger of the Greeks.[22] It was not, however, just a question of propaganda. First the Bulgarians and then the Serbs had made sure to publish their views in Western European languages. If these views were also being expressed for them by European academics, then so much the better for Sofia, which had as its occasional ally the interests of the Catholic Church within the Balkans.[23]

Even so, the Bulgarians were no longer the only serious contestants for Macedonia. The appearance of the book and map by Gopcevic (1889), a career diplomat but also a recognised scholar, brought Milojevic's extreme views back to the fore again, i.e. the existence of a large number of Serbs in Macedonia to the south of the Sar mountain range. According to Gopcevic, these populations had only been considered Bulgarian because of a deficient knowledge of the Slav languages and folklore. It was, of course, not just a coincidence that these ethnographic criteria, as became clear in other maps in the following years, were identifiable with the boundaries of the medieval Serbian state.[24] Nor is it a surprise that the conflict between the Bulgarians and the Serbs over the Macedonian Slavs proved to benefit the scientific distinction of the one from the other.[25]

Undoubtedly, the linguistic argument, as made by the Bulgarians and the Serbs, was easily understood and accepted everywhere. The Greek side, after the Eastern Question and having acknowledged its clear weakness on the language front, attempted to link the refusal to accept the Patriarchate combined with the partial use of Greek as an indication of a 'Hellenised' positioning of various populations. This argument allowed the Greeks to keep their sights set further to the north of the Greek-speaking zone, to the middle zone that in the 1870s was almost solidly Bulgarian-speaking. But documenting this argument was not a simple matter, and its international promotion even more difficult. Far simpler for the Greek side was the highlighting of its sphere of educational influence within the space of Macedonia. This had first been attempted by the veteran teacher of the local Greek population Georges Chassiotis, secretary for many years of the Greek Philological Association of Constantinople, in his study *L' instruction publique chez les Grecs* (Paris 1881), with an accompanying map. He was followed with similar arguments by Kleanthis Nikolaidis, a journalist based in Berlin and publisher of the periodical *Orientalische Korrespondenz*. The map in his *La Macedoine: La Question Macedonienne dans l' Antiquate, au Moyen-Age et dans la politique actuelle* (Berlin 1899), also published in German, represented the extent of the use of the various languages as a means of exchange. Greek, of course, prevailed. It is also notable that Nikolaidis, although he did not accept Gopcevic's view of the geographic stretch of Old Serbia to the south of the Sar mountain range, still marked the northern boundary of the linguistic influence of the Serbs at the Krusovo height.[26] The supremacy of Greek education was also demonstrated by the contemporary (1899) maps of Richard von Mach, author of the study *Die Makedonische Frage* (Vienna 1895).

It was now the turn of the Bulgarians to reply, and the task was charged to Vasil Kunchev, inspector of Bulgarian schools in Macedonia. In 1900 he published in Sofia

his work *Makedonija: Ethografija i Statistika*, with analytic charts of demographic data for each village as well as an ethnographic map. Almost at the same time (1901) the Institute of Cartography in Sofia published the map of the Bulgarian Exarchate with similar findings.[27] Both were republished in various editions over the next years, but their common characteristic was an insistence on the geographical meaning of Macedonia, of which Bulgaria was interested in its entirety, in contrast with the Greek and Serbian maps, which attempted to set out their spheres of influence. The same interest for Macedonia as a geographical whole was of course also shown by the now organised Slav-Macedonian autonomist groups. In 1903 Krste Misirkov, a teacher who had studied in Serbia, published in Sofia his work *Za Makedonskite Raboti* [On Macedonian Matters]. It is ironic that, although the book emerged as the Bible of Macedonian separatism and was banned in Bulgaria, Misirkov himself 15 years later worked at the Ethnographic Museum of Sofia and spoke in favour of a greater Bulgaria.

But the period of academic interest in Macedonia was coming to its end. The activities of the Bulgarian committees (1895-96), the Greek-Turkish war and related guerrilla activity (1896-7), the kidnapping of Ellen Stone, the summer uprising at Ilinden and, of course, the beginning of the violence of the Struggle for Macedonia, opened a new cycle in international research. Its main characteristics were a great journalistic interest, flimsy analyses and the systematic efforts on the part of both Athens and Sofia to exploit them for their own interests. In 1897 Victor Berard, a Hellenist and archaeologist, published his study *La Macedoine* in an effort to explore the limits of Hellenism, without necessarily supporting Greek ambitions. He was the first to realise that Greek identity in Macedonia was a matter of free choice and not of criteria. The next year Ardern G. Hulme-Beaman, a former correspondent for the *Standard,* in his own book *Twenty Years in the Near East* argued in favour of the Bulgarian character of the Slavs of Macedonia, although he did not see them as 'genuine' as those of Bulgaria and Rumelia. Frederick Moore, the American correspondent for the *Daily Express* noted in 1903 the strange phenomenon of the three children of one family each choosing a different national party.[28] The Scot John Foster Frazer, special correspondent in many exotic parts, posed and answered the following question:

> *But who are the Macedonians? You will find Bulgarians and Turks who call themselves Macedonian, you find Greek Macedonians, there are Servian Macedonians, and it is possible to find Roumanian Macedonians. You will not however find a single Christian Macedonian who is not a Servian, a Bulgarian, a Greek or a Roumanian.*[29]

The celebrated British diplomat Sir Charles Eliot had a different view, although he acknowledged that the terms he used were perhaps unidiomatic.

> *Though Bulgarians have become completely Slavised and can with difficulty be distinguished as a body from the Servians yet the faces of the Macedonian peasantry have a look which is not European, and recalls the Finns of the Volga and the hordes of the Steppes.*[30]

Allen Upward, on the other hand, known for his sympathy for the Greeks, concluded that his Slavophone host was a Greek, judging only on the basis of his warm hospitality.[31] Upward's escort in Macedonia had been appointed by the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The same happened with the visit of Michel Paillares to Konstantinos Mazarakis's band.[32] In 1905 William Le Quex, who in 1905 had joined a Bulgarian *cheta*, came to the opposite conclusion from these two.[33] The adventurous American journalist Albert Sonneschen also lived with the *comitadjis* and praised their struggle in central Macedonia. [34] On the other hand, the Briton Martin Wills, an employee of the Ottoman tobacco monopoly whom the *comitadjis* had kidnapped and indeed cut off his

ear, was not as enthusiastic about their goals.[35] In a similar way, the views expressed by Abbott,[36] Booth[37] Knight,[38] Wyon,[39] Lynch,[40] Durham,[41] Kanh,[42] Berard[43] and Amfiteatrov[44] were contradictory, in keeping with their informants and patrons. The last, for example, a liberal Russian journalist and a correspondent for various Russian newspapers, came out in favour of distinguishing the Slav-Macedonians from the Bulgarians and the Serbs.[45]

The political analyses that appeared as articles in international journals[46] or as books[47] were also full of bias, but there were certain cautious indications too. In particular after the Ilinden uprising, the Europeans did not hesitate to criticise Turkish policy in order to justify their own diplomatic interventions, and Greek armed involvement in order to justify the obvious failure of their intervention. The situation in Macedonia looked conspicuously like that of Bulgaria in 1876 and it was to be expected that there would be a similar conclusion, i.e. the autonomy of the Bulgarians of Macedonia, without, however, necessarily being preceded by an armed crisis similar to that of 1876-8. Given the balance of alliances and armaments, something like this would have been fatal for international peace. Sofia was also systematically pushing their decisions in the direction of autonomy, making this wish clear in all contacts with reporters and politicians.[48] Added to this, the Slav-Macedonian autonomists of IMRO were also writing and pushing for autonomy, thus making the demand far more general and their differences with the Bulgarian government unclear. Already in 1900, A. Brutus, i.e. Anton Drandar from Veles, had published his *A propos d' un mouvement en Macedoine* in Brussels. This idea was being echoed all the more throughout Europe, in particular after Ilinden, thanks to various newspapers, such as the Swiss *L' Effort* and the French *Le movement macedonienne*, in which distinguished Bulgarian journalists, such as future diplomat Simeon Radef, wrote articles with funding from Sofia.[49] At the same time Boris Sarafov, a former officer of the Bulgarian army, Bozidar Tatarchev, a notable of Resna, and professors Liubomir Miletich and Ivan Georgov, visited Britain, amongst other European countries, and gave lectures organised by the Balkan Committee of the Buxton brothers.[50] ‘The Bulgarians are more English in their manners than the Greeks and to this fact I attribute part of their popularity in England’, wrote Upward.[51] The Balkan Committee also contributed to the creation of a by no means negligible pro-Bulgarian bibliography, the best examples of which were the writings of the liberal brothers Noel and Charles Buxton,[52] Henry Noel Brailsford,[53] correspondent for the *Manchester Guardian* and president of the British committee for the victims of Ilinden as well as the parliamentary deputy David Marshall Mason, a member of the National Liberal Federation.[54] Part of this output consisted of photographs of crimes against Bulgarians.[55] To this same Bulgarian campaign of enlightenment, we can add the books by Sarafoff;[56] Atanas Schopoff, which cost the Bulgarian government 4,000 francs;[57] D. Michev, General Secretary of the Bulgarian Exarchate, who published statistics and a map under the pseudonym Brancoff;[58] Petar Danilovich Draganoff, a Russian Slav scholar of Bulgarian descent and former teacher at the Bulgarian school of Thessaloniki;[59] and I. Voinov.[60] Even as late as 1912 a committee of Bulgarian refugees from Macedonia toured Europe, under the presidency of professor Liubomir Miletich, in an attempt to influence the French press.

The Serbian presence in Europe, by comparison, was non-existent. It included Milos Milojevic's study, *La Turquie d' Europe et le probleme de la Macedoine et la Vielle Serbie*, published in Paris in 1905 and an article by the diplomat Ceda Mijatovitch in the journal *Fortnightly Review* in 1907. Most important was the study of the ethnographer and geographer Jovan Cvijic, *Remarks on the ethnography of the Macedonian Slavs*, published in 1906 in French, English and Russian. Cvijic argued that there were differences between the Slav-Macedonians and the Bulgarians and Serbs, but that they were

still more closely related to the latter. His book, re-published in 1912, was highly influential, particularly in the Anglo-Saxon world. His style of writing indicated that Cvijic was not driven by any nationalist ideology, despite his conclusion that the amorphous mass of Slavs in Macedonia would be better and more completely integrated by the Serbs. His view was never confirmed, but the argument in favour of a third, distinct but unformed Slavic group in Macedonia, finalised in 1913 by the linguistic observations of Aleksandar Belic, was fully in keeping, in theory at least, with a significant section of Bulgarian positions.[61]

The Greek bibliographical counter-attack in European languages was disproportionately smaller than the enthusiasm reigning in Athens and the great efforts being made on the battlefields of Macedonia. Neoklis Kazazis, professor of Law and Political Economy, Dean of the University of Athens (1902-3), founder of the society Hellenism (Ellinismos) (1894) and leading public speaker, published the books *L' Hellenism et la Macedoine* in 1903 and *Greeks and Bulgarians in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* in 1907. More useful for the Greek position was the journal *Bulletin d' Orient,* which Kazazis published under the aegis of the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs,[62] as well as his lectures in Europe, in particular Paris, where he could count important figures amongst his personal friends, including the senator Georges Clemenceau.[63] His colleague Andreas Andreadis, professor of Economics and educated at Oxford and Paris, published a lecture in the journal *Contemporary Review*.[64] Antonios Spiliotopoulos, a journalist with a background in legal studies and publisher from 1902 of the journal *Kratos,* published two studies in French in 1904: *La Macedoine et l' Hellenisme* and *Lettres sur la question de Macedoine*. Joanna Stephanopoli, the first female student at the University of Athens and daughter of the publisher of the *Messager d' Athenes*, in 1903 published her studies *Macedoine et Macedoniens. La Macedoine inconnue. La nationalite hellenique de la Macedoine d' apres le folklore macedonien*. There were not even five books in all; in reality, most were the transcriptions of lectures.

By contrast, the bibliography on Macedonia in Greek was colossal. In contrast with what is believed today, the truth is that the Struggle for Macedonia was never a secret, at least outside of Macedonia. Even subjects that are today regarded as minor details and have not been cross-checked were printed in the Athenian press, almost at the moment that the events themselves were taking place. For four years the Struggle was on the front pages of all the newspapers of the Greek Kingdom (and Greek diaspora everywhere),[65] and illustrated as a rule with photographs of the fighters. But *Embros*, thanks to its connection, known to all, with the Macedonian Committee, always held a comparative advantage: the returning fighters would provide, either orally or in writing, details on the activities of the bands, official documents, even their own diaries. All these were published by the editors of the newspaper in serial form for a broad readership.[66] The best-known product of this type of article writing was the book by Stamatis Raptis, regular editor of *Embros*, titled *O Makedonikos Agon* [The Macedonian Struggle], which circulated as 313 eight-page leaflets, most likely between March 1906 and April 1908.

Alongside populist article writing, there developed during this same period a somewhat more scholarly output, which was used extensively, and still is today, by all those interested in matters relating to the Macedonian Struggle. These were articles published in the *Makedoniko Imerologio* [Macedonian Diary], published initially by the Megas Alexandros (Alexander the Great) association (1908), and subsequently by the Pan-Macedonian Association (Pammakedonikos Syllogos) (1909-1912),[67] as well as in *Ellinismos*, the journal of Neoklis Kazazis's society of the same name.[68] The *Imerologio* was rife with obituaries of celebrated *Makedonomachoi*, fighters for Macedonia, and the already canonised national heroes, landscapes and long-suffering Macedonian commu-

nities (particularly in the north), published statistics for Bulgarian acts of violence and analyses of national rights on the basis of the educational feats of Hellenism. The articles in *Ellinismos* focused more on the diplomatic dimensions of the Macedonian issue and on the publication of documents. If the purpose of the *Makedoniko Imerologio* was to mobilise through rousing emotions, *Ellinismos* was more interested in informing the reading public, 'enlightenment on this always burning national issue and the reinforcement and guiding of the national struggle that is being carried out.' Always, however, within the framework determined by the Greek government.[69] The society's other publications on Macedonia were along the same wavelength,[70] as were the slim but highly popular volumes by Gnasios Makednos,[71] AlMaz,[72] Titus Makednos,[73] and a few other known and unknown writers. These writers would dedicate their studies (often the transcripts of lectures) either to the recently deceased *Makedonomachoi*,[74] to Bulgarian crimes,[75] or to the behind-the-scenes diplomacy of the Struggle.[76] It should, however, be noted that all the forms of Macedonian historiography that were developed in Athens appeared to be reconciled with the Slavic language of the Macedonians, whom they praised for their patriotism. They were, in other words, in tune with the argument, popular internationally, that identity was a matter of free choice. On the other hand, the insistence on the importance of choosing a Greek education as an indication of this free will, created the impression that the speaking of Slavic was something temporary that would pass if Greek schools were opened on a regular basis. Even more so when different studies insisted that the Slavic dialect of the Macedonians was, at root, Greek.[77]

After 1903, with the armed developments and the journalistic charge, the central focus of output shifted from ethnographic theories to violence and crimes. The image of co-existence was swiftly replaced by one that saw conflict and intolerance to be characteristics of Macedonian history. These stereotypes came to dominate in the long term, not only because they better served the diplomatic circumstances that followed, but also because this body of work had been written in English and could thus be recycled easier. By contrast, the majority of works that proposed other versions of the situation, serving mainly Greek and Serbian interests and which were written in French and Italian were lost. The classic example is the study and map on the basis of religion by the pro-Greek Italian diplomat G. Amadori-Virgilj, to which nobody refers.

2. Demographic changes and Bulgarian revisionism

With their bayonets, the Balkan armies were carving out the borders of the Balkans, especially the zones of influence within Macedonia, with far greater ease than the cartographers, the ethnographers and the diplomats. But not all countries accepted the changes as a fait accompli. The university professors were thus called upon once more to support with scholarly arguments the boundaries that the generals had succeeded or failed to defend. The Bulgarians certainly had a much harder task of documenting the revisions. In 1913 Miletich published his book *Atrocites greques en Macedoine pendant la guerre greco-bulgare*. In the same year an international committee was set up by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace to investigate the crimes that had been committed during the Balkan Wars. The findings were published in Washington in 1914 with the title *Report of the International Commission to Inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars*, which demonstrated that the game of creating impressions was continuing unabated. Members of the committee included Henry Brailsford, Victor Berard, and the Russian deputy and professor of history and archaeology Pavel Nikolajevic Miljukov – all of them well known for their pro-Bulgarian sympathies.[78] Greece reacted by publishing her own version of the crimes.[79] The worst thing for the Greeks, however, was that the committee presented its own demographic data on Macedonia, as it had received it from the Bulgarian professor Jordan Ivanov, who in his turn had re-

produced the details given by Vasil Kunchev (1900).[80] In order to counter the image of the occupation of ethnically alien territory, Venizelos invited the Swiss law professor Rudolph Archibald Reiss to tour the northern provinces and to investigate the situation of the population. His report, published in French in 1915, confirmed that the Macedonians were not Bulgarians nor was their language Bulgarian, they were simply 'Macedonians', from a perspective then completely favourable for Greece since it also neutralised Bulgarian and Serbian claims.[81]

But the occupation of Eastern Macedonia during the First World War provided the Bulgarians with the opportunity for a comeback, and not simply to uproot any resistance they had encountered there ten years previously but to study the region from up close. In the summer of 1916 the Bulgarian government sent a mission of distinguished scholars and well-known activists to the region, such as Jordan Ivanov, Anastas Isirkov, Bogdan Filov and Liubomir Miletich.[82] But, the outcome of the War, unfortunate for Sofia, shifted the front to Western Europe. Ivanov and his collaborators, professors Isirkov, Georgi Strezoff, a member of the Geographical Society of Geneva, and Dimitar Micheff, now a member of the Bulgarian Academy, travelled to various European cities, mainly in Switzerland, in an attempt to influence the results of the Paris Peace Conference. Their activities were supported by the Macedonian unions of Switzerland, which had received funding of 20,000 francs from Sofia.[83] A number of these lectures were published in French.[84] Of course, total Bulgarian output was far greater than a few lectures. The whole of the Bulgarian-Macedonian intellectual community had been recruited: Simeon Radeff from Resna with law studies at Geneva and an old member of the IMRO,[85] S. Kitintcheff,[86] K. Solarov,[87] V. Tsanov,[88] and Kostadin Stefanov, literature professor and member of the Central Macedonian Association in Switzerland.[89] The flagship of these publications was Ivanov's study, *La Question Macedonienne au point de vue historique, ethnographique et statistique*, published in Paris in 1920, which recapped the Bulgarian views on Macedonia and Sofia's rights over what was now Greek Macedonia. Of course, aside from citations of all the texts favourable to Sofia from the 19th century, the volume was accompanied by two maps. The first exploited 19th-century pro-Bulgarian map-production to portray the ethnically Bulgarian region at its most expansive. The second presented the contradictory views that had emerged after 1878 and which clearly – and unjustifiably according to Ivanov – limited this region.

As we know, after all that had taken place during the war, it was now impossible for the proposals of Ivanov and his country to be satisfied at Paris, even though an Italian proposal for an autonomous Macedonia was discussed.[90] Indicative of the relative weight given to academic publications was the ultimate hand-over of land to Serbia, based on Cvijic's revised map, despite the fact that his country had far less academic output and activity to show.[91] It helped, of course, that Cvijic, who was particularly highly regarded as an academic both in Europe and the USA, dominated throughout the procedures of the Conference. His views made Serbian authority over a large section of Macedonia inevitable, without a Bulgarian minority even being recognised, although ultimately this bred anxieties for Serbia, as the country now had to verify the maps of the great ethnographer, quickly absorbing the 'Macedonoslavs.'[92] Moreover, Cvijic's views did not leave the Greeks unaffected either. A map prepared in 1918 by professor Georgios Sotiraidis, a Macedonian in origin and personal friend of Venizelos, was submitted to the Peace Conference. This map also recognised the existence of 'Macedonoslavs' within the Greek state, where Kleanthis Nikoalaidis had seen only Greeks.[93] Sotiriadis's view was not adopted by all Geek writers of the period.[94] Prominent among them was Vassilios Colocotronis, a high-ranking member of the diplomatic service, who took on the task of recapping, as Ivanov and Cvijic had done, all the Greek

arguments as well as the international historical and cartographic work favourable to Greece in his study *La Macedoine et l' Hellenisme: Etude historique et ethnologique* (Paris 1919). For Colocotronis, the 'Macedonoslavs' were Slavic-speaking Greeks.[95]

Of course, the First World War and the disarray it brought to the Balkans did not leave the rest of the European academic community unaffected. Some of the most important works to be produced were those of R. Seton-Watson, *The Rise of Nationality in the Balkans* (London 1917), the first study by Jacques Ancel on the Macedonian issue, *L' unite de la politique bulgare 1870-1919* (Paris 1919) and Jacob Ruchti's dissertation *Die Reformaktion Osterreich-Ungarns and Russlands in Mazedonien 1903-1908. Die Durchfuhrung der Reformen* (Gotha 1918), which was first submitted to Bern University. Switzerland had indeed emerged as the centre of academic interest on the Macedonian issue, and this had to do not simply with the conditions of peace that prevailed in this country, but also with the covert efforts of Sofia.[96] It is impossible to count all the inter-war studies and articles that were published in the Press, in journals such as *International Pressekorrespondenz, L' Europe Nouvelle, The Advocate of Peace* and the *Voix des Peuples.* Even so, some of them became important reference works: Ancel's book, who by now was a professor of Geography and History,[97] and those of Andre Wurfbain,[98] Weigand,[99] and others.[100] A new generation of travel writing also emerged, memories old and new and, as always, never neutral. The most important, because of the depth of their knowledge, were those of Sir Robert Graves,[101] the British Consul at Thessaloniki after 1903, his contemporary, the French official Leon Lamouche, who gave pro-Bulgarian speeches funded by Sofia,[102] Edmond Bouchie de Belle,[103] a top official and veteran of the Macedonian front, Franceska Wilson[104] and others.[105] During the inter-war period the relevant titles had also begun to be published in the USA, thanks to the flourishing patriotic Bulgarian-Macedonian organisations and their main representative Chris Anastasoff, from Florina with studies in America.[106]

Many of these books provided retrospective justification for Bulgaria; but for Sofia, on the diplomatic level at least, the Macedonian issue had been lost for good. It remained, however, alive throughout the inter-war period, both in refugee memories as well as in the country's political arena. To be exact, the Bulgarian-Macedonian refugees became both the authors and the primary readers of an extensive patriotic bibliography, which included memoirs from the Struggle for Macedonia to the micro-histories of their now completely lost homelands in Greek Macedonia. A primary role in this productivity was the foundation of the Macedonian Scientific Institute in 1923, under the leadership of Professor Ivan Giorgov, and, two years later, the publication of the journal *Makedonski Pregled.* In the meantime, Liubomir Miletich, by now president of the Institute, had begun the publication of a series of memoirs of the *voyvodas* of Ilinden. His example was followed by a number of veterans, such as Christo Matov[107] and Christo Silianov.[108]

The Bulgarians' international worries had now completely passed. Time had stopped for them at Bucharest, but, generally speaking, the same had happened for the Greeks, albeit for different reasons. Their academic interest in Macedonia and its populations had receded. With the exception of works of an international standard by Stephanos Ladas,[109] Christos Evelpidis[110] and Alexandros Pallis,[111] who laid the foundations of Greek domination now on the basis of the exchange of populations, only a few other studies were published on the region and even fewer on its inhabitants, in particular the old ones.[112] Of these only the various public services now wrote, and they were ignorant as to how to handle their particular needs, thus increasing the gap between the image created by history and diplomacy and the reality they were faced with. Of all the aspects of this complicated issue of integration (the latest phase of the Mace-

donian Question), in public at least only one appeared to monopolise their interest, that of their role during the Struggle for Macedonia.

This issue was approached along three axes, the first of which was linked to the unrelenting efforts to create a register of the old *Makedonomachoi* in order to provide them with moral and economic support. In response to this effort, a series of articles were published in the journal *Makedonikos Agon* [Macedonian Struggle], which circulated between 1929-1931.[113] Even if most of the articles are not characterised by any particular historical accuracy, the diary entries and other interesting documents published in this journal, unfortunately sometimes fabricated,[114] should not be ignored. In this same context, that of autobiographical testimonies, we could include a series of publications in newspapers, diary entries, reminiscences and other letters, of which we no longer have the originals today.[115] Many of these, unfortunately, were accompanied by mutual charges and different interpretations of events, which the listing and hierarchisation of the fighters according to the current laws entailed. Extreme anti-communism is also characteristic of this type of publication, as a result of the well-known stand of the Comintern for a united and independent Macedonia in 1924, but also the expectations that certain political alliances would favour the order of the old fighters and their giant patronage networks.

Around the second axis revolved biographies, reminiscences and books that were published either as historical reference books or as literary works. The letters of Pavlos Melas,[116] the reminiscences of Nikolaos Garbolas,[117] of Angeliki Metallinou[118] and of Antonios Hamoudopoulos,[119] as well as the first biographies of Captain Kotas,[120] Melas,[121] and Dragoumis[122] could be considered as relatively reliable reference works, since they were based on the knowledge and experience of the generation of the Struggle. In this same category we should also include the post-war stories of Georgios Modis as well as the *Mystika tou Valtou* [Secrets of the Marsh]. The former, as a rule, echoed real events that Modis knew of personally, whilst at the same time they contributed to the creation of a peculiar ethics of the Struggle.[123] But, as we know, Penelope Delta's hugely popular works were based on interviews and diaries of *Makedonomachoi* that were transcribed by Antigone Bellou-Threpsiadi in 1932-1936. This made up for the lack of archive material, which, most likely for political reasons, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had denied Delta access to.[124] Only a few of the memoirs in her collection came to public light after the war.

Far luckier than Delta was Nikolaos Vlachos, assistant professor of History at the University of Athens, who had in this same period, 1932, already secured the requisite permission and was working in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Vlachos himself had said encouragingly to Belou-Threpsiadi that a work based on the living narratives of the *Makedonomachoi* had its own advantages, whilst he was working exclusively with 'soulless documents and papers.'[125] The course of events, as shall become clear, justified his judgement perhaps even beyond his own expectations. Vlachos's study, *To Makedonikon os phasis tou Anatolikou Zitimatos 1878-1908* [The Macedonian Question as a stage of the Eastern Question] (Athens 1935) is justifiably considered a classic and unsurpassed work of diplomatic history. Vlachos dedicated around 200 densely typed pages to the Macedonian Struggle, which essentially remain unread even today. He used, obviously as an exception to the rule, the archive material of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, indeed in depth, as well as all the available diplomatic bibles of the countries implicated in the crisis. Influenced by the subsequent developments and diplomatic needs at the time of writing, he attributed the character of a joint Greek-Serbian effort against the Bulgarians to the Struggle. It is difficult for one to clarify ultimately whether these priorities condemned the work to obscurity; probably not. In any case, his exceptionally useful and brave, in today's climate, observations,

which provide us with a general description of the Struggle without losing sight of isolated incidents, have been conspicuously ignored, and this is not by chance, as shall be made clear below.[126]

To this meagre, third category of historical reference works, we could add the earlier *Politiki Istoria tis Neoteras Elladas* [Political History of Modern Greece] by Georgios Aspreas, as its second volume published in 1930 has around 20 pages dedicated to the Macedonian Struggle. Aspreas, a veteran journalist with *Embros*, notes[127] that he used material that he had found in Kalapothakis's archive, and even 'reports addressed to the Min.[ister] of Foreign Affairs from the centres in Thessaloniki and Monastir, notes and archives of contemporary politicians and military figures and in the confidential reports sent to George I.' Even so, from his generalised descriptions it does not appear that this material was particularly rich; his most important contribution was essentially the publication of the 'Organisation' of the Macedonian Committee.[128] Finally, we should not forget to mention the then young lawyer Georgios Modis, who co-wrote, in collaboration with the veteran *Makedonomachos* Nikostratos Kalomenopoulos, the entry 'Macedonian Struggle' for the first edition of the *Pyrsos Great Greek Encyclopaedia* (1927).

The two characteristics that the interwar bibliography had in common with the period before the Balkan Wars, were the profound national orientation and the use of the French language in all international publications. Thus, on the one hand, the integrity of Greek publications was undermined whilst, on the other hand, whatever was written in French was little used in the post-war period, in particular in the Anglo-Saxon world. The worst was that the type of history that was being developed within the Balkan states did not draw sufficiently either from what was being written internationally, nor from the rival – Slav or Greek respectively – bibliography. The narration of wars, declared or undeclared, victorious or otherwise, was considered the most suitable method to uphold vested interests and to reinforce sensibilities. The Macedonian Question was not a scholarly but a patriotic concern. If each country had carefully read the studies and maps produced by its neighbours, it would have been able to find many useful guidelines for the policy that it should follow both at home and abroad. But no country did this, and history was to be repeated as farce.

3. Bulgarian occupation, Yugoslav aggression and Greek anxieties, 1940-1960

This particular shift in post-war historiography, i.e the further distancing from scholarly history, of course has its historical explanation. The Bulgarian occupation of East Greek Macedonia as well as Serbian Macedonia during the Second World War, Yugoslav involvement in the Greek Civil War, before the Second World War had ended, the foundation of the federal People's Republic of Macedonia (PRM) were events that had a dramatic effect on the writing of history within the Balkan states. Greece found itself trapped within a double ideological front. Bulgarian-Macedonian patriotic nationalism, which completed its third round of clashes with the Greeks and the Serbs during the Occupation, was followed by Slavmacedonian nationalism, a product of the old federal, socialist-leaning wing of IMRO as well as Serbian ethnological theories. Both threats, the Bulgarian and the Yugoslav, justified the anti-communist anxiety of the inter-war period and compounded the current communist threat, both within and without. And, worse, the two threats were not simply ideological. In this climate of pressure, there was no space for studies such as that which Nikolaos Vlachos had attempted, there was no space for Slavophones; absolutism and fanaticism were required. All academics and leading figures were obliged to reinforce sensibilities, to develop and codify simple his-

torical arguments, to use whichever memories were convenient and to construct strong ideological boundaries, stronger than the unprotected borders of the state.

The burden fell primarily on the Society for Macedonian Studies, which, since its foundation in 1939, had as its primary statutory purpose the investigation of every issue relating to the 'Macedonian people' and the 'Macedonian land' (sic).[129] It was indeed supported by many distinguished Macedonians, many of them from families with military distinctions in the anti-Bulgarian struggle. The decade's strong tremors left their stamp on many studies, which dramatically narrated and marked the Bulgarian occupation of east Macedonian, as well as the ramifications of the Greek Communist Party's (KKE) involvement in the Macedonian issue. Some of these had already begun to make their appearance during the years of the Occupation.[130] Other publications followed, which proposed, either directly or less directly, a reassessment of the northern borders, reminding that the boundaries of Macedonia were not the same as those of Greece.[131] Then came those studies that linked the Slavic danger to the communist threat.[132] Some of these were for internal consumption, rarely academic and mainly political,[133] written in a spirit of divisiveness, without any margins for tolerance. Others, following the lessons of the past, were written in western European languages, by old and young academics, who believed that the question of the communist threat could tip the scales of national historical rights in Greece's favour.[134]

It hardly needs mentioning that there was a fervent interest in the history of the Struggle for Macedonia once more, and with a new direction: in the desolate Macedonian countryside the recognition of the sacrifices made was a necessary precondition for the restoration of national and, at the same time, political sensibility. The events had to be made known, warts and all. It was the least mark of respect that could be paid to all those families that had suffered two or three times in less than 40 years. Moreover, the departure from Greece of all those Slavophone Greek citizens who had, with a delay, changed their ethnic and their political identity left the field now open for the emergence of more rhetorically extreme studies. Angeliki Metallinou,[135] Generals Dimitrios Kakkavos,[136] Alexandros and Konstantinos Mazarakis,[137] Antonios Hamoudopoulos,[138] and Yiannis Karavitis[139] published their recollections, most of them during, and under the burden of, the Civil War. But the need to re-examine the glorious history of the period now clashed with an unforeseen obstacle: the *Makedonomachoi*, in their vast majority, were no longer alive. The generation change created a gap that was difficult to fill at the exact moment that the Macedonian Question was being re-examined. The state rushed to fill this gap, starting in 1951 with an effort to record and collect material from that era with purpose of writing an official history. This decision was not at all made by chance.

Theoretically, the post-war division in Europe appeared to serve Greek interests in Macedonia. Anti-communism would suffice as a shield under which the Greeks would have the luxury of focusing on the local histories of the villages of Macedonia and the biographies of the *Makedonomachoi*. Yet, it was not to be quite like that. Bulgaria was a defeated country that was obliged to rethink its policy of reassessment so as not to be isolated from its Slav partners, Belgrade and Moscow, a tripartite relationship that made the existence of the PRM even more difficult. Furthermore, the right-wing of IMRO, under the leadership of Ivan Mihailov, was seen as a formidable factor on the Bulgarian political scene, although in the end the opposite proved true.[140] The Macedonian organisations had to undergo a transformation in order to position themselves against visions of a Greater Bulgaria and in favour of Macedonian national liberation, albeit under pressure. And so it happened. In place of the journal *Makedonski Pregled*, the new journal *Makedonska Misil* circulated, adjusted to the new ideological demands. The newspaper *Makedonsko Zname* also played an important role in the promotion of the

new politics. Skopje was promoted as the new Piedmont for the unification of the 'Macedonian nation', not, of course, without resistance, as long as there was still a political opposition. But this was not enough. The Macedonians no longer had any place in Bulgaria. In 1947, the Macedonian Scientific Institute was suspended. Its archives, and the relics of Gotse Delchev were transported to Skopje. Circulation of the newspaper *Makedonska Misil* and the journal *Makedonsko Zname* was also suspended. The blow was hard and, although from 1948, as is well known, Bulgarian policy shifted, the progress in the field of history slowed.[141]

For the Greeks, the problem was no longer Bulgaria. During the inter-war period (1945-60) in Yugoslavia, although historical output was tame, significant ideological work and infrastructure improvement was taking place, and not unnoticed.[142] In 1948, even before the University of Cyril and Methodius, the Institute of National History was founded in Skopje, with the purpose of gathering archive material and memoirs for the writing of the history of the 'Macedonian people', minorities and ethnic groups who lived within the Republic.[143] The Matista na Iselenitsite ot Makedonjia (Centre for Macedonians Abroad) followed in 1951, with responsibility for the cultural heritage. The newspaper *Glas na Egejitsite* [The Voice of the Aegean Macedonians] circulated from 1950 to 1954, the official journal of the Slav-Macedonian political refuges from Greece, and was an important factor in the popularisation of Slav-Macedonian ideology. Its columns were full of articles on the military evens of the 1940s, associations with Ilinden and the biographies of Slav-Macedonian heroes. As early as 1951 this material was used by the press of the Union of Refugees to publish Hristo Andonovski's book *Egejska Makedonija* [Aegean Macedonia], whilst in 1952 an effort was launched (as in Greece) to collect material on the 'Macedonia of the Aegean.' Also in 1952 a government call was issued for the collection of new memoirs of Ilinden veterans. By that point, the memoirs of 398 individuals had been collected, certainly more than the corresponding number for the *Makedonomachoi* of Greece.[144] In the meantime, the first generation of young historians had emerged from the university, amongst whom Slav-Macedonian political refugees were well represented. Their output became well known mainly through their articles in the periodical *Glasnik.* Within its pages, Lazar Kolishevski, first president of the Republic, and historians such as L. Ljuben, S. Dimevski, B. Mitrovski, M. Pandevski, D. Zogravski, H. Andonov-Poljanski, H. Andonovski, G. Todorovski, H.Bitoski, T. Simovski and R. Kirjazovski started to present a new history of Macedonia, removed from its Greek and Bulgarian origins, with the 'Macedonian nation' as its point of reference, and a Marxist methodology. A central point in this was taken by the old Bulgarian vision of Macedonian geographical unity, which was invested with the requisite historical arguments from ancient times until the Second World War and set out on a map, which has since then followed the historical journey of this Republic.

On the surface, the international repercussions of these developments were not particularly worrying for the Greeks. At first sight, the pro-Slav bibliography on the Macedonian issue was limited to the books of Serbs and Bulgarians of the Diaspora,[145] mainly the works of Anastasoff and Ivan Michailoff, the inter-war leaders of the IMRO.[146] Level-headed studies, such as those of geography professor H. Wilkinson and Elisabeth Barker,[147] pro-Greek works such as those of Christopher Woodhouse, whose *Apple of Discord* was published in 1948, and of course Greek works in English and French balanced things satisfactorily. Yet, things were not quite as they seemed. The Macedonian issue now automatically featured in every publication on Yugoslav history issued by Belgrade, and in every publication by third parties on Yugoslavia and the Balkans, ultimately benefiting Skopje politically.[148] It was no longer simply a part of Greek, Bulgarian or Serb history. Moreover, the country's language was now a distinct

field of study for Slav scholars the world over. All this scholarly output was now classified as 'Macedonian.'[149]

More trouble, 1960-1990: The Slav-Macedonian historical attack

It is noteworthy that, as has happened in Greece and Bulgaria, so Yugoslav Macedonian history was first written by individuals who sought their own personal historical justification. Indeed, up until 1960, very few of those working on Macedonia – not only in the Balkan nations, but in western Europe as well - were university professors, and even fewer were professional historians. This is not difficult to explain, as historical output followed diplomatic, political and military developments. There were no historical sources yet, just a need for historical arguments that would frame political decisions. These needs now burdened Skopje, only this time the scale was different. The need here had to satisfy the existence of the Socialist (from 1963) Republic of Macedonia (SRM) within the Yugoslav system of federal republics, as well as the wider network of the relations of the socialist republics with Moscow on the one hand, and the western democracies on the other.

The way in which the new Republic's outstanding historical issues were dealt with is characteristic. The prevailing social ideology also helped, which dictated the historical method and secured total professional loyalty to the preordained goals, the progress of historical science and the availability of the sources. First the University and then, after 1967, the Macedonian Academy of Sciences, in collaboration with state- and semi-state-run publishing houses, embarked upon an fantastically voluminous production of history, which naturally cannot all be discussed here. Nor can its ramifications in relation to the course of socialism or Skopje's relations with Belgrade, Athens, Sofia and Moscow. What is certain is that, in terms of the subject matter and number of the studies, within 30 years the gap with Greek, Serbian and Bulgarian historiography had been more than covered, with the exception perhaps of studies of Ancient Macedonia. Within this output, and in general in the new history of the SRM, 'Aegean Macedonia' was given a central position, and was the particular focus of attention for the younger generation of political refugees who had been educated in Skopje and staffed the Institute of National History.[150] It is also clear that this campaign 'took off' worldwide, and the reasons were not only political, the desire, that is, of the West to support this most vulnerable corner of Yugoslavia. As had happened earlier with the theories of Cvijic, the views of the Slav-Macedonians appeared to provide a compromise or a solution to the perpetual conflict between the other state histories. In any case, they were the product of an existing historical trend that, irrespective of whether it served irredentist goals, followed its own evolution, as we have seen, from the middle of the 19th century. Moreover, the emphasis on social and economic issues meant that this work was more in keeping with newer trends in international historical research, and the published sources were all-important for western scholars. Much of the publishing effort already from the 1950s was dedicated to the publication of archive sources.[151] The translation of basic works into English took off in the 1960s, so that western scholars had access to this historical output.[152] From 1971 this work was mainly undertaken by the periodical *Macedonian Review*, in which abstracts of all the historical studies currently in progress were published. Three concise histories were also published in English. First was Dragan Taskofski's *The Macedonian Nation* (Skopje 1976) by the publishing house Nasha Kniga. *A History of the Macedonian Nation* (Skopje 1979) was a collected volume produced by a team of scholars headed by Academician Professor Mihaylo Apostolski, former general of the resistance army, and published by the Institute of National History. And, most well known internationally, was *Macedonia its People and History* (Pennsylvania 1982) by Stoyan Pribichevich, associate of *Fortune* magazine and *Time*

correspondent at Tito's headquarters, based to a great degree on official publications of the SRM, and which fully adopted the Republic's historical interpretation and irredentist line.

In Greece and Bulgaria after 1960 the trend was in the opposite direction. The Macedonian Question was passing increasingly into the hands of professional historians, without, of course, this meaning that the popular histories were on the wane. In Sofia, despite the constant shifts in its relations with Belgrade, and the total guidance by the Macedonian refugee unions, production never ceased, particularly in Bulgarian in the periodical *Istoritseski Pregled* and, to a lesser degree, in French and English through the periodicals *Etudes Historiques* and *Bulgarian Historical Review.* It particularly flourished after 1978, when the two governments failed to come to a historical compromise. The most important of the subsequent publications was the volume *Macedonia. Documents and Materials on the History of the Bulgarian People,* published in that same year by the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, with the purpose of demonstrating the Bulgarian character of the Slavs of Macedonia from the medieval era onwards.[153] A large part of the documents in this volume, as with the corresponding two-volume Slav-Macedonian publication of 1985,[154] came from books of the 19th-century and inter-war period, which were now seen as historical records. A little later, on the 80th anniversary of Ilinden, Panajotov and Sopov released a photostat reprint of a selection of inter-war memoirs of leaders of IMRO, which had originally been published by Miletich, as director of the Macedonian Scientific Institute.[155] The *comitadjis* had returned to active duty.

But the *Makedonomachoi* had also returned. The Institute for Balkan Studies (IMXA), initially an annex of the Society for Macedonian Studies, had assumed responsibility for Greek post-war history on the Macedonian issue. Zotiades's study *The Macedonian Controversy* was republished by the Institute in 1961, to coincide, obviously, with the new crisis in Greek-Yugoslav relations, with new chapters and further details for the inter-war period. The use of new sources was also followed by Evangelos Kofos, one of the few scholars who systematically wrote about Macedonia in English.[156] This was mostly for IMXA's new periodical *Balkan Studies,* which also included a number of articles, mainly by academics of the University of Thessaloniki, on the diplomatic history of Macedonia.[157] The search for archive material, and the challenge posed by the SRM, helped to further research interest into new, almost unknown to Greeks, aspects of Macedonian history,[158] the main contribution being Apostolos Vakalopoulos's concise history of Macedonia.[159] But the Struggle for Macedonia still remained the most popular chapter in history, to which most research was dedicated until 1990. The memoirs of Gyparis,[160] Demestichas,[161] Kois,[162] Florias,[163] Stavropoulos,[164] Danglis,[165] and other important figures of the Struggle came to light, whilst periodicals, such as *Makedoniki Zoi*, *Chronika tis Halkidikis* and other provincial periodicals increased the number of works on micro-history, individuals, villages and events. Two studies can be considered as the high point of this trend: *Makedonikos Agon 1903-1908* [Macedonian Struggle] by Angelos Anestopoulos, a non-commissioned officer of the Gendarme, who in two volumes[166] (Thessaloniki 1965-1969) published the activities of hundreds of *Makedonomachoi* in the cities and market towns of Macedonia, and *O Makedonikos Agon kai I neoteri makedoniki istoria* by Georgios Modis (Thessaloniki 1967), in which he condensed all his personal experiences and detailed knowledge of the Struggle. In 1979, after an effort of 25 years, the Army History Section published its study with the title *O Makedonikos Agon kai ta eis tin Thrakin gegonota* [The Macedonian Struggle and the events in Thrace]. In the meantime, Douglas Dakin's book had been published by IMXA in English,[167] and Pavlos Tsamis's by the Society for Macedonian Studies.[168] Finally, in 1984 IMXA, on the oc-

casion of the 80th anniversary of the outbreak of the Struggle for Macedonia, published – a year after Sofia had already done so - a new set of memoirs of leading fighters, in two volumes.

It is surprising, however, that there are only a few, vague references in these books on the Macedonian Struggle to the developments in the Macedonian issue during the occupation; any references to post-war events are totally absent. This also characterises Konstantinos Vakalopoulos's important Macedonian studies of the 1980s,[169] as well as the grand publication *Macedonia: 4,000 Years of Greek History* (Athens 1982), where only two pages are given over to developments from 1940 onwards. This lack of a connection between the Macedonian Struggle and Macedonian history in general with contemporary developments of the Macedonian Question, a connection that had essentially alighted post-war Macedonian studies in Greece, is, I believe, fully explainable. It should first be taken into account that the internal political situation in Greece prevented scholarly involvement with a subject that was closely associated with unpleasant aspects of the Occupation and Civil War. It was a sensitive subject for a large section of the population. Greece's difficult diplomatic position within the Balkans immediately after the fall of the 1967-1974 junta and the tragic events in Cyprus should also be taken into account. As far as Athens was concerned, the Macedonian Question had been pushed to the back of the drawer, and it would go to any lengths to keep it securely there. Over 30 years of studies and publications could ultimately be characterised in the following way: although written in the aftermath of the events of the 1940s and within the context of the new diplomatic and scientific differences between Greece and its northern neighbours, they continued to serve, on the whole, local emotional needs: incorporation of the Struggle for Macedonia into national history, with the ultimate goal of raising the morale and strengthening the national feeling of the Macedonians, as though some kind of deficiency had been ascertained. There were only a very few studies in the Greek language that referred to the SRM as a cultural, diplomatic or ideological threat.[170] For many years, the main threat in terms of the Macedonian Question for the wider Greek public was Sofia, not Skopje.

The opposite phenomenon emerged in the rest of Europe and the USA. Just as before, so also after 1960 the Macedonian Question was seen primarily as a problem of security between East and West. It was a required chapter in all books that studied the post-war Balkan scene either as part of the communist world or as part of the Yugoslav federation. Basically, it was treated as an internal Slav problem, a view that also spread to history as for most scholars of the Balkans there was no need to learn Greek or to consult Greek sources.[171] In the 1970s a scholarly interest in the formation of Slav-Macedonian nationalism arose, from both a historical as well as a linguistic perspective.[172] The first studies by western social anthropologists - who had carried out research in Greek Macedonia, the only area accessible to them - also made their appearance.[173] Generally speaking, however, although the references to Greek studies in western historiography were rare, it is difficult to argue that this international output until 1990 had incorporated the great mass of Slav-Macedonian historiography. The SRM, as a country and as a Slavic nation, had been completely integrated primarily through the Yugoslav route, but it was clear from a historical interest perspective, that the Bulgarian inter-war period and the communist factor were perhaps the most important themes. In each case, regardless of the dilemmas posed by scholarly research and the sources vis-à-vis the origins of the modern 'Macedonians', scholars were more interested in the international relations and entanglements of the Question, rather than identities and their formation.

4. Epilogue

The foundation of an independent Macedonian state, FYROM, and the concomitant post-communist period in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, revived Macedonian studies, but the clock could no longer be turned back. Bulgaria, which in 1991 re-founded the Macedonian Scientific Institute and re-published the *Makedonski Pregled* anew, regurgitated its Macedonian output, this time, however, with very little access to the western academic community. Cut off for years from the predominant Anglo-Saxon research, and without the financial wherewithal for translations, it remained for at least a decade unable to influence international historiography. But, finally, it seems to have made a comeback with a new generation of historians who have a critical approach to their national history. In FYROM, nothing more was needed than what had already been done. The work had already been completed much earlier, and any new chapters that were added after 1991 were simply repetitions. It is still too early even today (2005) to expect significant breaks with its historiography, given the country's political and diplomatic position. In Greece the trends were, and still are, divided. One side appears to accept completely the Slavic line – Slav-Macedonian and not Bulgarian – whilst another continues the tradition of the unceasing struggle of historical rights. A third group recognises the complexity of an issue that has been inextricably confused with its scholarly bibliography and politicised since its birth, but this group is under siege from all sides, as it is methodologically incompatible with the other two perspectives. One could say that this scene is reminiscent of the inter-war period. The dispute is due mainly to disagreement in the use of modern methodologies that have been adopted by new academic fields, as well as in the choice of a point of view. As in other periods, the western point of view has determined the importance of cartography and the entrenchment of ethnic groups and protection of ethnic minorities. Since 1990, therefore, it has encouraged the study and protection of ethnic groups and their cultural identities. Perhaps the only difference is that this time western academic output on Macedonia – in which much was invested thanks to the collapse of Yugoslavia – almost acquired the overtones of a reform process, which influenced Greece most, Bulgaria to a lesser extent, yet FYROM, so far, almost not at all.

Yet, this is not peculiar. The acceptance of one or the other view in the Macedonian Question has always been linked to diplomatic developments and not to its quality or volume. This is why the Bulgarians were able to mobilise the liberal Britons at the beginning of the 20th century, but not in the 1920s, even if their humanitarian arguments were just as solid then. This is why, at the end of the Second World War, all accepted that 'Macedonianism' was a means for the expansion of the communist Tito, but a few years later accepted unbothered the autonomous ethnological existence of the SRM. For the same reason again, the cultural rights of the Slav-Macedonians incite more interest, whilst those of Greek-Macedonians or Bulgarian-Macedonians only indifference. Due to the inability to develop a common methodology between the countries or the academic schools and the incongruities between different historical periods, we are forced to resort to an agnostic approach to the Macedonian Question, which is more functional and convenient for all.

In order to make this better understood, it is worth noting some factors that, rather than helping it to evolve, simply recycle the research. Language is the most important. Whatever has been written in Greek or the Slavic languages, sources or reference works, is not of particular use to western scholars, with perhaps the exception of Hellenists, German Balkan scholars and Slav scholars in general. Yet neither can they, thanks to their studies, their nationality and their sources, escape from their ideological starting points. Thus in Greece, the depth of time and extent of thinking around the autonomy of Macedonia have not yet been fully appreciated even today. Even studies in French,

which constitute a huge chunk of the research on Macedonia, remain untouched in Britain, the USA and Australia, and the same is unfortunately true for the German-language bibliography. In contrast, whatever is written or translated into English is an investment which makes good countless times, regardless of the quality. The inability to compare, then, facilitates the uncritical acceptance of certain views. The second factor is the vast mass of accumulated bibliography. The inability to consume it all facilitates the selection of only those books, articles, citations, statistics or maps that will confirm a particular working hypothesis or fit with the researcher's ideological perspective. The researchers constitute the third factor in this recycling. In the above discussion of the bibliography the important role played by politicians and all types of activists in the formation of the history of the Macedonian Question has been made clear. The role of the Diaspora and of refugees has been distinct, whether we are talking about Bulgarian students in Switzerland, Monastiriots in Thessaloniki, 'Aegeans' in Skopia or Kastorians in Sofia, the USA or Perth. University professors have been used as an alibi, to provide an 'objective' validation for statistics and maps, rather than as providers of a deeper understanding.

The progress of technology, and in particular the use of the Internet, is the surest guarantee that the recycling of output on the Macedonian issue will continue for as long as history remains a vital concern for Balkan policy and for the self-definition of the peoples of the region. And there is no doubt that there is no lack of organisations and individuals ready to offer their services in this direction. Politicians and professors have always formed theories that they then passed on to teachers, priests and other willing missionaries to consolidate in the populations of Macedonia. Diplomats, in their turn, diffused the feelings stirred by these theories further, to draw up maps of the results. The possibilities of moving on from this framework are truly limited, because even the production of the sources, from at least the 19th century, is linked to the demands of politics. Unfortunately, we cannot see the Macedonian issue through the eyes of an 18th-century farmer of livestock breeder, and we know very little about the private perspective of even the most educated people of the 19th and 20th century. There are no texts free of political objectives. Even for the formation of home and foreign policy, we only know about the highest level, rather than the actual decision-making process and the discussions that preceded it. We are thus left with only one picture, which illustrates the conflicts, the crises and extreme phenomena, rather than the ways in which society itself overcame them. Yet this, ultimately, is not a distortion, but the core of the Macedonian Question. Politics and ideologies were always produced outside of the region itself, and then imported at the fastest pace at which society could absorb them, to trickle from the top downwards. How, then, can we anticipate a historical perspective viewed from the bottom upwards?

Notes

1. On this issue, see Ioannis S. Koliopoulos, I „peran“ Ellas kai oi „alloi“ Ellines: To synchrono elliniko ethnos kai oi eteroglossoi synoikoi christianoi (1800-1912) [The Greece of 'Beyond' and the 'Other' Greeks], Thessaloniki 2003, pp. 60-1 and the whole of chapter 3.
2. H. R. Wilkinson, *Maps and Politics. A Review of the Ethnographic Cartography of Macedonia,* Liverpool 1951, p. 35.
3. In this period he published a series of maps emphasising Slav predominance in the Balkans over the Greeks and the Turks, whilst avoiding discussion of their differences. See Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-7.

4. Voin Bozinov and L. Panayotov (eds), *Macedonia. Documents and Material*, Sofia 1978, pp. 130, 137-138; V. Colocotronis, *La Macedoine et l' Hellenisme: Etude historique et ethnologique,* Paris 1919, pp. 524-5; Spyridon Sfetas, *I Diamorfosi tis slavomakedonikis taftotitas* [The Formation of Slav-Macedonian Identity], Thessaloniki 2003, pp. 17-45.
5. Wilkinson, *op. cit.* pp. 42-3.
6. *Through Macedonia to the Albanian Lakes,* London 1864.
7. *Reise durch die Gebite des Drin und Wardar*, Vienna 1867 and his *Reise von Belgrad nach Salonik*, Vienna 1868.
8. *The Turks, the Greeks, and the Slavons: travels in the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey-in-Europe*, London 1867. This volume was accompanied by an ethnographic map; see Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-3.
9. Published anonymously by John Murray with the title *The People of Turkey by a Consul's Daughter and Wife,* London, 1878, vols 1-2.
10. *Mission de Macedoine*, Paris 1876.
11. *Turkey in Europe*, 2nd edition, s.l., 1877.
12. *Twixt Greek and Turk or Jottings during a Journey through Thessaly, Macedonia and Epirus in the Autumn of 1880*, Edinburgh 1881.
13. *La Turquie inconnue: Roumanie, Bulgarie, Macedoine, Albanie*, Paris 1886. See Mackenzie and Irby, *op. cit.,* pp. 65-68.
14. K. Sharova and A. Pantev, 'Mackenzie and Irby and the New Trends in English Policy towards the South Slavs', *Etudes Historiques*, 6 (1973), 117-42.
15. See the introduction to his study *Ta peri tis aftokefalou archiepiskopis tis protis Ioustianis* [On the autocephalus Archbishopric of Justiniana Prima], Athens 1859.
16. Margaritis G. Dimitsas, *Archaia geografia tis Makedonias* [Ancient geography of Macedonia], Athens 1870; *Topographia tis Makedonias* [Topography of Macedonia], Athens 1874; *Epitomos Istoria tis Makedonias apo ton archaiotaton chronon mechri tis tourkokratias. Pros chrisin ton Ellinikon scholeion kai parthenagogeion tis Makedonias* [Brief History of Macedonia from ancient times until Turkish rule. For use in the Greek schools and girls' schools of Macedonia], Athens 1879; *I Makedonia en lithois pfhtengomenois kai mnimeiois sozomenois* [Macedonia uttered in stone and saved in monuments], Athens 1896, vols. 1-2.
17. See C.T. Dimaras, *Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos. Prologomena* [Constantine Paparrigopoulos. Prologues], Athens, 1970, p. 20.
18. This was also the year in which Konstantin Jirecek's *Geschichte der Bulgaren* (Prague 1876) was published. Jirecek was the grandson of Shafarik and later served as Bulgarian Minister of Education. See Colocotronis, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-8.
19. Evangelos Kofos, *I Ellada kai to Anatoliko Zitima, 1875*-1881 [Greece and the Eastern Question], Athens 2001, pp. 77 and 157. Cf. Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 63 and n. 2.
20. This work was also published in French two years later, see Ofeikov, *La Macedoine au point de vue ethnographique, historique et philologique*, Philippopolis 1887. Cf. Kalostypis, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-8.
21. Gortse Petrov, *Materijali po izutsenieto na Makedonija,* Sofia 1896.
22. Ivan Ilchev, *Rodinata mi prava ili ne! Vansnopoliticheska propaganda na balkanskite strani (1821-1923)*, Sofia 1995, p. 113.
23. See, for example, the study by the Belgian commentator Emil de Laveleye, *The Balkan Peninsula*, translated into English by Mary Thorp (London 1887) and the two-volume work by the celebrated Balkanist Gustaf Weigand, *Die Aromunen* (Leipzig 1894-5) accompanied by a pro-Bulgarian ethnographic map. See also the studies by the first Bulgarian Uniate Bishop Lazar Mladenoff, *Rapport sur la situation religieuse des Bulgares catholiques de la Macedoine* (Lyon 1884) and the director of the Catholic school of Thessaloniki E. Cazot, *Regeneration d' un peuple. La Macedoine catholique* (Paris 1901). For a comprehensive discussion of the Bulgarian bibliography, see N. Mikhov (ed.), *Bibliographie de la Turquie, de la Bulgarie et de la Macedoine,* vols. 1-2, Sofia, 1908-1913.
24. Spiridion Gopcevic, *Makedonien und Alt-Serbien,* Vienna 1889; see Wilkinson, *op. cit.,* pp. 96-109. During the next decade two more studies were published in Bel-

grade in Serbian, *The truth about Macedonia* (1890) and *The ethnographic relations between Macedonia and Old Serbia* (1899).

25. See the introduction in Karl Hron, *Das Volkthum der Slaven Makedoniens*, Vienna 1890.
26. Wilkinson*, op. cit*., pp. 120-5.
27. Wilkinson, *op. cit*., pp. 129-32.
28. *The Balkan Trial*, London 1906, pp. 147 and 155. In 1905 Moore had also published the article 'The Macedonian Committees and the Insurrection' in the volume *The Balkan Question*, Luigi Villari (ed.), London 1905, pp. 184-227.
29. *Pictures from the Balkans*, London 1906, p. 5.
30. Charles Eliot, *Turkey in Europe*, London 1908, p. 322 and also p. 265 n. 1.
31. *The East End of Europe: The Report of an Unofficial Mission to the European Provinces of Turkey on the Eve of the Revolution*, London 1908, p. 210.
32. *L'imbroglio macedonien*, Paris 1907.
33. *An Observer in the Near East*, London 1907, p. 296.
34. *Confessions of a Macedonian Bandit*, New York 1909.
35. *A Captive of the Bulgarian Brigands: an Englishman's Terrible Experiences in Macedonia,* London, 1906.
36. G. Abbott, *The Tale of a Tour in Macedonia*, London 1903.
37. J.L.C. Booth, *Troubles in the Balkans*, London 1905. The author was a special correspondent for *The Graphic* in 1904.
38. E.F. Knight, *The Awakening of Turkey: A History of the Turkish Revolution,* London 1908.
39. Reginald Wyon, *The Balkans from Within*, London 1904.
40. H.F.B. Lynch, *Europe in Macedonia, being five articles reprinted from the 'Morning Post',* London 1908.
41. Edith Durham, *The Burden of the Balkans*, London 1905.
42. M. Kanh, *Courriers de Macedoine*, Paris 1903.
43. Victor Berard, 'A Travers la Macedoine Slave', *Revue des deux Mondes*, 114 (1892), 551-578, and *Pro Macedonia*, Paris, 1904.
44. Aleksandr Valentinovic Amfiteatrov, *Strana razbora* (1903).
45. See Hristo Andonov-Poljanski et al (ed.), *Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State*, Skopje 1985, vol. 1, pp. 412-5 and also the article 'Oi neoi Slavoi tis Makedonias' ('The new Slavs of Macedonia'), *Sphaira,* 10 Feb. 1901.
46. For example, see J. Gambier, 'Macedonian Intrigues and their Fruits', *Fortnightly Review*, 78 (1902), 747-758; H. Vivian, 'The Macedonian Conspiracy', *Fortnightly Review*, 79 (1903), 827-837; K. Blind, 'Macedonia and England's Policy', *Nineteenth Century,* 54 (1903), 741-755; E.J. Dillon, 'Macedonia and the Powers', *Contemporary Review,* 79 (1903), 728-750; W. Miller, 'The Macedonian Claimants', *Contemporary Review*, 83 (1903), 468-484; G. Azambuta, 'Le Conflit des Races en Macedoine d' apres une Observation Monographique', *Le Science Sociale,* 19/2 (1904); Anonymous, 'Macedonia and the Powers', *Quarterly Review*, 198 (1903), 485-514.
47. F. Stevenson, *The Macedonian Question*, London 1902; M. Leroy, *La Question Macedonienne. Etude d' histoire diplomatique et de droit international* (Paris, 1905); G. Verdene, *La verite sur la Question Macedonienne,* Paris 1905; E. Engelhardt, *La Question Macedonienne, etat actuel, solution*, Paris 1906; G. Amadori-Virgilj, *La Questione Rumeliota e la Politica Italiana Macedonia, Vecchia, Serbia, Albania, Epiro*, Bitondo 1908, vols 1-3; R. Pinon, *L' Europe et l' empire ottoman,* Paris 1909; P. Rolley and M. de Visme, *La Macedoine et l' Epire*, Paris 1912.
48. See Le Queux, *op. cit.*, pp. 287-8 and Upward, *op .cit*., pp. 135-6.
49. Ilchev, *op. cit.*, pp. 132 and 215.
50. Ilchev, *op. cit.*, pp. 133 and 215.
51. Upward, *op. cit.,* p.135.
52. See, for example, the works of Noel Buxton, *Europe and the Turks*, London 1907; 'Freedom and Servitude in the Balkans', *The Westminster Review*, 159 (1903), 481-490; 'Diplomatic Dreams and the Future of Macedonia', *The Nineteenth Century*

and After, 63 (1908), 722-733; and Charles Buxton, *Turkey in Revolution*, London 1909.

53. See, for example, his study 'The Bulgarians of Macedonia. A Psychological Study', *The Fortnightly Review*, 75 (104), 1049-1059, and primarily his book *Macedonia, its Races and their Future*, London 1906.
54. D.M. Mason, *Macedonia and Great Britain's Responsibility*, London 1903. Proceeds from the sales went to the Balkan Committee Relief Fund.
55. See, for example, *Macedonian Massacres: Photos from Macedonia,* published by the Balkan Committee with articles by Victoria de Bunsen.
56. B. Sarafoff, *The Desperate Outlook in Macedonia*, London 1904.
57. A. Schopoff, *Les reformes et la protection des chretiens en Turquie 1673-1904*, Paris 1904. Cf. Ilchev, *op. cit.*, p. 220.
58. *La Macedoine et sa population chretienne,* Paris 1905.
59. *Macedonia and the Reforms,* London 1908.
60. *La question Macedonienne et les reformes en Tuquie*, Paris 1905.
61. Cf. Ivo Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia. Origins, History, Politics,* Ithaca and London 1988, pp. 311-3.
62. Perikles Argyropoulos, 'O Makedonikos Agon. Apomnimonevmata', *O Makedonikos Agon. Apomnimonevmata* [The Macedonian Struggle. Memoirs], Thessaloniki 1984, p. 6.
63. Thanos Anagnostopoulos-Palaiologos, 'Neoklis Kazazis kai oi Galloi philellines stin periodo tou Makedonikou Agona', ['Neoklis Kazazis and the French philhellenes during the period of the Macedonian Struggle'], *O Makedonikos Agon. Symposio* [The Macedonian Struggle. A Symposium], Thessaloniki 1987, pp. 259-271.
64. A. Andreadis, 'Greece and Macedonia', *Contemporary Review*, 88 (1905), 376-388.
65. See Petros Papapolyviou, 'I Kypros kai o Makedonikos Agonas', ['Cyprus and the Macedonian Struggle'], *O Makedonikos Agon. Symposio*, Thessaloniki 1987, pp .459-473.
66. See, for example, 'O agon mas en Makedonia. Selides apo to imerologion enos syntrofou tou kapetan Verga. O vios ton vounon kai tis pyritidos' ['Our struggle in Macedonia. Pages from the diary of a companion of Captain Vergas. A life of mountains and gunpowder'], *Embros*, September 1905, *passim*.
67. Founded from the union of all the Macedonian associations of Athens.
68. See Despina Giarali and Mary Zangli, *To periodiko Ellinismos (1898-1915, 1928-1932): Parousiasi-Vivliographiki katagraphi* [The periodical 'Ellinismos': Presentation-Bibliographical record], Ioannina 1993.
69. Giarali and Zangli, *op. cit.,* p. 32.
70. See, for example, Neoklis Kazazis's *To Makedonikon provlima* [The Macedonian Problem], Athens 1907 and the reprint of Kalostypis's study in 1900.
71. Gnasios Makednos [Stephanos Dragoumis], *Makedoniki Krisis: Ta Komitata kai oi dynameis 1901-1903* [Macedonian Crisis: the Committees and the Powers], Athens 1903; *Makedoniki Krisis B: Metarythmiseis, Makedonia kai Ellas* [Reforms, Macedonia and Greece], Athens 1903; *Makedoniki Krisis C, D, E 1903-1904*, Athens 1906; and *Makedoniki Krisis F: I Tourkiki diakoinosis kai I diakoinosis ton dyo (1904-1907)* [Turkish diplomatic notes and the diplomatic notes of both], Athens 1907.
72. AlMaz [Alexandros Mazarakis], *Ai istorikai peripeteiai tis Makedonias apo ton archaiotaton chronon mechri simeron* [The historical adventures of Macedonia from ancient years until today], Athens 1912.
73. Titus Makednos, *Kapetan Nakis Litsas* [Captain Nakis Litsas], Athens 1906.
74. For example, see A. Thomaides, *Istoria Pavlou Mela*, Athens 1909.
75. See G. Konstas [most likely Germanos Karavangelis], *Energeiai kai dolofonika orgia tou voulgarikou komitatou en Makedonia kai idia en ti eparchia Kastorias* [Actions and murderous orgies of the Bulgarian Committee in Macedonia and in particular in Kastoria province], Athens 1902; G. Ditsias, *I katastrofi tou Krusovo: theriodeia Voulgaron and Othoman enantion Ellinon* [The destruction of Krusovo: atrocities of Bulgarians and Turks against Greeks], Athens 1905, as well as the publication of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, *Episima engrapha peri tis en Makedonia*

odyniras katastaseos [Official documents on the painful situation within Macedonia], Constantinople 1906.

76. See, for example, I. Vlassis, *Peri ton Makedonikon logos* [On the Macedonian cause], Athens 1904; T. Yerogiannis, *I Makedonia prodidomeni* [Macedonia betrayed], Athens 1904; A. Argyros, *I Makedoniki mas politiki* [Our Macedonian policy], Athens 1906; I. Hoidas, *Istoria tis makedonikis ypotheseos* [History of the Macedonian issue], Athens 1908.
77. G. Boukouvalas, *I glossa ton en Makedonia Voulgarophonon* [The language of the Bulgarian-speakers of Macedonia], Cairo 1905; K. Tsioulkas, *Symvolai eis tin diglossian ton Makedonon ek synkriseos tis slavophonous makedonikis glossas pros tin Ellinikin* [Counsel on the bilingualism of the Macedonians in a comparison of the Slavophone Macedonian language with the Greek], Athens 1907.
78. Miljukov had been a visiting professor at Sofia and the author of a Russian book on European diplomacy and the Macedonian issue (1899).
79. *Les cruautes bulgares en Macedoine Orientale et en Thrace, 1912-1913*, Athens 1914.
80. The same report was reprinted and circulated in 1995 by the Free and Democratic Bulgaria foundation.
81. *Rapport sur la situation des Boulgarophones et des Musulmans dans les nouvelles provinces Grecques*, Lausanne 1915.
82. The reports were published by Petar Petrov in the volume *Naucna ekspedicija v Makedonija i pomoravieto 1916*, Sofia 1993.
83. Ilchev, *op. cit.,* p. 217. See also H. Andonovski, 'Movement in Switzerland for a Macedonian State', *Macedonian Review*, 4 (1974), 254-5.
84. J. Ivanoff, *La Region de Cavalla*, Bern 1918; G. Strezoff, *Les luttes politiques des Bulgares Macedoniens*, Geneve 1918; D. Micheff, *La verite sur la Macedoine*, Bern 1918; A. Ishirkov, *La Macedoine et la constitution de l' Exarchat Bulgare, 1830-1897*, Lausanne 1918.
85. *La Macedoine et la Renaissance Bulgare au xixe s.*, Sofia 1918.
86. *Quelques mots de reponse aux calomniateurs des Macedoniens,* Lausanne 1919.
87. *La Bulgarie et la Question Macedonienne. Les causes des guerres balkaniques,* Sofia 1919.
88. *Reports and Letters from American Missionaries Referring to the Distribution of Nationalities in the Former Provinces of European Turkey 1858-1918,* Sofia 1919.
89. *We the Macedonians*, Bern 1919.
90. Wilkinson, *op. cit*., pp. 229-35.
91. V. Djeric, *Ethnographie des Slaves de Macedoine*, Paris 1918; T. Djordjevic, *Macedonia*, London 1918; V. Marcovic, *La Macedoine a-t-elle ete consideree comme pays bulgare par les Serbes du Moyen Age*, Paris 1919.
92. *La peninsule balkanique; Geographie humaine*, Paris 1918.
93. Wilkinson, *op. cit.,* pp. 191-5.
94. Stephanos Phocas-Cosmetatos, *La Macedoine. Son passe et son present. Etude historique ethnographique et politique de la Macedoine avec considerations sur les pays limitrophes et l' Hellenism,* Lausanne 1919; Konstantinos Mazarakis-Ainian, *I lysis tou valkanikou zitimatos* [The settlement of the Balkan Question], Athens 1919.
95. See esp. pp. 515-7.
96. E. Kupfer, *La Macedoine et les Bulgares*, Vevey 1917; J. Melchy, *Le Martyre d'un petit peuple,* Geneva 1917; G. Lepide, *La Macedoine indivisible devant le future Congress de la Paix*, Lausanne 1918; V. Sis, *Mazedonien*, Zurich 1918, first published in Czech in 1914; A. Delvigne, *Le Probleme Macedonien*, Bern 1919; N. Derjavine (or Derschawin), *Les rapports bulgaro-serbes et la Question Macedonienne* (Lausanne, 1918), obviously the translation of his work published in Sofia in 1915. See also his *Uber Macedonien, Wissenschaftliche und Kritische Untersuchung*, Leipzig 1918. It is acknowledged that the studies of this Russian historian were directly funded by the Bulgarian government. See Ilchev, *op. cit.,* pp. 227-8.
97. *La Macedoine, et son evolution contemporaine*, Paris 1930; *La Macedoine, etude de colonisation contemporaine,* Paris 1936. Ancel had come to Macedonia during the

First World War and had written the study *Les travaux et les jours de l' Armee d' Orient 1915-1918*, Paris 1921.
98. *L' echange greco-bulgare des minorites ethniques*, Paris 1930.
99. *Ethnographie von Mazedonien*, Leipzig 1924.
100. R.A. Reiss, *La question des Comitadjis en Serbie du Sud,* Belgrade 1924; J. Schultze, *Makedonien Landschafts- und Kulturbilder*, Jena 1927; H. Schacht, *Die Entwicklung der Mazedonischen Frage um die Jahrhundertwende zum Murzsteger Program*, Halle 1929; W. Jacob, *Die Mazedonische Frage*, Berlin, 1931); K. Kratchounov, *La politique exterieure de la Bulgarie 1880-1920,* Sofia 1932.
101. *Storm Centres of the Near East. Personal Memories 1879-1929*, London 1933.
102. *Quinze ans d' histoire balkanique 1904-1919*, Paris 1928); cf. Ilchev, *op. cit.,* pp. 227-8.
103. *La Macedoine et les Macedoniens*, Paris 1922.
104. *Yugoslavian Macedonia*, London 1930.
105. A. Goff, and H. Fawcett, *Macedonia: A Plea for the Primitive*, London 1921; D. Footman, *Balkan Holiday*, London 1935.
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XI. Macedonia, 1912-1923: From the Multinational Empire to Nation State

by Loukianos I. Hassiotis

1. The Balkan Wars

1. Reasons for and characteristics of the Balkan Alliance

During the 19th century, relations between the newly formed Balkan states were characterized by intense suspicion, intransigence, opportunism or discontinuity. The attempts at cooperation were ephemeral and usually manifested themselves when one of the Balkan states was undergoing a crisis or was at war with the Ottoman Empire. The ascendancy of nationalistic visions and the control over the external policies of the Balkan states, which the major powers attempted to secure, were the main reasons, which discouraged inter-Balkan cooperation. The views in connection with Balkan cooperation or even confederation were restricted to radical intellectual circles or expressed by political leaders and monarchs only when such a prospect temporarily served the particular interests of their countries. In this way, the alliances which were formed during the 19th century were always short-lived and with limited prospects.[1]

Later, after the revolt of the New Turks, this fact subverted the subsequent annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Austro-Hungary in 1908. The gradual swing of the Young Turkish regime towards greater centralized and peremptory action, the attempts at Turkification in Macedonia and Thrace and the insurrection of the Albanian nationalists, who in turn desired greater autonomy in the land which they were claiming from the neighbouring states, increased the trend towards the Balkan countries' approaching and reaching agreement between themselves. Parallel with this, the formal annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by the Dual Monarchy brought a reaction from Serbia, which saw its struggle for liberation being lost for good and, simultaneously, caused alarm in Russia, which in turn watched its influence in the Balkan region being seriously undermined. In order to counterbalance the expansive moves of Vienna, St Petersburg put forward the idea of a Serbo-Bulgarian alliance in the region, which would have a pro-Russian orientation and which Greece would be able to join. Another event accelerated the formation of a Balkan alliance: the Italo-Turkish war, which broke out in September of 1911. The war revealed the military weaknesses of the Ottomans and persuaded the Balkan states to hasten military negotiations among themselves.[2]

The curtain was raised with the signing, on the 13th of March 1912*, of a Serbo-Bulgarian alliance treaty, which provided for the declaration of war against the Ottoman empire in the event of internal agitation or change in the *status quo* and annexation of all the areas that would be seized over the duration of the conflict. Serbia would acquire the so-called "Old Serbia" and the sanjak of Novi Pazar. Bulgaria would annex all lands east of Rhodope, with the river Strymon as its western limit. The intervening region would be acquired by an autonomous provincial regime. However, in the event of something like this not being feasible, then it would be divided into three zones: Bulgaria would acquire the northern expanse as far as Ochrid, Serbia would annex another strip of land north of Skopje and the ownership of the remaining portion (the so-called "disputed territory") would be adjudicated by the Russian tsar. Agreement between Greece and Bulgaria was more difficult because the designs of the two states relating to Ottoman Macedonia were in direct conflict, especially in connection with Thessaloniki.

Consequently, the treaty of alliance which was signed between the two countries dealt solely with defence matters and made provisions for mutual support in the event either of a Turkish offensive against them or of “systematic violation of the terms of the treaty or the fundamental principles of the law protecting human rights as determined by the treaty” The Balkan alliance was completed with the verbal agreement between Bulgaria and Montenegro in June of 1912 and the defence pact between Serbia and Montenegro.

The formation of the Balkan alliance was favoured by the international situation and more specifically by the splitting of the major powers into two camps: the Triple Entente (Great Britain, France, Russia) and the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austro-Hungary, Italy). This fact prevented them from acting jointly in imposing their views on the Balkan states. At first sight, the composition of the Balkan Alliance appeared to be a success for Russian diplomacy. However, neither did Russia continue to maintain control over developments. Consequently, on the 8th of October 1912, when Vienna and St Petersburg, in a joint move, approached the Balkan governments and threatened not to recognize any lands annexed after an eventual war, it was already too late.

The composition of the Balkan Alliance constituted a “diplomatic revolution”: for the first time, the Balkan states were united against their common enemy in the region, ignoring the wishes of the major powers. The European press of the time dubbed the Balkan Empire the “seventh major power”, aiming in this way to show its significance in the wider European scene. The Balkan agreements of 1912 constituted a real base, which would allow the contracted countries to complete the liberation of the peninsula from the Ottomans and at the same time prevent the intervention of the major powers. The alliance, however, had its drawbacks: it lacked a common treaty which would have coordinated the efforts of the allies and left the question of the final distribution of lands unsolved, a fact which would soon lead to its disruption. Similarly, the recognition of the concept of nationality was missing, a choice which was inevitable, considering that in most of the contested regions, there was no ethnic homogeneity and, therefore, ethnic criteria were unsafe.[3]

The war began on the 8th of October in Montenegro. The king of this tiny Balkan state justified his decision with the argument that he had to put an end to the wretched condition of the Christians in European Turkey. Five days later, the governments of Greece, Serbia, and Bulgaria issued an ultimatum to the Sublime Porte, in which they demanded, among other things, the ethnic autonomy of the nationalities within the empire, their proportional representation in the Ottoman parliament, the employment of Christians in all public service departments in European Turkey, the retention of the ethnic character of the European provinces of the empire, the reorganization of the gendarmerie of the same provinces commanded by Swiss or Belgian officers, the appointment of Swiss or Belgian General Commanders in the European villayets of the empire together with the creation of an international commission for the supervision of the reforms, with the participation of representatives from the Balkan states and the major powers, which would have its headquarters in Constantinople. On the 15th of October 1912, the Ottoman government rejected the ultimatum from the Balkan states, characterizing it as a “rank attempt at intervention in the internal affairs of the Empire and unworthy of a reply”, and simultaneously recalled its diplomatic representatives from the Balkan capitals. This was followed by mobilization and the formal declaration of war by Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria on the 17th of October 1912, while Rumania decided to take a neutral stand towards the alliance.[4]

1.1. The war campaigns in Macedonia

The Ottoman forces were in excellent condition when war was declared. The War Minister, Nazim Pasha had recently ordered the mobilization of 120 army battalion amounting to a force of 75,000 men, owing to the dissatisfaction, the lack of discipline and the mutinies that were adversely affecting the armed forces. In the European provinces, there were a total of approximately 345,000 men. On the other hand, the effective force of the Balkan states was almost double that (Bulgaria 305,000 men, Serbia 225,000 men, Greece 110,000 men, not taking into account the naval power, and Montenegro 35,000 men). The war campaigns progressed in three separate war theatres. The Bulgarians attacked in Thrace, the Greeks in Epirus and Macedonia, the Montenegrians and the Serbs in the sanjak of Novi Pazar, in Albania and Macedonia.[5]

1.1.1. The campaigns of the Greek army

The Greek army in Thrace crossed the border on the 18th of October 1912. The first big battle was the one at Sarantaporos from the 22nd to the 23rd of October. Despite their strong defence positions, the Ottoman troops were soon forced to retreat because of insufficient armaments, low morale and the encircling movements of the Greek. The withdrawal of the Ottomans from a better defence position, which they could have secured against the Greeks, was soon transformed into a rush to escape, a fact that opened the way for the unimpeded advance of the Greek army into central and western Macedonia.[6] In his memoirs, General Hassan Tahsin Pasha, commander of the 8th Army Corps, describes, in his own way, the conditions, which prevailed, and the outcome of the collapse of the front:

> *"The Chief of Staff, who returned, in the early hours of the morning, a human wreck, because of the fatigue and anguish felt by his soul, reported flatly to me that the last hope of maintaining the defence of the passage through the gates was lost because of the indescribable panic which had been caused and the uncontrollable flight of the reserves who had been saved from the bloody struggle at the fort of... I anticipated that it would be impossible to confront the enemy on a new line because of its overwhelming superiority both in quantity and quality, especially in its artillery, where the ratio was such that it brought with it apparent implications not only for this line itself but for the entire front in western and central Macedonia. It was, however, in the morale of the opposing forces where the difference was greatest".*[7]

In the days that followed, the Greek army continued to advance in the direction of western Macedonia. On the 25th of October, the Greek army captured Kozani and between the 29th and 30th of the month marched into Katerini, Veria, Naousa and Edessa. Constantine, the Commander-in-Chief and successor to the throne, wanted for strategic reasons to march in the direction of Monastir in order to safeguard his rear from a possible sideways attack on the part of the Ottoman forces, which had their headquarters there. However, the Prime Minister of the country, Eleftherios Venizelos, insisted on an advance in the direction Thessaloniki, towards which Bulgarian forces were already making their way. This was the first variance of views between the two men, foreboding perhaps the open rift that would soon develop. Finally, Constantine obeyed the orders of Venizelos and marched in the direction of Thessaloniki. The way to the city was opened after the battle at Giannitsa on the 1st to the 2nd of November, which led once again to the disordered retreat of the Ottoman forces. On the 8th of November 1912 (26th of November according to the old calendar), Taxim Pasha finally accepted the terms for the surrender of Thessaloniki and the following day, the first Greek army forces entered the

city. The British reporter, Crawford Price, conveys the image of the entrance of the Greek army to the readers of the Times:

> *«The first afternoon hours had already passed when a detachment of cavalry at the head of the Evzone battalion proceeded through the streets of Thessaloniki in this way offering an opportunity to the Greek population of the Macedonian capital to demonstrate their feelings. The flags with the Turkish crescent moon disappeared as if by magic and were replaced everywhere by blue and white Greek flags. Beautiful girls on their balconies were showering the victors with rose petals until every road was covered with a carpet of flowers and the crowd was cheering continuously. So great was the crowd which had gathered before the khaki-clad soldiers that it was only with difficulty that the soldiers were able to proceed even in simple lines.*[8]

The Greek military authorities finally allowed, for reasons of courtesy towards the alliance, only two Bulgarian battalions to enter the city with the Bulgarian princes Boris and Cyril. Nevertheless, the Bulgarian soldiers who were eventually stationed in Thessaloniki reached the strength of a division, including a significant number of armed militia and soon the tension between the two sides began to assume dangerous proportions.[9]

Before the Greek army entered Thessaloniki, Greek forces who had disembarked at Stagira and in the bay of Orphanos had occupied Chalkidike and part of the present-day prefectures of Serres and Kavala. By the end of November of 1912, the Greek occupied zone had been extended towards the north as far as Lake Doirani and Gevgelija, and eastwards as far as the River Strymon, where the Serbian and Bulgarian zones respectively began.[10]

The only defeat that Greek troops suffered at this stage of the war was in western Macedonia in the area around Amynteo. It was there that the Fifth Division, which was heading for Monastir, sustained a surprise attack on the 3rd and 4th of November from Ottoman forces which had been brought in from the front at Prilep, and was forced to retreat in a disorderly fashion. The division finally regrouped in Kozani and later, reinforced with troops from the army of Thessaly, undertook the expulsion of Ottoman forces from the region of western Macedonia. Its initial retreat, however, resulted in Greece losing Monastir, which was overrun by Serb forces on 18th November. At any rate, the Greek army managed the following day to secure Florina within its western occupied zone, actually preventing the Serbs from entering at the last moment.[11]

1.1.2. The campaigns of the Serbs and Bulgarians

The main campaigns of the Serb army were conducted in northwest Macedonia, while the campaigns in Novi Pazar and in Albania, where the army of Montenegro also operated, were of secondary importance. After the advance through the valley of Kossyphopedion and the fall of Pristina on the 22nd of October, the Serb army came up against strong Ottoman forces outside Kumanovo on the 23rd of October. Despite the spirited resistance of the Ottomans and the heavy losses suffered by the Serbs, the latter prevailed, and, as a result, opened the way north. In the following days they took Istip and Skopje. Between the 2nd and 5th of November 1912, the big battle for Prilep, which ended in a complete victory for the Serbs, took place. The Ottomans withdrew to Monastir in order to prepare their defence. It was there that the next big battle between the two adversaries took place and the Serbs finally entered the town on the 18th of November. The Ottoman forces that escaped from the Serb encirclement took refuge in

Epirus and Albania, from where they continued their operations until the end of the First Balkan War.

The main war theatre of the Bulgarian army was Thrace. There, the Bulgarian forces after stiff fighting managed to advance as far as Tsatalza, on the outskirts of Constantinople and at the same time besieged Adrianople. In Macedonia only a single Bulgarian division under general Theodorov operated with the main task of capturing Thessaloniki. The Bulgarian division came up against weak Turkish forces, which put up little resistance. Its advance guard had already reached the threshold of the Macedonian capital when Taxim Pasha surrendered the city to Constantine.[12]

The military successes of the Balkan allies not only astonished the Sublime Port but the major powers as well. The rapid advance of their troops led, in the space of only a few months, to the complete elimination of Ottoman supremacy on European soil. Under the Treaty of London, signed on the 30th of May 1913, Turkey conceded all her lands west of the Enos-Midia line and renounced her sovereignty over Crete. The fortunes of the islands of the eastern Aegean were left to the arbitration of the major powers.[13]

1.2. The dissolution of the Balkan Alliance

Even before the hostilities against the Ottoman forces ended, there had already begun disputes within the alliance as to the division and distribution of the occupied lands. Serbia asked Bulgaria to modify the agreement that had been concluded between the two of them when it became apparent that it would lose the exit to the Adriatic, which it had hoped for, as a result of objections from Italy and Austro-Hungary. Furthermore, the Serb army was totally opposed to having to withdraw from Macedonia soil, which it had taken after battles against the Ottomans. On her part, Greece made it clear to Bulgaria from the start that it was not prepared to give up Thessaloniki, which in any case had been taken by the Greek army. Bucharest also exercised pressure on Sofia, claiming the area south of Dovrutsa, in return for the position of neutrality it had taken for the duration of the war.

Serbia and Greece, unsettled by the increase in Bulgarian military forces, decided to form a common front. On the 13th of June 1913, they concluded a treaty of alliance, which made provision for a common stand against the Bulgarian claims, cooperation in the event of an attack by Bulgaria or any other third power, an undertaking to maintain a common frontier in Macedonia. At the same time, they reconciled their outstanding territorial issues, while Greece agreed to the setting up of a special zone to cater for Serbian goods in transit in the port of Thessaloniki. At the same time, the political climate in Sofia was particularly charged seeing that Bulgaria's basic claims had Thessaloniki as their target and not Thrace, where the Bulgarian population was a minority. Bulgaria's exclusion from all the important urban centres constituted a political defeat for the government, which now had to face the wrath of the all-powerful Bulgarian-Macedonian organizations that were demanding the annexation of almost the whole of Macedonia to Bulgaria. Pressure was being exercised on Sofia by Vienna with the clear purpose of dissolving the Balkan alliance, which it considered a threat to its interests in the region. At the same time, the overestimation of the capabilities of the Bulgarian army both by the country's own military and political leaders and by external parties had convinced King Ferdinand and his General Staff that he was in the position to simultaneously deal with a limited confrontation with Serbian and Greek forces. On the 28 of June 1912, Ferdinand, with the agreement of Prime Minister Stoyan Danev, gave the order to launch simultaneous attacks on Serbian and Greek positions with the purpose of displaying the country's military power to the two neighbouring states.

Greece and Serbia responded to Bulgaria by declaring war. Russia, wanting to punish Ferdinand for his disobedience and his apparent swing in support of Austro-Hungary, refused to intervene and, in this way, left Bulgaria isolated. Following this, on the 10th and 12th of July, Rumania and the Ottoman empire respectively declared war on Bulgaria rendering the country's struggle effectively futile.[14]

1.3. The Second Balkan War and the Treaty of Bucharest

In the Serbian sector, the war began with a surprise attack by Bulgarian forces, which took Istip and Gevgelija on the 30th of June. However, their successful advance ended there. The major battles took place between the 30th of June to the 8th of July on the banks of the river Bregalnitsa, where the outcome of the confrontation was decided: the Serbian army managed to beat off the Bulgarian attack and, as a follow up, counterattacked taking Radovits and Kriva Palanka. After the campaigns in the sector around Bregalnitsa, the Serbian army did not continue its advance to the central front but restricted its activities to local attacks further north, which at any rate resulted in considerable bloodshed.[15]

In the Greek sector, the war began on the 29 of June with the expulsion of Bulgarian units that were stationed in Thessaloniki. The street battles lasted all night long and by the following day all the Bulgarian soldiers had been taken prisoner. On the 2nd of July 1912, the Greek army began the offensive on the front at Kilkis-Lahana, where there occurred the most important – but bloodiest – battle of the war. The Greek forces were superior to those of the Bulgarians, which were scattered between the Greek and Serbian sectors and, in addition, had been deployed along the entire length of the front, even along the coast of eastern Macedonia in case of an eventual Greek landing. The battle developed into an attempt to crush the enemy with repeated infantry attacks, a fact that led to extremely heavy casualties. In the space of three days, 12-13% of the Greek combat force, among whom were many officers and six regimental commanders, had been put out of action. The failure of the attack was averted by reason of the intense fanaticism, which the Greek-Bulgarian confrontation had acquired, and the corresponding fatigue of the Bulgarians. The high death toll of the battle for Kilkis, as was also the case with the ensuing battles which were fought during the second Balkan war, in comparison with the Greek-Turkish war, showed that traditional infantry assault tactics used against strong defensive positions and under a barrage of artillery fire of great accuracy and strength would, without the necessary coordination, turn the battle field into a scene of human slaughter. In their diaries, soldiers and low-ranking officers at the time condemned the staff who planned the attacks while remaining far from the front and the actual conditions of the encounter and claimed that they had placed the lives of the soldiers in danger at no cost to themselves. This allegation was soon to be repeated on the front during the Great War as well.[16]

After the victory of the Greeks at Kilkis and the capture of the town, there followed the battle of Doirani (5th- 6th of July), which once more ended in victory for the Greek army, the main bulk of which continued to pursue the enemy northwards while other forces, coordinated by the Greek navy, were advancing in the direction of eastern Macedonia. On the 9th of July they entered Kavala, on the 11th of July Serres, which had earlier been set ablaze by the retreating Bulgarians, on the 14th of the same month they captured Drama and on the 25th Xanthe, while the fleet landed forces which captured Porto Lagos and Dedeagats (Alexandroupolis). In the meantime, the march north through the high passes of the Beles mountains proved to be more difficult: the rugged terrain combined with the problems of maintaining supply lines, the lack of proper coordination, the illnesses and cholera epidemic were extending the fatigue of the soldiers.

Despite this, the Commander-in Chief, Constantine, ordered the continuation of the advance, ignoring the misgivings, which had been expressed in connection with the danger of the exhaustion and encirclement of the Greek forces. The last battle in the area of Tzoumagia, was fought between the 25th and 26th of July. The cavalry officer, Constantine Vassos, describes in his diary the clash as a "gigantomachia before which not just one but many Bizanians turned pale", noting at the same time both the mistakes of the Greek command and the exhaustion of the soldiers:

> *"The great patriotism and the bravery of the officers and the Greek God saved the situation. One cannot conduct battles at a distance, which was a three-day march away when there are no maps to show what the ground is like. The men are very distressed and rightly so because they have been at war endlessly for almost ten months having suffered many losses and deprivations. I feel it is time to end this situation so that we prevent something we do not wish for from happening and tarnishing Greek prestige.*[17]

In fact, the danger of a reversal of the situation to the disadvantage of the Greeks was a possibility after the end of hostilities between Bulgaria and the other warring parties. However, Sofia finally requested a truce on the 31st of July, and on the 10th of August signed the Treaty of Bucharest, which was to determine the new borders in the Balkans.[18]

With the Treaty of Bucharest, the former Ottoman Macedonia was divided among Greece (approximately 52% of the area), Serbia (38%) and Bulgaria (10%). Serbia had acquired northern Macedonia with the towns of Kumanovo, Prilep, Monastir (Bitola) and Gevgelija. Greece acquired Thessaloniki, Kavala, Serres, Kilkis, Edessa, Katerini, Kozani, Grevena, Kastoria and Florina. The self-administered monastic community of Holy Mountain, was placed within the Greek domain. Bulgarian had taken Stromnitsa and Upper Tzoumagia (present-day Blagoevgrad). The controversial "Macedonian Question" appeared for the time being to have been resolved on the battlefield.[19]

1.3.1. Consequences of the Balkan wars for the civilian population

For the duration of the wars, the involved parties showed that their aim was not only to acquire land but also to attempt "ethnic cleansing". All the conflicting sides destroyed villages or whole districts, killed or terrorized civilians and sought to assimilate them by using violence. In the countryside, Christian peasants rebelled against the Muslim beys. In the same way, Muslim troublemakers attacked Christian communities in areas such as Servia, Grevena and Kozani. In the towns, the situation was different because the new authorities soon managed to control public order and rioting. The situation in the Serbian and Bulgarian business sectors was much worse compared to that in Greece, at least if we are to judge from the volume of Muslim refugees who sought refuge in the Greek occupied zone. Out of the 140,000 Muslims who left Macedonian soil by the spring of 1914, only 24,000 were from the Greek "New Lands". There were of course instances of peremptoriness and misdeeds from the lower-ranking Greek officers and ordinary citizens, but the government tried to get the Muslims to remain in order not to bring an upheaval in the cultivation of land and, in addition, to ensure the safety of the Greek populace in Turkey.[20]

The Second Balkan War proved to be bloodier and crueller than the first war had been for soldiers and civilians alike. The violence and the fanaticism of the clashes between the rival troops were usually followed by attacks upon civilians; besides, the fanaticism of the Greek-Bulgarian conflict is revealed in the lithographs of the time. When writing to his wife, a Greek officer in reference to the Bulgarians wrote "It is a

shame that the war did not continue in order to eliminate them from the face of the earth; they should not appear on a geographical map".[21] Villages and hamlets were set ablaze during the withdrawal of the Bulgarian army or during the advance of Greek and Serbian forces. On many occasions the residents themselves, who were forced to abandon their settlements, set fire to them so as not to leave them intact for the "enemy", a scene which we were to see repeated only recently during the wars in Bosnia and Croatia.[22]

Leon Trotsky, at that time a journalist, and who was later to become the creator of the Red Army of the Bolsheviks, indicatively commented on the inter-Balkan clash in a report from the Balkans:

> *"Customs union, federation, democracy, a joint parliament for the entire peninsula– what were all these unfortunate words before the unanswerable argument of the lance? They fought the Turks in order to "liberate" the Christians, they slaughtered Turkish and Albanian civilians in order to revise the ethnographic population statistics, now they are beginning to slaughter one another so as to "complete the task"..., what we have here is not something coincidental, some misunderstanding, not even the result of personal intrigues, but the natural outcome of the entire policy of the Balkan dynasties, of European diplomacy and Slavophile propaganda...".*[23]

The peremptoriness and the actions in connection with "ethnic cleansing" of the rival troops were made the object of a post-war investigation conducted by an international commission of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace of the USA. Members of the commission toured Macedonia after the end of the Balkan war and published the results of their investigation in 1914. All the same, the efforts of the commission and the conclusions it reached were not recognized by Athens and Belgrade, both of whom reproached certain of its members for their obvious pro-Bulgarian stance.[24]

2. The First World War and its Consequences in Macedonia

2.1. Macedonia once again on the negotiating table

With the Austro-Hungarian declaration of war on Serbia and the following outbreak of the First World War, the Macedonian question inevitably returned to the foreground of developments. The reasons were clear: Serbia had been attacked by a major power and therefore her territorial integrity was in doubt; the two opposing camps in the war, the Entente and the Central Powers, hastened at an early stage to win over Bulgaria, promising concessions to the disadvantage of Serbian as well as Greek-held lands in Macedonia.

With the entry of the Ottoman Empire into the war on the side of the Central Powers in the autumn of 1914, the role of the neutral Balkan states was upgraded and both sides increased their efforts to win them over. Bulgaria held a dominant position in this diplomatic contention: its army enjoyed greater prestige in the military and diplomatic circles of the warring sides, while its strategic position between Serbia and the Ottoman Empire and the route to the Bosporus Straits could not be ignored. The Allies of the Entente, with the thrust of Russian diplomacy and the pro-Bulgarian circles of the British parliament, desired to offer Bulgaria generous territorial concessions which were to the disadvantage of Serbian and Greek Macedonia. On their part, the Central Powers were more easily able to offer Sofia what it wanted, seeing that its claims centred primarily around land occupied by one of its rivals.[25]

In Serbia, the government of Nikola Pašić tried, often with the cooperation of the Greek government, to reject the "exhortations" of the allies for territorial concessions and when this became difficult because of the critical situation on the front and the country's absolute dependence on the Entente, it attempted to stall by making counter proposals, knowing that they would be rejected by Sofia.[26]

In Greece, the Entente's request that eastern Macedonia and Kavala be relinquished was politically harmful to Venizelos, the main advocate of the country's pro-alliance tendency. Venizelos believed that the Entente would win the war and that is why Greece should side with them in order to satisfy its territorial claims on and struggles for liberty from the Ottoman Empire after the war. He also maintained that the country was obliged to keep its commitment to its ally, Serbia, in the event of a Bulgarian attack against it, in order to maintain the *status quo* which had been established under the Treaty of Bucharest, in other words the maintaining of the existing borders of Macedonia and a check on the expansive policies of Bulgaria. On the other hand, the pro-German King Constantine was opposed to Greece's embroilment in the war. He firmly believed in the supremacy of the German army and seeing that alignment with the Central Powers was out of the question by reason of the country's geographical position, which would have rendered it a hostage of the British and French fleets, the only solution was to take a position of absolute neutrality. The conservative part of the Greek ruling class, which rallied around him, resisted the political and economic liberalism of Venizelos and preferred the German militaristic system. The distance between the king and the prime minister, which soon assumed characteristics of political and state significance and was dubbed, without exaggeration, "The National Rift", indeed climaxed in October of 1915, when Bulgaria, which had already become aligned with the Central Powers the month before, joined forces with Germany and Austro-Hungary to attack Serbia. Venizelos, with the support of parliament, decided to take Greece into the war. The day when the first allied forces landed in Thessaloniki to reinforce the Greek troops on the Serbian front, Constantine refused to ratify the declaration of war against Bulgaria and the Central Powers, forcing the Greek Prime Minister to.[27]

The Serbian army did not manage to face the combined attack of German, Austro-Hungarian and Bulgarian forces, which took place in October of 1915 and attempted to retreat southwards in the hope of establishing a new front on Macedonia ground with the help of the allies. However, the invasion of Serbian Macedonia by Bulgarian forces prevented contact between Serb and Anglo-French forces and forced the former to withdraw by way of the mountainous mass of Albania. Finally, the Serb refugees escaped to Corfu, where, despite the protests of the new royalist Greek government, the allies installed the exiled Serbian government. In this way, even if only formally, Greece, while remaining neutral towards a regime which was well disposed towards Germany, was forced to be host, on her own soil, to military forces belonging to both the Entente and Serbia.[28]

2.2.2. The Macedonian Front and the caretaker government in Thessaloniki

In Greek Macedonia, the Allies (British, French, British Commonwealth troops, from1916 Russians, Italians and Serbs who had been transferred from Corfu) set up defensive positions on the Greek borders primarily against the Bulgarians and secondarily against the German forces. During the approximately three years that followed, the war theatre in the region was named "The Macedonia Front" (or the Front of Thessaloniki). Until 1918, the Entente chose to give it a defensive role because it was unable to offer the necessary forces to launch attacks against the powerful positions of the Bulgarian

and the German army. On their part, the Central Powers were satisfied with the stagnant situation on the front as they had achieved their most important goal, which was the collapse of Serbia and control of the routes of communication between Berlin and Constantinople. The defensive role of the allied forces in the region earned them the disparaging appellation “Gardeners of Thessaloniki”, while German propaganda called the Macedonian Front “the biggest fenced in army camp”. These wry observations do not in any way belittle the difficulties and hardships which were faced by the soldiers serving in the area nor the strategic importance of the front, which became apparent in September of 1918, when an allied attack led to the collapse of Bulgarian positions and eventual capitulation, initially by Bulgaria and thereafter by the Ottoman empire and Austro-Hungary.[29]

When the Allies set up the Macedonian Front in the autumn of 1915, they were not only worried about an eventual attack by enemy forces but also about the stand which would be formally taken by Greece. The actual removal of Venizelos, as was to be expected, led to a political and constitutional crisis, which was heightened by the abstention of the Liberals from the elections of December 1915. The royalists attempted to secure complete control of the governmental machine and the armed forces, thereby intensifying the protests from their opponents. Constantine’s refusal to collaborate with the Allies and the Allied violation of Greek suzerainty and position of neutrality led inevitably to repeated confrontations between the two sides.

The protagonist during this crisis proved to be the chief of the French Eastern Army and Commander-in-Chief of the Allied forces on the Macedonian Front, Maurice Sarrail. The French general expanded the area of his control little by little, demanded and succeeded in securing the withdrawal of Greek troops from Thessaloniki and restricted the jurisdiction and pertinence of the Greek authorities. After the Bulgarians invaded and occupied Eastern Macedonia without meeting with any resistance from the Greek troops, almost all of whom were taken prisoner, Sarrail imposed martial law and censorship. Greek Macedonia was divided into zones occupied by Allied forces, which completely replaced the Greek administrative set up.[30]

Meanwhile, venizelist politicians and officers (among them Periklis Argyropoulos, Alexander Zannas, Constantine Angelakis, Demetrios Dinkas, Pamikos Zymbrakakis, and Constantine Mazarakis) had transformed Thessaloniki into the centre of their political activities, concerned over the irrevocable loss of Greek suzerainty in the “New Lands” as well as the Royalists’ persecutions and successes in supplanting them. In December of 1915, they formed the Commission of National Defence, despite the reservations that were expressed by Venizelos, who, on the one hand, doubted that the Allies would give their support to such a movement and, on the other, did not wish to create a complete rift between him and Constantine’s regime. Nevertheless, the occupation of eastern Macedonia was catalytic: on the 29th of August there emerged in Thessaloniki a military movement of the National Defence, which managed to become established thanks to the intervention of the French forces, seeing that the majority of the Greek units and most of the officers of the machinery of government refused to support it. Venizelos himself assumed the leadership of the movement as head of the Revolutionary Caretaker Government and the so-called “Troika”, which was made up of Venizelos himself and two well-known high-ranking officers, Admiral Pavlos Kountouriotis and General Panagiotis Danglis. The basic mission of the caretaker government included the restoration of Greek integrity in the eyes of the Allies and at the same time, Greek suzerainty in Macedonia. For this purpose, it attempted, albeit without impressive results, to form an effective army and to recover at least a part of Greek administration of the region. The lack of a united stand and the unconditional support of the Allies as well as the reluctance of the population to respond to the mobi-

lization hindered this attempt. At the same time, it proceeded to take statutory measures, which were first applied in the area under its control, in other words, on Macedonian soil, which had not been occupied by the Bulgarian army, and on the islands of the Aegean and Crete. These measures included the introduction of the demotic language in primary education, the expropriation of the čiflik (or manors) with the intention of rehabilitating the landless, the institution of a statute for the church of the "New Lands", the introduction of a Directorate of Employment and a permit for a labour exchange to operate in Thessaloniki. The caretaker government finally received *de facto* recognition by the Allies. Its work was completed in June of 1917 with the forced removal of Constantine from the throne and his expulsion from Greece, following pressure by the Entente, the enthroning of his son, Alexander, and the return to power of Venizelos.[31]

2.3. Foreign propaganda in Greek Macedonia

The return to the scene of the Macedonian question, with the start of the war, did not involve only Serbian but also Greek soil. The secret diplomacy, the forced transfer of populations as a result of hostilities, and the presence of foreign troops in the region renewed the propagandistic activities over the future regime of Greek Macedonia and Thessaloniki. The propaganda did not come only from traditional claimant of Macedonia, Bulgaria, which in any case, from the moment it entered the war on the side of the Central Powers lost the ability to intervene effectively in the region or influence the governments of the Entente. During the period from 1915-1918, it emanated mainly from agents of France, Italy and Serbia, who, at times acting without the consent of their governments and at other times with their silent encouragement, exploited the absence of the Greek government from Macedonia to promote their own intentions.

The spread of French and Italian propaganda was seen more as a means of expanding the economic and commercial interests of the two states, and of the capital, which they represented, and rarely was it projected as purely political planning. In any case, the desire of many French politicians and military officers to transform post-war Thessaloniki into a French protectorate, did not meet with the approval of the official French diplomacy. The case of Serbia was of course different, seeing that it was a neighbour of Greece and also occupied Macedonia soil. The occupation and annexation of a large area of Ottoman Macedonia in 1912 appeared to satisfy the official Serbian stand. However, a part of the country's military, politicians and intellectuals had designs on Greek lands. The targets of Serbian propagandists were western Macedonia, where there was a large Slavic element, a section of whom had from the start indicated their preference for belonging to a Slavic state, and Thessaloniki, which was considered the natural end of the valley of the Morava and Axios (Vardar) rivers with a port that was essential for Serbian commerce. Greek-Serbian relations had been undermined after Constantine's refusal to assist Serbia militarily and Venizelos' removal from power. The crisis was intensified with the virtual ending of Greek suzerainty in Macedonia occasioned by the Allies, and the desire of the French officers to use Serbia for the consolidation and expansion of their position in the Balkans. However, after Venizelos returned to power and Greece formally entered the war, the Serbian political and military leadership appeared more willing to denounce the propagandistic activities.[32]

The foreign propaganda in Thessaloniki during the war often found support from the Jewish element of the city and especially from the merchant class, who watched in fear as Thessaloniki lost its hinterland and was slowly being transformed from the commercial centre of the Balkan Peninsula into a marginal town. The liberal policies of Venizelos and especially his commitment to allow special privileges for their community helped quell some of these anxieties. Despite this, the majority of the Jews

remained suspicious of the Greek administration, and often paid lip service to the view put forward by the Serbians, French and Italians calling for the formation of an "international" regime" in the city.[33]

2.4. Thessaloniki during the war years

During the war, Thessaloniki experienced her latest burst of brilliance as a cosmopolitan and multinational city. To her already multicultural character was added the refugees and the thousands of foreign soldiers who settled in the city centre and its environs. Their presence, despite the problems that were caused, vitalized the city's economic activity: the construction of military works offered work to the unemployed and refugees from eastern Macedonia and Thrace, commercial transactions revived the businesses which had suffered from the previous wars and at the same time driven prices of commodities to new heights. The channelling of funds from the Allies and the Greek government alike created an excessive supply of currency and, consequently, the volume of currency in circulation in the city over this period was greater than the value of goods in the port. Even though from the end of 1917 there were acute shortages of food and other goods, which led to their being rationed, the mortality rate of the population fell from 17% in 1914 to 3% in 1916 owing to the sanitary measures which were being taken by the Allied services.[34]

The former "Turkish city", called so in apparent disparagement, acquired a European appearance with café-chantants, cinemas, orchestras, cabarets, prostitution and in general an unprecedented cosmic and social life. Allied soldiers co-existed with local residents, Greek government workers and spies working for the Central Powers. Despite the enforcement of censorship, the press flourished and the city boasted nearly twenty newspapers written in seven different languages. The foreign soldiers photographed and filmed everything, saving on film scenes of buildings, districts and monuments, many of which were later destroyed.[35]

Besides the misery, the misfortunes and the many the drawbacks which the war brought to Thessaloniki, perhaps the most dramatic event of the time was the fire in August of 1917, which destroyed two-thirds of the city centre. The fire, which started by accident and was helped by the stiflingly compact street layout, wooden houses and high temperature at the time, spread from the seafront as far as the edge of Ano Poli and from Vardari Square until Nea Panagia.

> *"After four months without rain, every balcony had become dry kindling and with the wind blowing in a northwesterly direction, the city had little hope of escaping the catastrophe…Soon people began pouring out of their homes, loading their belongings on donkeys or carriages or dragging beds, clothes and other household items behind them, in a panic-stricken rush towards the seafront. Without there really being any water to be found anywhere in Ano Poli, the walls from one road to the other began collapsing as if they were trees in a blazing forest…".*[36]

In the space of a few hours, 120 hectares of the historic city centre had been, 70,000 residents had been left homeless, out of whom 70% were Jews, and the traditional appearance and structure of the city disappeared. The fire was a major catastrophe for the residents of the city and created an enormous housing problem, which was exacerbated by the presence of foreign soldiers and the arrival of refugees from Bulgarian occupied regions and the Ottoman empire. At the same time, however, it provided a unique opportunity for the reconstruction of the city. The Greek government moved quickly towards this goal with the intention, on the one hand, of eliminating the remaining

traces of the old Ottoman city and, on the other, of modernizing it. A joint Greek-British-French commission headed by the British architect, Thomas Mawson, who was soon replaced by his French colleague, Ernest Hébrard, was set up to oversee the reconstruction. The plan, however, was never fully implemented because of the frequent political changes, which were occasioned by the arrival of refugees from Asia Minor after 1922.[37]

2.5. The end of the war and the Treaty of Neuilly

The entry of Greece into the war brought to the Allied forces fresh new troops, which allowed them to take aggressive action on the Macedonian front. In September of 1918, the Allied army had slightly more superior firepower than the German and Bulgarian forces on the front (600,000 men against 450,000), something which gave the new French Commander-in-Chief, Franchet d'Esperey, the ability to order a general attack against enemy defence lines.[38] The severity of the attack as well as the exhaustion of the Bulgarians, which had been occasioned by the continuation of the war, led to the immediate breaching of the front. On the 30 of September, Bulgaria was forced to capitulate. The Allied forces continued to advance through Serbia, eastern Macedonia and Thrace, now threatening the rear of the Central Powers in the Balkans and the Ottoman capital. In fact, the Ottoman Empire capitulated on 30th October followed by Austro-Hungary and Germany on the 3rd and 11th of November respectively. Obviously the collapse of the Central Powers is not entirely due to the Allied victory in Macedonia; however, developments were accelerated by it.[39]

The end of the war was followed by peace treaties, which were dictated by the victorious major powers. In the Balkans, Bulgaria was forced under the provisions of the Treaty of Neuilly to return western Thrace to Greece, four small pockets of land to the new Kingdom of Serbians, Croatians and Slovenians, and northern Dovrutsa to Rumania. In this way it irrevocably lost access to the Aegean and relinquished additional land in Macedonia, a development, which was considered by the Bulgarians a second "national catastrophe" (the first was considered to be the outcome of the Second Balkan War). At the same time, the Treaty of Neuilly made provision for voluntary and reciprocal emigration of linguistic, religious, and ethnic minorities between Bulgaria and Greece. It is estimated that approximately 60,000 residents of Slavic descent abandoned their homes in Greek lands to emigrate to Bulgaria. To this number we should add another 40,000 Slavs from Greek Macedonia, mainly from central and eastern parts, who accompanied the defeated Bulgarian troops during and after the end of the Second Balkan war. On the other hand, approximately 45,000 Greeks abandoned Bulgarian soil to return to Greece during the period from 1913-1923.[40]

2.6. The change to the ethnological map of Greek Macedonia after the war

These transfers of populations, in combination with the arrival of refugees from the neighbouring countries, narrowed the multinational character of Greek Macedonia. Indicative of this was the change which was recorded in the ethnological composition of Thessaloniki: according to the census of 1913, the city had 157,889 residents, of whom 61,439 were Jews (38.9%), 45,867 Muslims (29%), 39,956 Greeks (25.3%), 6,262 Bulgarians (3.9%) and 4,364 foreigners (2.7%).[41] The emigration of Muslims, Slavs and Jews to Turkey, the neighbouring states and elsewhere, and the arrival of thousands of Greek refugees from the Bulgarian and Ottoman provinces radically changed the above correlations. In 1916, out of a total population of 165,704, Greeks moved into first place with 68,205 residents (41.16%), Jews fell to second place with 61,400 (37%), Muslims came third with 30,000 (18.10%), foreigners maintained their numbers at 4,300 (2.59%)

while Bulgarians had been reduced to 1,800 individuals (1.08%). Similar changes were recorded in the Macedonian hinterland, at least according to the official censuses made at the time.[42]

Nevertheless, the big upset was brought by the unsuccessful Greek campaign in Asia Minor, which came to be known as the Asia Minor catastrophe, and the subsequent Treaty of Lausanne, which made provision for the mandatory emigration of Orthodox Christians from Turkey and Muslims from Greece: 300,000 Muslims departed for good from Greek Macedonia, while their place was taken by approximately 600,000 Greek refugees from Asia Minor. With this change, the Greek element in Greek Macedonia went up from 42.6% in 1912 to 88.8% in 1926. The Jewish community, which was concentrated mainly in Thessaloniki, had smaller concentrations in other smaller urban centres, such as Kavala, Veria and Kastoria and did not exceed 70,000 people. The number corresponding to the Slavophone element cannot be estimated with accuracy: according to statistics from 1925 it reached approximately 160,000O people, while the corresponding statistics from 1925 show 80,000 people whose mother tongue was Bulgarian at a time when the total population of Greek Macedonia was already approaching one-and-a-half million.[43] The clear preponderance of the Greek element counteracted in deed the claims of the neighbouring states, especially Bulgaria, and at the same time finally determined the dominance of the Greek national state on Macedonian ground which was once part of the old, multinational Ottoman empire.

3. Government Administration And Political Activity On Macedonian Lands Of The Balkan States, 1913-1923

3.1. Greek Macedonia

3.1.1. The incorporation of the "New Lands" with the domain of Greece

From the very beginning, the Greek government was occupied with the structure and staffing of the administration of the new territorial possessions. Constantine requested the establishment of a political office, which would be under his personal control, and the execution of the actual administration by the military authorities, obviously intending that there be a carte blanche relinquishing of the administration of the "New Lands" to him. However, the government decided to entrust the caretaker administration of Macedonian provinces to Constantine Raktivan, who had been Minister of Justice until then. Raktivan arrived in Thessaloniki by steamship on the 11th of November. The following day, King George I, who was already in Thesssalonike, signed the decree appointing him, but did not hide his dissatisfaction over the fact that his son and successor, whom he considered to be the true master of the occupied lands, had been supplanted.[44]

Soon after his arrival in Thessaloniki, Raktivan addressed the Macedonian people in a proclamation which promised isonomy and equality before the law, regardless of nationality and religion because only that suited a "civilized" state. He demanded strict adherence of the law by the authorities and citizens alike. The administration followed the stipulations of International Law, which made provisions for maintaining the existing legislation in the occupied lands. In this way, the Ottoman laws dealing with the division of administration, the municipalities, the communities as well as Ottoman Civil and Commercial laws, were maintained. Simultaneously, however, Deeds of a legislative nature were published in order to cover the new needs, among which was a law

"concerning the administration of military-occupied lands", which provided for the creation of the position of Governor General, an institution which was to survive, with modifications, for several decades. The Governor General, who would represent the government in a wider geographical and administrative unit, would undertake the task of organizing and operating the public services, the appointment and dismissal of employees, the expenses of administration, the payroll, the maintenance and management of the public services and so on. It was, in a few words, a system of decentralization away from the central government and simultaneous concentration of power – legislative and executive – in the hands of the Governor General. This system gradually lost its effectiveness and was finally abolished in 1915 by the Gounaris government, when the full administrative dependence of Macedonia upon Athens was consolidated.[45]

For the time being, the Ottoman employees and gendarmerie kept their positions. Soon, however, the fez was banned in public places and whoever refused to acquire Greek citizenship was dismissed. Osman Sayd Bey, however, remained as mayor of Thessaloniki until 1916 and from 1920 to 1922. Greek was introduced as the language of administration in all of the "New Lands", Greek Customs tariffs were enforced and capitulations were abolished. The existing rights of international management of the "Ottoman Public Debt" and the "Ottoman Tobacco Monopoly" functioned smoothly until the middle of 1914. The Ottoman currency continued to circulate until 1915, when the International Finance Commission allowed the circulation of the drachma in the "New Lands". The moves towards the ecclesiastic incorporation of the "New Lands" into the Greek state, even though they began the day after the Balkan Wars, were completed (under a peculiar regime of jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate) only in 1928.[46]

The Greek army in Macedonia accompanied or followed a large number of administrators, gendarmes, and legal clerks, diplomats, lawyers, and engineers from old Greece and Crete. Their presence assisted in the administrative incorporation of the "New Lands" within the Greek domain but occasionally created problems and tension with the local residents, who felt that they were being supplanted. Besides, many southern Greeks considered their transfer to the "New Lands" an unfortunate move, with the result that employees of dubious quality staffed the state apparatus in the area. In his memoirs, Georgios Modis expresses his resentment at the low quality of the administrative staff from southern Greece, whom he considered "incompetent spellers" and maintained that the same "imagined that their main mission in the 'New Lands' was to enrich…".[47] Problems were also presented by the policy of the civil administrators towards the groups in Macedonia who were of different nationalities and spoke different languages. The multinational character of the region was for most of the administrators an unfamiliar phenomenon, while the fear of the ideology of Muslims, Jews and Slavophones often led to peremptoriness or indifference towards the problems of the new citizens of the state, something that hindered the attempts to assimilate them into the national body.[48]

3.1.2. Political life

The political activity in the region during the recent Ottoman past has been identified with the alliance with the individual national camps. This characteristic was inherited from the political life of Greek Macedonia, belonging to, however, the more general crisis of the National Rift ('Ethniko Shisma'). Unavoidably, the influence of IMRO (Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization) on the Slavic element and the New Turks on the Muslim was limited after the Balkan wars. On their part, the Jews, despite their suspicion of the Greek administration, joined the Greek political camps.[49]

Moreover, this happened with the Federation (The Socialist Labour Federation of Thessaloniki) the Jewish socialist organization, which had been formed in 1909 and had been incorporated into the Second International. Even though the Federation had expressed its support of autonomy for Macedonia, arguing that the division of the region on the basis of ethnic criteria was impossible, after 1914 it did not raise the question. In the spring of 1914, it supported the strike by tobacco workers in Kavala, Drama and Thessaloniki – the first instance of cooperation between Jewish and Greek workers – which ended triumphantly. During the first Panhellenic Socialist Conference, which took place in Athens in April of 1915 with the participation of the Federation, it was decided that the Socialists would take part in the elections with programmed goals for the preservation of the country's neutrality, a reduction in the taxation of the lower social classes, the promotion of the idea of a Balkan Confederacy and the release of socialist political detainees, among whom was the leader of the Federation, Avraam Benaroya. At the same conference it was decided to collaborate during the elections with the pro-royalist United Opposition of Demetrios Gounaris.[50]

The first national elections, in which the residents of the "New Lands" also participated, took place on the 31st of May 1915. There was participation in the elections by three basic coalitions: the United Opposition, the Liberal Party and the Popular-Independent Party. Even though overall the Liberals enjoyed a landslide victory obtaining 59% of the vote, in Macedonia, the pro-royalist United Opposition came out victorious for a number of reasons: the pro-Royalist feelings of a large part of the population, both Greek-speaking and Slavophone, the resentment of the Greek residents towards Venizelos when they learned that he had negotiated the handing over of Macedonia to Bulgaria in exchange for lands in Asia Minor, the anti-war stance of the Federation, which affected a large part of the Jewish proletariat of Thessaloniki, the refusal of local Muslims and Slavs to fight in the interests of Greek national goals, and other reasons. The significance of the participation of the "New Lands" in the elections was shown once again, not in the elections, which were to follow soon after in December 1915, which, as a result of the abstention of the Liberals did not upset the political scene, but in the crucial elections which took place in November 1920. Confronting one another were the ruling Liberal party, the anti-Venizelist opposition of the United Parties, once again headed by Gounaris, and, for the first time, the Socialist Workers Party of Greece, the forerunner to the Communist Party of Greece. The elections proved to be important not only because of the result (the defeat of Venizelos, the return of Constantine and the beginning of developments which were to lead to the catastrophe in Asia Minor) but also because of the stance taken against Venizelos by the ethnic minorities of the "New Lands", which was deemed antinational. The Liberals suffered a debacle in Macedonia, winning only 3 out of the 74 seats in the electoral district. In Thessaloniki itself, the anti-Venizelist opposition won from a total of 32,367 constituents 24,332 votes, the Liberals 15,236 and the Socialist Workers Party of Greece 12,919 votes. This traumatic experience of the Venizilists, some of whom maintained that "the Turkish and Jews toppled Venizelos", strengthened the view concerning the antinational minority vote, a view which, at any rate, was not necessarily shared by their political rivals. However, the dominance of Venizelos after the Asia Minor catastrophe and the arrival of refugees, led to the creation of discernible electoral associations for the Jews of Thessaloniki and the Muslims of western Thrace. This system, although the Greek Constitution never legitimised it, was applied during the election contests of 1923, 1928, 1932 and 1933.[51]

3.2. Serbian Macedonia

The administration of the "New Lands" in Serbia proved to be a much more complicated case than that of Greece. On the one hand, this was because the local Serb element in the regions of Kosovo and Macedonia was small in number, while the majority of the population displayed feelings ranging from indifference to hostility towards the Serb authorities. On the other hand, it was because both the army and the government were struggling hard to gain control of the local administration.

The Serb government did not promote the simultaneous enforcement of the laws of the realm in the Macedonian provinces. In other words, it gave priority to the provisions which aimed at the policing of the new areas and the exploitation of their revenue and military potential., while the granting of political rights which were enjoyed in the rest of the realm, was left for the future. In this way, over the period 1912- 1915, Belgrade administered the "New Lands" with special laws and decrees. This policy, apart from the fact that it ignored the basic political rights of the residents of north Macedonia and Kosovo, hindered their dealing with the acute social and economic problems in the region, such as the agrarian question, and, furthermore, perpetuated the power and influence of the military.[52]

After the Treaty of Bucharest, the Ministry of the Interior became solely responsible for the appointment of prefects and other employees of the local self-governing bodies; however, in spite of this, the army continued to have increased jurisdiction in the area. The rivalry between the political and military authorities of the country led, in the spring of 1914, to an open rift and the fall of the Pašić government. The new elections, however, as was the case with the promises of eventual incorporation of the new lands within the administrative, judicial and political system of the country, did not take place because of the start of the war.[53]

During the war, Bulgarian militia resumed their activities in Serbian Macedonia, carrying out sabotage and guerrilla warfare against Serb troops. After the collapse of the Serbian front in October of 1915, the Bulgarian army occupied the area and attempted in turn to enforce Bulgarian rule by proceeding to banish local Serb and Greek residents to the Bulgarian interior, replacing the local authorities and introducing martial law.[54]

After the end of the war, the Serbian Macedonia lands were incorporated within the kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The Slavo-Macedonian population was not recognized as a component nationality within the new Yugoslavian state nor as a noticeable minority and Belgrade named the region "North Serbia". The government implemented, with limited success, a programme of colonization of Macedonian lands with Serbs from Bosnia-Herzegovina and Vojvodina, expelled Bulgarian priests and teachers and attempted to suppress pro-Bulgarian movements.[55]

Soon IMRO, which was re-established in Sofia in 1919, resumed its armed activities in Yugoslavian Macedonia. To confront it, Belgrade was forced to maintain large military and police forces in the area. The turning point in the confrontation between them was the massacre at Kadrifakovo in January of 1923, which led to the implementation of emergency measures in harsh retaliation against IMRO supporters, the formation of local bodies of militia and collaboration with the Greek authorities (two protocols of collaboration were in fact signed on the 21st of September 1923 and on the 10th of March 1924). Similarly, an attempt at collaboration was made with the Agrarian Government in Sofia, but the coup of June 1923, which led to the assassination pf Alexander Stamboliiski, brought to a halt the negotiations for approximately a decade.[56]

During the first interwar years, IMRO maintained significant political influence in Yugoslavian Macedonia. It made approaches to the communists, who had adopted

the cause for Macedonian autonomy and supported them in the parliamentary elections of November 1920, raising the Communist party to the position of the leading party in the region with 38% of the votes at a time when in the rest of the domain their popularity did not exceed 13%. In 1923, however, the collaboration was ended as a result of the continued armed activities of IMRO and the rupture that was created between it and the Comintern Similarly, attempts to organize collaboration with the Croatian Agrarian Party, the Montenegrin secessionists and the Bosnian Muslims were unsuccessful. The inability to find allies within Yugoslavia and the exhaustion suffered by the local populace as a result of the activities of guerrilla groups gradually restricted the influence of IMRO and reinforced the Serb parties.[57]

3.3. Bulgarian Macedonia

The Macedonia lands, which were incorporated into Bulgaria under the Treaty of Bucharest, included the former sanjaks of Stromnitsa, Nevrokop, Petritsiou, Raslong and Upper Tzoumagia. The gains were meagre in comparison with the corresponding increases to the domains of Serbia and Greece; however, in these areas, the Bulgarian element was undoubtedly predominant, especially after the gradual emigration of Greeks and Turks. The administration of the "New Lands" in Bulgaria soon passed into the hands of the political leadership, despite the opposition of the military leaders. During the First World War, the Bulgarian administration was extended to lands in Serb and Greek Macedonia, which had been occupied by the army. Even then there was a clash of jurisdiction between the military and political authorities, with the former accusing the latter of misadministration and condemning the predatory behaviour on the part of their employees. The problems in connection with the replenishment of food supplies in these areas, problems which existed even within the Bulgaria itself, and the peremptoriness of the Bulgarian and German military forces heightened the resentment of local residents, even those who were considered Bulgarians, and led on occasion to local uprisings.[58]

After the end of the war, Bulgaria lost another small piece of Macedonian soil, the area of Stromnitsa, which passed into the possession of the Yugoslavian state. A significant number of refugees from Greece and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croatians, and Slovenes settled on the remaining Macedonian soil despite the attempts by the government of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union (1918-1923) of Stamboliiski to transfer them elsewhere in order to remove them from the influence of IMRO. The settlement of refugees in Bulgarian Macedonia and the strong influence, which was exercised on them by IMRO, determined the administration and the political activity not only in this particular area but throughout the whole of Bulgaria.[59]

During the interwar years, a tough struggle took place for control of Bulgarian Macedonia. The protagonists comprised almost all the political powers of the country – the peasants of Stamboliiski, the communists, IMRO, civilian parties – and the army. Until 1922, the Macedonia region of Pirin was a bulwark of the Bulgarian communist party, which controlled the majority of municipalities (Upper Tzoumagia, Raslong, Bransko, etc.), while the arrival of refugees increased even more the influence of the Bulgarian Communist Party. The Agrarian Union did not have a lot of influence in the region, so that is why at the local level it collaborated with the communists. On its part, IMRO wanted to establish Pirin as the base of its guerrilla activities in Greece and Yugoslavia and for this reason it tried to win the support of the refugee organizations and communities. The civilian parties, which were displeased with the policies of Stamboliiski sought collaboration with IMRO, granting it a free hand in the region. Soon the Bulgarian government lost control of Pirin. The military officers and public servants,

who had stood up to IMRO, were murdered or forced to abandon their positions. Armed raids by forces of the organization ended in the capture of important urban centres, such as Nevrokop and Kyustendil. Soon peasants, communists and federalists, the leftwing Macedonian organizations, fell victim to attacks, which ended in pogrom.[60]

The control of the area by IMRO was completely consolidated after the coup against the Agrarian government in power, which was organized by the opposition of civilian parties and the army in July of 1923. The fall from power of Stamboliiski and the assumption of the position of prime minister by the leader of the opposition, Alexander Tsankov, meant full freedom of action for IMRO in Pirin, which for the next ten years passed in essence under the administration of the central committee of the organization.[61]

Notes

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 * The dates referred to are based on the new calendar.
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10. Oikonomou, *op. cit.*, pp. 293-298.
11. G. Margarites, "I Polemoi [The Wars]", *Istoria tis Elladas tou 20ou aiona [History of Greece in the 20th century],* volume A2: *1900-1922: Oi aparches [The beginnings]* (ed. Ch. Chatziiosif), Athens 1999, pp. 165-167. For the capture of Florina see G. Modis, *Anamniseis [Recollections]* (ed. M. Pyrobetsi, I. Michailidis), Thessaloniki 2004, p. 159.
12. Oikonomou, *op. cit.*, pp. 327-330.
13. Stavrianos, *The Balkans*, p. 537.
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16. L. Tricha (ed.), *Imerologia kai grammata apo to metopo. Balkanikoi Polemoi, 1912-1913 [Diaries and Letters from the front. The Balkan Wars, 1912-1913]*, Athens 1993, p. 22, and Margaritis, *op. cit.*, pp. 170-171.

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XII. The Statistical Battle for the Population of Greek Macedonia

by Iakovos D. Michailidis

Most of the reports on Greece published by international organisations in the early 1990s spoke of the existence of 200,000 "Macedonians" in the northern part of the country. This "reasonable number", in the words of the Greek section of the Minority Rights Group, heightened the confusion regarding the Macedonian Question and fuelled insecurity in Greece's northern provinces.[1] This in itself would be of minor importance if the authors of these reports had not insisted on citing statistics from the turn of the century to prove their points: mustering historical ethnological arguments inevitably strengthened the force of their own case and excited the interest of the historians. Taking these reports as its starting-point, this present study will attempt an historical retrospective of the historiography of the early years of the century and a scientific *tour d'horizon* of the statistics – Greek, Slav and Western European – of that period, and thus endeavour to assess the accuracy of the arguments drawn from them.

For Greece, the first three decades of the 20th century were a long period of turmoil and change. Greek Macedonia at the end of the 1920s presented a totally different picture to that of the immediate post-Liberation period, just after the Balkan Wars. This was due on the one hand to the profound economic and social changes that followed its incorporation into Greece and on the other to the continual and extensive population shifts that marked that period. As has been noted, no fewer than 17 major population movements took place in Macedonia between 1913 and 1925.[2] Of these, the most significant were the Greek-Bulgarian and the Greek-Turkish exchanges of population under the terms, respectively, of the 1919 Treaty of Neuilly and the 1923 Lausanne Convention. The outcome was a Macedonia whose ethnological composition had been radically transformed.

In 1930 there were five principal language groups living in Greek Macedonia: Greek-speakers, Slavic-speakers, Turkish-speakers, Jews and Armenians. This study will not be looking at all of them, but will be confined exclusively to the issue of the Slavic-speaking populations. More specifically, the fundamental question it will try to answer is this: What was the numerical size of the Slavic-speaking population of Greek Macedonia following the exchange of populations, that is, at the end of the 1920s? This specific question becomes even more challenging in the light of the fact that, on the one hand, Greek and Slavic historians give significantly different answers to it, and, on the other, that this issue was the focus of particularly vexed ethnic confrontations and irredentist claims.

At this juncture there are three points that must be made: first of all, the statistics of a century ago were not based on uniform and objective criteria and, as a result, their reliability cannot be checked; secondly, these statistics are more a reflection of how their compilers saw the subjects surveyed and less of how those subjects saw themselves[3]; and, thirdly, the use of the term "statistics" refers to population data derived from information gathered by local government employees or ecclesiastical officials: it does not indicate an official census, that is, a systematic enumeration of the permanent population, but rather an assessment of that population's numerical dimensions. The Greek Consul at Monastir spoke of these particularities, and of the difficulties of statistical analysis, in a dispatch to the Greek Foreign Minister at the turn of the century:[4]

> *"Comprehending the great utility of statistical information for the whole of Macedonia as long as it is accurate, I have for many years now of my own*

> *initiative devoted myself, insofar as my other work permits, to gathering statistical material for the Vilayet of Bitola. Unfortunately, I have not been able to complete this important work, on account of the great and at times insuperable difficulties that arise in the accomplishment of the task. The official Turkish information published in the Year Books (Salnâme) is confused and far from complete and the names are often distorted. The diocesan records are meagre and unreliable, because the information is collected unwillingly and only concerns the Orthodox Christians within the diocese and even then with no sort of order or any distinction of administrative divisions. Those Greeks and teachers in remote districts who could be used to gather information are reluctant to undertake such a commission for fear lest in their inquiry they be misunderstood by the Turkish authorities or traduced to them; and when they do, they rarely complete the work exactly as instructed and in accordance with the examples furnished, so that, needing new clarifications, the task of compiling statistics is everywhere difficult, while in Turkey for the reasons set out it is extremely difficult and requires much time and persistence. The statistics from the churches and other sources being inaccurate and cursory are of no value whatsoever and may lead those who rely on them to faulty conclusions".*

As far as Greek historiography is concerned, the predominant view of the size of the Slavic-speaking population was expressed by Alexandros Pallis, member of the Greek-Bulgarian Mixed Commission during the critical decade of the 1920s. Pallis claimed that, at the beginning of 1925, while the reciprocal Greek-Bulgarian emigration was still under way, there were about 77,000 "*Bulgarisants*" (as he called them) in Macedonia, representing approximately 5.3% of the region's total population. He arrived at this figure by subtracting from the 104,000 pro-Bulgarians of 1920 the 27,000 Bulgarians who had emigrated to Bulgaria under the terms of the Treaty of Neuilly by the end of 1924. The number of Greeks in Macedonia, meanwhile, soared during this period to 1,277,000, or 88.3% of the region's total population.[5] In a later study, compiled in 1929, by which time the exchange of populations was complete and the ethnological composition of Macedonia had crystallised, Pallis put the number of "Bulgarians" in Macedonia at 82,000.[6] The official Greek census of 1928, which probably relied on Pallis' work, reported a figure of 81,984, of whom 80,789 lived in Macedonia and spoke "Slav-Macedonian", but did not state the criteria on which this conclusion was based. According to the 1928 census, the "speakers of Slav-Macedonian" lived in the following regions:[7]

Region	Number
Drama	4,114
Thessaloniki	1,427
Imathia	1,374
Kilkis	265
Langada	308
Paeonia	3,974
Pieria	20
Kavala	23
Kozani	3,310
Pella	19,570
Serres	7,715
Florina	28,886
Kastoria	9,680
Chalkidike	5
Mount Athos	118
Total	**80,789**

Pallis' figure of 104,000 "*Bulgarisants*" in Greek Macedonia at the beginning of the 1920s was based on statistics published in 1904 by the official Greek government mouthpiece, *Bulletin d' Orient*[8]. The statistics published in the *Bulletin d' Orient* reported the ethnological composition of the vilayets of Thessaloniki and Monastir at the turn of the century to be:[9]

Vilayet	Greeks	Bulgarians
Thessaloniki	372,831	189,447
Monastir	279,964	142,715
Total	**652,795**	**332,162**

The *Bulletin d' Orient* statistics were used fifteen years later by Vladimir Colocotronis, who, in his classic study *La Macedoine et l' Hellenisme. Etude historique et ethnologique*[10], attempted to adjust them to the geographical boundaries of Greek Macedonia. His conclusion was that on the eve of the Balkan Wars there were 488,484 "Patriarchist Greeks" and 115,909 "Exarchist Slavs" – or "Bulgarians", as he called them – living in Greek Macedonia. Colocotronis gives the following statistical breakdown:[11]

	Greeks	Bulgarians
Vilayet of Thessaloniki		
Sanjak of Thessaloniki		
Kaza of Thessaloniki	50,682	4,239
Kaza of Kassandra	40,746	0
Kaza of Mount Athos	3,761	210
Kaza of Langada	20,484	2,240
Kaza of Kilkis	625	17,436
Kaza of Katerini	18,429	0
Kaza of Veroia	26,971	0
Kaza of Edessa	16,859	5,149
Kaza of Yannitsa	18,583	1,763
*Kaza of Gevgelija**	664	3,187
*Kaza of Doirani**	518	1,307

	Greeks	**Bulgarians**
Sanjak of Serres		
Kaza of Serres	48,905	10,290
Kaza of Zichna	23,155	3,700
Kaza of Siderokastro	6,740	15,778
Kaza of Nevrokopi	2,530	11,611
Sanjak of Drama		
Kaza of Kavala	9,500	0
Kaza of Eleutheroupolis	10,175	0
Kaza of Chryssoupolis	460	0
Kaza of Drama	9,900	2,980
Thasos	13,050	0
Vilayet of Monastir		
Sanjak of Monastir		
*Kaza of Florina**	17,455	16,137
Kaza of Monastir	7,535	2,374
Sanjak of Servia		
Kaza of Kozani	16,120	0
Kaza of Servia	14,690	0
Kaza of Grevena	25,530	0
Kaza of Anaselitsa	23,653	0
Kaza of Ptolemaida	6,770	1,460
Sanjak of Korytsa		
Kaza of Kastoria	45,733	15,934
*Kaza of Korytsa**	8,261	114
Total	**488,484**	**115,909**

[The asterisk (*) indicates a kaza of which only part was in Greek Macedonia. More specifically, the compilers counted 23 villages in the kaza of Gevgelija, 8 villages in the kaza of Doirani, the city of Siderokastro (Demir Hisar) and 37 villages in that kaza, 14 villages in the kaza of Nevrokopi, the city of Florina and 54 villages in that kaza, 24 villages in the kaza of Monastir and 21 villages in the kaza of Korytsa].

According to Colocotronis, there were no Bulgarians at all in the kazas of Kassandra, Katerini, Veroia, Kavala, Chryssoupolis (Sari Saban), Eleutheroupolis (Pravi), Kozani, Servia, Grevena, Anaselitsa or on the island of Thasos. By contrast, the Bulgarians were in the majority in the kazas of Kilkis, Gevgelija, Doirani, Siderokastro and Nevrokopi. According to the same figures, 4% of the Bulgarian-speaking population lived in the kaza of Thessaloniki, 15% in the kaza of Kilkis, 5% in Edessa, 2% in Yannitsa, 3% in Gevgelija, 1% in Doirani, 9% in Serres, 3% in Zichna, 14% in Siderokastro, 10% in Nevrokopi, 3% in Drama, 14% in Florina, 2% in Monastir, 1% in Ptolemaida and 14% in Kastoria.

Pallis echoed Colocotronis' positions a few years later, the sole difference being that the latter's 115,909 "Bulgarians" had become 119,000. This minor discrepancy of roughly 3000 "Bulgarian-speakers" is easily explained if one takes into account the difficulty in calculating with any accuracy population figures for the kazas of Gevgelija, Doirani, Siderokastro, Drama, Florina, Monastir and Korytsa, of which only part be-

longed to Greece. The 119,000 "*Bulgarisants*" of the eve of the Balkan Wars were reduced by a further 15,000 emigrants during the period of the inter-allied war, thus yielding the figure of 104,000 in 1920.

During the 1920s, Pallis' arguments helped to shape the positions of the international community, for they were espoused by many League of Nations officials. In 1925 James Abraham wrote to John Campbell of the Commission for the Establishment of Refugees that, according to his information, the number of Slavic-speaking inhabitants of Greek Macedonia was between 80,000 and 100,000.[12] Campbell, for his part, thought that there could not be more than 70,000 Slavic-speakers in Greek Macedonia, although he admired Pallis, and thought him "*particularly well-informed*".[13] It is further worth noting that the League of Nations officials of that time used the terms "Bulgarians" and "Bulgarian-speakers", the distinction being that the latter were not hostile towards the Greek state.[14]

Perhaps the most representative example of Pallis' influence was the 1926 League of Nations map showing the population distribution of Greek Macedonia in 1912 and in 1925. This map reflected his views exactly, citing a figure of 77,000 "*Bulgarisants*",[15] while the League of Nations table presented the ethnological composition of Greek Macedonia as follows:

Region	**Greeks %**		**Muslims %**		**Bulgarians %**		**Others %**	
	1912	**1926**	**1912**	**1926**	**1912**	**1926**	**1912**	**1926**
Grevena	78	96	18	0	4	4	0	0
Katerini	80	100	18	0	2	0	0	0
Kozani	60	100	40	0	0	0	0	0
Anaselitsa	75	100	25	0	0	0	0	0
Ptolemaida	20	93	76	0	4	4	0	3
Veroia	70	93	20	0	0	0	10	7
Florina	32	61	32	0	35	37	1	2
Edessa	40	86	48	0	12	14	0	0
Notia	54	64	0	0	46	26	0	5
Kastoria	56	78	24	0	19	22	1	0
Yannitsa	56	96	39	0	5	4	0	0
Goumenissa	36	79	42	0	17	19	5	2
Thessaloniki	29	80	26	0	0	0	45	20
Kilkis	0	97	66	0	29	0	3	3
Langada	36	100	60	0	4	0	0	0
Chalkidike	86	97	14	0	0	0	0	3
Siderokastro	19	84	40	0	37	15	4	1
Serres	47	94	40	0	9	6	4	0
Zichna	74	95	17	0	7	5	2	0
Eleutheroupolis	40	100	60	0	0	0	0	0
Drama	15	97	79	0	5	0	1	3
Kavala	29	100	69	0	0	0	2	0
Nestos	98	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
Thasos	100	100	0	0	0	0	0	0

Pallis' positions were adopted in later years by most of the Greeks who dealt with the matter, even the most prestigious: some of the most characteristic examples being George Zotiadis, *The Macedonian Controversy*[16]; Dimitris Pentzopoulos, *The Balkan Exchange of Minorities and its Impact upon Greece*[17]; Evanghelos Kofos, *Nationalism*

and Communism in Macedonia[18]; and Stelios Nestor, "Greek Macedonia and the Treaty of Neuilly".[19]

On their side, the Slav historians published different and strikingly larger numbers for the size of Greece's Slavic-speaking population. Here, there are two points that must be noted: first, that the Bulgarian historians' interest in Macedonia slackened after 1945, while that of their Yugoslav colleagues intensified; and, second, that in this context and for our purposes Yugoslav historiography means the positions of the historians of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, whose views on Macedonia were adopted, within the framework of party legitimacy, by the other historians from the former Yugoslavia. Let it be noted that, within this framework and without convincing archival documentation, the Yugoslav historians renamed the bilingual inhabitants of Greece, calling the Bulgarians "Macedonians". The choice of term was certainly part of their attempted de-Bulgarisation of history, intended to give historic foundations to the newly constituted "Socialist Republic of Macedonia".[20]

It is highly significant that the positions of the Yugoslav historians on the population composition of Macedonia have not changed a whit in fifty years. Essentially, their starting-point was the speeches given at the People's University of Skopje by the President of IMRO United and member of the presidency of the Anti-Fascist Assembly of the People's Liberation of Macedonia, Dimitar Vlahov, in 1945-1947. Vlahov argued that, once the exchanges of populations (between Greece and Bulgaria and between Greece and Turkey) were complete, there were still about 269,000 "Macedonians" in "Aegean Macedonia".[21] Vlahov's positions were subsequently repeated by Yugoslav historians, the majority of them Slav-Macedonians. Thus, a few years later, Christos Antonovski, a political refugee from Chryssa in the district of Pella and secretary, during the Occupation, of the communist *Aktida* group in Edessa, confirmed Vlahov's figures.[22] More recent historical research has also accepted these numbers, with only minor changes. More specifically, Mihail Keramitzieff from the village of Gavros (Kastoria district), a SNOF cadre during the Occupation, member of the EAM national assembly and People's Liberation Front cadre during the Greek Civil War, held that the number of "Macedonians" in "Aegean Macedonia" in 1928 could not have been less than 220,000.[23] Stojan Kiselinovski, a child of the "*paidomazoma*" from the Kastoria region, spoke of 243,067,[24] while Toso Popovski inflated the number even further, to 247,139.[25]

At this point we should look more closely at how the Yugoslav historians arrived at this magic number of 220-260,000 "Macedonians" in 1930. Their starting-point was the population of Macedonia in 1912, on the eve of the Balkan Wars. The Yugoslav historians adopted the figures given by Professor Jordan Ivanov of the University of Sofia,[26] which recorded a total of 329,371 "Bulgarians", in Ivanov's term, whom the Yugoslavs however called "Macedonians".[27] The figures published by Ivanov refer to entire *kazas*, and not just those parts of them lying within Greece's borders, and are reproduced below:

Kaza	Bulgarians	Greeks
Thessaloniki	27,500	31,000
Langada	8,300	8,900
Kassandra	0	33,000
Mount Athos	1,430	4,330
Kilkis	18,236	0
Doirani	9,500	0
Gevgelija	20,300	15

Kaza	Bulgarians	Greeks
Yannitsa	19,950	12
Veroia	7,250	15,000
Katerini	0	14,000
Edessa	15,200	0
Serres	28,250	28,410
Siderokastro	22,100	215
Zichna	12,000	13,400
Drama	14,500	6,700
Kavala	5,520	14,000
Eleutheroupolis	600	10,600
Chryssoupolis	115	30
Nevrokopi	67,000	720
Monastir	70,550	170
Florina	36,320	30
Kastoria	41,250	12,035
Anaselitsa	1,100	31,000
Ptolemaida	7,480	3,800
Kozani	0	15,490
Grevena	0	18,000
Korytsa	6,890	0
Total	**441,341**	260,857

Yugoslav historians also accepted as accurate the figures published in 1941 by Dr Vladimir Rumenov[28], depicting the emigration of Slavic-speakers from Greece to Bulgaria and Serbia. According to Rumenov, a total of 86,582 Bulgarian-speakers emigrated from Greece in the years 1913-1928.[29] These emigrants came from the following regions:

Region	Number of Emigrants
Kilkis	18,959
Serres	11,404
Nevrokopi	11,223
Siderokastro	10,756
Thessaloniki (city)	7,285
Yannitsa	7,257
Goumenissa	5,195
Drama	4,233
Kastoria	3,577
Thessaloniki	1,782
Florina	1,676
Langada	1,581
Zichna	1,492
Aridaia	1,233
Edessa	449
Ptolemaida	381
Nigrita	326
Veroia	114
Southern regions	285
Total	**89,208**

Taking Ivanov's figures as their starting-point, the Yugoslav historians proceeded to calculate the population changes that had taken place in Greek Macedonia from the Balkan Wars to the end of the 1920s. They subtracted from the 1913 figure of 329,371 Slavic-speakers the 86,582 who, according to Rumenov, had emigrated after the Balkan Wars, and found 242,789 "Macedonians". From this figure they subtracted a further 10-15,000 Slavic-speakers who emigrated to the USA and Canada during the same period. This, with the addition of the natural demographic increase over the same period, gives the figure of 220-260,000 "Macedonians" cited by Yugoslav historians as living in Greek Macedonia in 1930.

This analysis has attempted to present the basic arguments of both Greek and Yugoslav historiography regarding the Slav-speaking populations of Greek Macedonia, and to account for the huge differences between them. It is certain, however, that neither the Greek nor the Yugoslav arguments to date have encapsulated the true ethnological composition of the Macedonia of 1930. A more careful study of these arguments shows that the calculations cited above were more the fruit of nationalist claims than the result of reliable historical research.

With regard to Alexandros Pallis' figures and calculations, the following points must be made: In his first two studies, published in 1925 and 1929, Pallis called the Slavic-speaking population of Macedonia "*Bulgarisants*" or "Bulgarians", and clearly stated that they lacked any Greek national consciousness.[30] This shows that he was referring to the Slav-speaking Exarchists of the turn of the century. The former Patriarchists, by contrast, had in all probability deemed themselves Greek and become assimilated. These observations were not, apparently, novel in inter-war Greece. It is characteristic that even Stephanos Ladas, a member of the Greek-Bulgarian Mixed Commission, in his classic *The Exchange of Minorities. Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey* put the number of "Bulgarians" in Greek Macedonia in 1928 at 82,000.[31]

And while inter-war Greek historiography was absolutely clear in its use of the terms "Bulgarians" and "*Bulgarisants*", within two decades, when on the one hand the Socialist Republic of Macedonia had become a reality and on the other the old hostilities relating to the Macedonian Question had been rekindled, the historical facts had been modified. First Pallis himself, in a speech given in 1949, with memories of the Civil War still fresh, re-labelled the 77000 "*Bulgarisants*" "Slavic-speakers".[32] This change of appellation, however, caused confusion, since the term "Slavic-speakers", as originally used by Vassilios Kolocotronis in 1919 and which later prevailed, designated the former Patriarchist Slavic-speakers, that is, those whose national consciousness was unquestionably Greek.[33] This led to the conclusion that the figure of 77,000 referred to the total number of Slavic-speakers, Patriarchists and Exarchists, and not just the Exarchists as Pallis had clearly stated in the 1920s.

Pallis was thus essentially accepting the official Greek statistics of 1928, a set of figures most probably based on the earlier studies published by Pallis himself but without adopting his precise use of terms. More specifically, those whom Pallis had in 1925 called "*Bulgarisants*" were converted in the 1928 statistics, as we have seen, to "speakers of Slav-Macedonian", although most of them, as was made clear, were of Greek national consciousness. The compiler of that census did not state the criteria upon which his conclusion was based. In addition, the figures cited for the number of Slavic-speakers referred to the "sub-districts" *in toto* and not to the villages.[34]

Finally, with regard to post-war Greek historiography, we must make a certain number of observations. Most of the works focusing on the Macedonian Question were written in the 1960s (Zotiadis, Kofos, Pentzopoulos, Nestor). Despite their – in many ways – more modern ideas, the authors of these works appear to have been unable en-

tirely to shed the uncertainty and deep concern about the fate of Macedonia that gripped Greek public opinion. This is shown by their position with regard to the question of the Slav-speaking populations: while they all cite either Pallis' figures or the official census of 1928, they do not adopt his designations (Bulgarians and "*Bulgarisants*"), but prefer the term "Slavic-speakers", which, as we have seen, did not in the post-war period refer to the pro-Bulgarian former Exarchists.

Turning to the Yugoslav historians, there are two things that must be noted in order to understand their position. The first is that their claim of the existence of around 260,000 "Macedonians" is false because their calculations are based on a faulty premise, namely Ivanov's census. Ivanov, however, using mother tongue as his criterion, described all the Slavic-speakers of the Balkans as "Bulgarians", disregarding the fact that many of them unquestionably had a Greek or a Serbian national consciousness. The second point is that the Yugoslav historians re-labelled all of Ivanov's "Bulgarians" in Greek Macedonia as "Macedonians". This, however, is at the very least presumptuous, since on the one hand the term "Macedonians" is not attested in the sources and on the other because yet again it does not distinguish those who had formerly been called "Graecomans". This is a deliberate strategy on the part of the Yugoslav historians, and it is connected with the post-1945 process of constructing a single Macedonian state. It is perfectly illustrated by these words, spoken by Vlahov in an address to the people of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia: "With these lessons I shall endeavour also to enlighten the reader on the matter of the existence of a Macedonian nation. Its existence is a fact, this nation does exist, the Macedonian nation has a fully developed national consciousness".[35] Similarly, L. Moesoff, in a foreword to one of Vlahov's works, defined the goals of "Macedonian" historiography as follows: a) repudiation of the Bulgarian, Serbian and Greek "Great Idea" theories relating to the origin and ethnic character of the "Macedonians" and exposure of their chauvinist nature, b) full recording of more remote and more recent history of the "Macedonian people" and c) adoption of the Marxist approach to the historic past.[36]

It is certain that, despite the Treaty of Neuilly, not all the Slavic-speakers who had no Greek national consciousness had left Greece. Their number must have been significant, but it never reached the figures given by the Yugoslav historians. It is almost certain that the figure of 80,000 cited by the 1928 census includes only the former Exarchist Slavic-speakers. The former Patriarchists, the "Graecomans" of the turn of the century, seem not to have been counted separately but incorporated, justifiably, into the remainder of the Greek population. This conclusion is also borne out by the confidential census carried out by the Governor General of Macedonia at the beginning of 1925, shortly before the exchange of populations between Greece and Bulgaria was complete.[37] This census enumerates former Patriarchist Slavic-speakers, reporting a total of 76,098, and former Exarchist Slavic-speakers, for whom it gives a figure of 97,636. Of these latter, a total of 11,228 would eventually emigrate, thus bringing the number of former Exarchists to 86,408. This means that, on the basis of the 1925 census, the total number of bilingual Slavic-speakers was 162,506. Of course, the distinction between former Patriarchists and former Exarchists does not necessarily mean that all the members of each group had the same national consciousness, Greek or otherwise. The 1925 census breaks down as follows:

Region	**Slavic-speakers**		
	Former Patri-archists	**Former Schismatics**	**Emigrants**
Thessaloniki	6,916	1,661	3
Langada	11,464	0	0
Kilkis	368	231	20
Goumenissa	3,543	5,139	1,936
Katerini	30	0	0
Pella	6,109	8,739	21
Notia	5,059	4,614	443
Yannitsa	1,854	14,884	7,147
Veroia	1,109	735	16
Florina	11,293	34,234	10
Kastoria	7,339	14,607	10
Kozani	0	0	0
Ptolemaida	4,494	3,443	6
Grevena	0	0	0
Anaselitsa	0	0	0
Serres	4,124	2,376	0
Nigrita	617	0	0
Zichna	1,865	606	0
Siderokastro	4,307	4,253	290
Chalkidike	0	0	0
Arnaia	0	0	0
Drama	5,207	780	44
Nevrokopi	399	1,334	1,282
Kavala	0	0	0
Total	**76,098**	**97,636**	**11,228**

These figures clearly show that the overwhelming majority of the Slavic-speaking population – both former Patriarchists, to a lesser degree, and former Exarchists, to a greater – lived in Western Macedonia, in the regions of Florina and Kastoria and in those of Notia, Pella and Yannitsa (62% of the Slavic-speakers lived in the three administrative districts of Florina, Kastoria and Pella), with correspondingly fewer in Central and Eastern Macedonia. More specifically:

a) Slavic-speakers (former Patriarchists and Exarchists) accounted for 11% of the total population of Macedonia, and 2.6% of the total population of Greece (6,204,684, according the 1928 census).
b) Slavic-speakers accounted for 27% of the total population of Western Macedonia, 8% in Central Macedonia and 6% in Eastern Macedonia.
c) 75,384 Slavic-speakers, or 46%, lived in Western Macedonia, and 69% of these were former Exarchists. The corresponding figures for Central Macedonia were 62,870 Slavic-speakers, or 39% (16% former Exarchists) and for Eastern Macedonia 24,252 Slavic-speakers, or 15% (5% former Exarchists).
d) Slavic-speakers formed the majority of the population only in the Prefecture of Florina. More specifically, they accounted for 77% of the population of the Prefecture of Florina, 45% in the Prefecture of Kastoria, 31% in the Prefecture of Pella, 17% in the Prefecture of Serres, 10% in the Prefecture of Kilkis, 7% in the Prefecture of Kozani, 4% in the Prefecture of Drama, 4% in the Prefecture of Thessaloniki and 3% in the Prefecture of Imathia.

e) There were no Slavic-speakers at all in the regions of Kozani, Anaselitsa, Grevena, Chalkidike, Arnaia and Kavala, and only a handful in the Katerini district (just 30 former Patriarchists).

The validity of this census is further confirmed by the fact that it was published in part by Z. Ancel in 1930 in his book *La Macedoine et son Evolution Contemporaine.* The main difference between the two sets of figures is that Ancel makes a distinction between Greeks and Slavs and counts the former Patriarchists as Greeks, while the original census counted both former Exarchists and former Patriarchists separately. It is also significant that Ancel notes that Pallis in all probability helped compile the statistics.[38] The figures published by Ancel are given below:[39]

Region	Slavic-speakers
Siderokastro	4,543
Serres	2,376
Zichna	606
Nigrita	0
Prefecture of Serres	***7,525***
Chalkidike	0
Arnaia	0
Prefecture of Chalkidike	***0***
Kilkis	251
Langada	0
Paeonia	7,075
Thessaloniki	1,664
Veroia	751
Pieria	0
Almopia	5,057
Yannitsa	22,031
Edessa	8,750
Prefecture of Pella	***35,838***
Eordaia	3,449
Kozani	0
Anaselitsa	0
Grevena	0
Prefecture of Kozani	***3,449***
Florina	34,244
Kastoria	14,617
Total	**105,414**

The 1925 census was not, however, the only official document to mention the existence of about 160,000 Slavic-speakers in Greek Macedonia at the end of the 1920s. A host of other texts by various Greek officials support this figure. G. Tzorbatzis, Greek representative on the Greek-Bulgarian Mixed Commission, wrote to Foreign Minister G. Roussos that about 160,000 Slavic-speakers remained in Greece after completion of the exchange of populations. Tzorbatzis further observed that 1/3 of these Slavic-speakers had always been faithful to the Greek administration, while the other 2/3 "were indifferent to both Bulgarian and Serbian propaganda and would assimilate".[40] Local ethnological statistics sent by the Prefecture of Florina in January 1925 to the Governor

General in Thessaloniki mentioned 41,301 Slavic-speaking peasants, of whom 12,628 were former Patriarchists and 28,673 former Exarchists.[41] In 1930 the Prefect of Florina, Pavlos Kalligas, wrote that there were a total of 76,370 Slavic-speakers in his region (districts of Florina and Kastoria), or 60% of a total population of 125,722.[42] This was also the finding of military reports from that period, which cited a figure of 77,650 Slavic-speakers in the above regions.[43] The 1925 census figures tell a similar story: more specifically, they show 67,453 Slavic-speakers in the region of Florina and Kastoria, out of a total regional population of 107,577, which means that they accounted for about 62% of the population of those two prefectures.

These figures also agree with a host of other statistics on the size of the Slavic-speaking population of Macedonia on the eve of the Balkan Wars and at the beginning of the 1920s, before the exchanges of populations began. It seems, therefore, that the total Slavic-speaking population of Greek Macedonia in the period of the Balkan Wars must have been about 250,000. This number, for example, is supported by a table contained in the archives of Stephanos Dragoumis, first Governor General of Macedonia immediately after the Balkan Wars. This table gives a figure of 252,408 for the Slavic-speaking population of Greek Macedonia, of whom 70,856 are described as "Slavic-speaking Greeks" and 181,552 as "Bulgarian Schismatics, Protestants and Uniates".[44] Analytically, on the basis of this table, the district of Thessaloniki had in 1912 (among others) 27,808 "Slavic-speaking Greeks" and 68,871 "Bulgarians", the district of Kozani 6321 and 2550, the district of Florina 20,745 and 56,623, the district of Serres 12,552 and 35,735 and the district of Drama 3430 and 17.773 respectively. In addition, in a dispatch from the Governor General of Macedonia to the president of the Council of Ministers, the "Exarchist Slavophone" population of Greek Macedonia in 1912 was estimated at 165,682.[45] More specifically, there were 9174 "Exarchists" in the district of Thessaloniki, 2088 in the district of Langada, 16,000 in the district of Kilkis, 4785 in the part of the district of Gevgelija that belonged to Greece, 18,633 in the district of Yannitsa, 7379 in the district of Edessa, 6770 in the district of Aridaia, 1675 in the district of Veroia, 26,724 in the district of Florina, 25,341 in the district of Kastoria, 4924 in the part of the district of Korytsa that had been annexed to Greece, 1988 in the district of Ptolemaida, 36,000 in the district of Serres and 4201 in the district of Drama. Immediately after the Balkan Wars, and with the departure from Greece of some 40-45,000 "Bulgarians" in this period nearly complete, the Slavic-speaking population of Greek Macedonia fell to approximately 200,000. According to the ethnological statistical survey of Greek Macedonia carried out in August 1915, the total number of Slavic-speakers living in Greek Macedonia was 208,829, of whom 74,887 were "Slavic-speaking Greeks" and 133,942 "former Schismatics".[46] Analytically, the sub-district of Kozani had 6447 "Slavic-speaking Greeks" and 2513 "former Schismatics", the sub-district of Florina 21,386 and 55,764, the sub-district of Thessaloniki 29,971 and 42,410, the sub-district of Serres 13,179 and 19,974 and the sub-district of Drama 3904 and 13,281 respectively.

This analysis has tried to adopt a different approach to the question of the ethnological composition of Macedonia between the wars. It has attempted to show that the founding of a new nation, and far more of an "unredeemed" minority (here the "Macedonians"), was based on a simple and arbitrary piece of accounting that lay in the renaming of Professor Ivanov's "Bulgarians". It has further pointed out that the insecurity of the Cold War period led Greek historians to adopt a defensive attitude, an attitude of apology towards the country's national interests, an attitude that generated obvious inconsistencies.

The reality is that the Slavic-speaking population of Macedonia (former Patriarchists and Exarchists) in 1930 was approximately 160,000. This is the figure that

consistently emerges from virtually all the archival and bibliographical material of the inter-war period. Any attempt to reduce it not only raises question about the criteria used but also opens the door to a muck-raking use of historical sources that is facilitated by the many government documents containing hasty and usually erroneous estimates. One must not, however, overlook the fact that, despite their still substantial numbers, the strategic importance of the Slavic-speaking population had significantly decreased, since it no longer accounted for more than 11% of the total population of Greek Macedonia.

Notes

1. Vlasis Vlasidis & Veniamin Karakostanoglou, "Recycling Propaganda: Remarks on Recent Reports on Greece's Slav-Macedonian Minority", *Balkan Studies*, 36/1 (1995), 159-160.
2. A. Pallis, Statistiki meleti peri ton phyletikon metanastefseon Makedonias kai Thrakis kata tin periodo 1912-1924 [Statistical study of the racial migrations in Macedonia and Thrace in the period 1912-1924], Athens 1925, pp. 5-9.
3. Ioannis S. Koliopoulos, Leilasia Phronimaton. To makedoniko zetema stin katechomene Dytike Makedonia [Plundered Loyalties. The Macedonian Question in Occupied Western Macedonia], Thessaloniki 1994, p. 40.
4. Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (hereafter I.A.Y.E.)/1900/AAK/D, "Anaphorai kai ektheseis proxenikon archon peri ton en te peripheria ton Metropoliton kai Episkopon Oekoumenikou Thronou kai voulgarikis Exarchias" ["Consular reports on the Metropolitans and Bishops of the Ecumenical Throne and the Bulgarian Exarchate in their districts"], M. Bettos to Athos Romanos, Monastir, 27 March 1900, no. 70.
5. Pallis, *Statistical study*, 16.
6. A. A. Pallis, Sylloge ton kyrioteron statistikon ton aphoroson tin antallagin ton plythismon kai prosphygikin apokatastasin meta analyseos kai epexigiseos, [Compilation of the chief statistics concerning the exchange of populations and the resettlement of refugees with analysis and explanations], Athens 1929, p. 10.
7. Ministry of National Economy/ National Statistics Service, Statistika apotelesmata tis apographis tou plethismou tis Ellados tis 15-16 Maiou 1928. IV. Topos genniseos – Threskeia kai glossa – Ypekootis [Statistical results of the 15-16 May 1928 census of the population of Greece. IV. Place of birth – Religion and language – Citizenship], Athens 1935, lxiv, pp. 320-324, 335-336.
8. The *Bulletin d' Orient* was published by the Greek Foreign Ministry for the benefit of European public opinion. It was edited by Markos Dragoumis, Professor Andreadis and, later, Pericles Argyropoulos. Cf. Pericles Alex. Argyropoulos, "O Makedonikos Agon. Apomnemonevmata" [The Macedonian Struggle. Memoirs], in *O Makedonikos Agon. Apomnemonevmata* [*The Macedonian Struggle. Memoirs*], Institute for Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki 1984, p. 6.
9. Giovanni Amadori-Virgilj, *La Questione Rumeliota e la Politica Italiana*, Bitonto 1908, vol. 1, p. 255.
10. Athens 1919, p. 516.
11. Colocotronis, *op. cit.,* p. 618.
12. Archives de la Société des Nations 1919-1946/ Office Autonome pour l' Etablissement des Réfugiés Grecs: Files of Mr. Charles B. Eddy/ C.129, No 1, Abraham to Campbell, Geneva, 8 April 1925.
13. Offfice Autonome pour l' Etablissement des Réfugiés Grecs: Files of Mr. Charles B. Eddy/C.129, No 1, Campbell to Abraham, Geneva (?) 11 May 1925.
14. Office Autonome pour l' Etablissement des Réfugiés Grecs: Files of Mr. Charles B. Eddy/C.129, No 1, Campbell to Lindsay, Geneva (?), 29 April 1925.
15. Commission d' Etablissement des Réfugiés, Athènes, «Carte Ethnographique de la Macedoine héllenique indiquant la proportion entre les divers élements ethniques en 1912 (avant les guerres balkaniques) et 1926 (après installation des réfuges)», in So-

ciété des Nations, *L' Etablissement des Réfugiés en Grèce,* Geneva 1926 ; see also H. R. Wilkinson, *Maps and Politics,* Liverpool 1951, pp. 264-268. Wilkinson carries this thinking much further and argues that the ethnographic map published by the League of Nations is merely the Greek view of the population structure of Macedonia.

16. Thessaloniki 1961, p. 40.
17. The Hague 1962, p. 129.
18. Thessaloniki 1964, p. 48.
19. *Balkan Studies*, 3 (1962), 183.
20. Evangelos Kofos, I Makedonia stin yugoslaviki istoriographia [Macedonia in Yugoslavian Historiography], Thessaloniki 1974, pp. 10-11.
21. Dimitar Vlahov, Omiliai kai arthra 1945-1947 [Lectures and articles], Skopje 1947, p. 180.
22. Christos Antonovski, *Aigeiaki Makedonia*, (*Aegean Macedonia*), Skopje 1951, p. 20.
23. Mihail Keramitzieff, «I Makedonia tou Aigaiou ypo tin ellinikin archin» ["Aegean Macedonia under Greek Rule"] in D. Zografski-G. Ambatzieff-A. Mitrev-M. Keramitzieff (eds.), *I Makedonia tou Aigaiou eis tin istorian mas* [*Aegean Macedonia in our history*], polygraph translation from the Institute for Balkan Studies, p. 47. This was also argued by Christos Antonovski, cf. Christos Antonovski, «Makedonskoto Natsionalno Maltsistvo vo Gourtsia, Bulgaria i Albania» [The Macedonian ethnic minority in Greece, Bulgaria and Albania], *Glassnik,* 18. (Skopje, 1974), 38.
24. Stojan Kiselinovski, Groutskata Kolonizatsia vo Egeiska Makedonia 1913-1940 [Greek Colonisation in Aegean Macedonia], Skopje 1981, p. 54.
25. Toso Popovski, «Makedonskoto Natsionalno Maltsistvo vo Gourtsia, Bulgaria i Albania» [The Macedonian ethnic minority in Greece, Bulgaria and Albania], Skopje 1981, 103.
26. Jordan Ivanov was born in Kyustendil, Bulgaria, in 1872. He studied Slavic Philology at the University of Sofia, and from 1892 to 1894 specialised in literature at the same institution. In 1906, as secretary of the Bulgarian commercial mission to Thessaloniki, he travelled to many parts of Macedonia and studied its history and culture. For many years he held the chair of Bulgarian Literature at the University of Sofia, and was one of Bulgaria's most distinguished academics. He died in 1947. Cf. Milan Kumanov, *Kratouk istoritseska spravotsnik* [*Macedonia. Brief historical handbook*], Sofia 1993, p. 105.
27. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Report of the International Commission to Inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars, Washington D.C.1914, pp. 194-195.
28. Vladimir Rumenov (1870-1939) was born in Krušovo and studied medicine in Moscow. As a youth he joined IMRO, and during the Ilinden Uprising worked for the relief of the Bulgarian refugees from Macedonia. After the revolution of the Young Turks, in 1908, he helped found the "Union of Constitutional Societies in Macedonia". During the Balkan Wars and World War I he served as an army doctor. Afterwards, he became involved in the activities of the Macedonian brotherhoods of Refugees from Macedonia. He was also a member of the Macedonian parliamentary group during the 11th and 12th Ordinary Popular Assembly. See Kumanov, *Makedonia,* 221, Ilia Galchev, *Zvtravosotsialnata deinost va Bulgarskata Exarhia v Makedonia i Trakia (1870-1913)* [*Medical and social activity of the Exarchate in Macedonia and Thrace (1870-1913)*], Sofia 1994, pp. 102-103.
29. Cf. Rumenov, «Bulgarite v Makedonia pod Groutska Vlast» [The Bulgarians of Macedonia under Greek Rule], *Makedonska Pregled,* 4 (Sofia, 1941), 90.
30. Pallis, Statistical study, p. 9.
31. Pp. 122-123.
32. A. A. Pallis, Macedonia and the Macedonians. A Historical Study, London 1949, p. 9.
33. V. Kolocotronis, La Macedoine et L' Hellenisme. Etude Historique et Ethnologique, Paris 1919, p. 516.
34. National Statistical Service, *op. cit.*, lxiv, pp. 320-324, 335-336.

35. Vlahov, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
36. D. Vlahov, Makedonia. Stigmiotypa ek tis istorias tou Makedonikou laou [Macedonia. Moments in the history of the Macedonian people], Skopje 1950, vol. 1.
37. AYE/1925/B/40,2, «Synoptiki statistiki tou plethismou tis Genikis Diikiseos Makedonias (archas 1925)» and «Synoptiki statistiki plethismou Dytikis Thrakis kai Anatolikis Makedonias 1925» [“Summary statistics for the population of the General Government of Macedonia (early 1925)”] and [“Summary statistics for the population of the Western Thrace and Eastern Macedonia (1925)”], Komotini, 19 November 1925.
38. Wilkinson, *op. cit.,* p. 265.
39. Ancel, La Macedoine et son évolution contemporaine, p. 121.
40. AYE/1924/B/59,10, Tzorbatzis to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Sofia, 29 March 1924, no. 607 and AYE/1924/A/5X11,2, Tzorbatzis to Roussos, Sofia, 22 May 1924, no. 668.
41. IAM/AGDM, file 90: Propaganda in the Prefectures of Florina, Pella, Kastoria, Veroia, Report from the Prefecture of Florina to the Governor General of Thessaloniki, Florina, 13 January 1925, no. Emb. 6.
42. Pavlos Kalligas Archives, Kalligas Report 3394, 26 February 1930, 3.
43. «A report from the staff of the 9th Greek Division in Southern Macedonia on the number of the Bulgarian population in the province of Voios (Kozhani) and the district around town of Lerin, November 1931» in Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, *Macedonia. Documents and Material,* Sofia 1978, p. 850.
44. Stephanos Dragoumis Archives, sub-file 217.1.
45. Stephanos Dragoumis Archives, sub-file 116.4, Governor General of Macedonia to the President of the Council of Ministers, Thessaloniki, 4 November 1913, no. 17210.
46. Stephanos Dragoumis Archives, sub-file 217.1.

XIII. The Birth of 'Macedonianism' in the Interwar Period

by Spyros Sfetas

1. The role of the Communist International in the hatching of the 'Macedonian nation'.

In historiography the view that the 'Macedonian nation' was a creation of Tito is widespread. This position can of course not be denied, since the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (KPJ) had particular reasons for promoting 'Macedonianism' in Yugoslav Macedonia as a counterweight ideology to Bulgarian-Serbian competition in the interwar period. The need to detach the Slavs of Macedonia from Greek, Serbian and Bulgarian influence with the creation of a collective Slav-Macedonian identity had already been underscored in the early 20th century by a number of Slav intellectuals, such as Krste Misirkov, Stefan Dedov, Diamandi Mišajkov and Dimitrija Čupovski. Foreseeing that the antagonism between Serbs and Bulgarians was continuing at the expense of the local population and that it only perpetuated Turkish rule, they sought to have the Slavs of Macedonia acknowledged as a separate community (*millet*). Even so, the political conditions of the early 20th century did not favour the advocacy of Slav-Macedonianism as a new collective ethnic identity, and its early proponents had very little impact on the masses. The political and ideological origins of 'Macedonianism' were essentially posed by the Third Communist International (the Comintern) in the interwar period. It is documented that the Communist International saw the Macedonian question as a tactical issue, relating to the political conditions of the time.[1] The publication of important documents for the period 1923-1925 from the Comintern archive has essentially confirmed the view that there were specific reasons as to why the Communist International was promoting a United and Independent Macedonia within a Balkan Soviet Republic. These were to assist IMRO in its attempt to create a unified front between the Bulgarian Communists, the Bulgarian Farmers and Bulgarian-Macedonian organisations for the advance of the revolution in Bulgaria, the establishment of a government of workers and farmers and the destabilisation of the Balkan states.[2] According to the Communist International, the Macedonian organisations in Bulgaria should not only disassociate themselves from the influence of Bulgarian 'bourgeois' political elements, but also estrange themselves from Bulgarian nationalism. Criticising the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) for the neutral stand it took during the coup against the agrarian government of Aleκsandăr Stambolijski, Karl Radek expressed himself in the following way at the plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International (12-13 June 1923) in Moscow:

> *'The Macedonian Question has played an important role throughout the whole of Bulgaria's modern history. Macedonia, in which there reside peasants of whom it is difficult to say if they are Serbs or Bulgarian, is an old object of discord between Bulgaria and Serbia. After Bulgaria's defeat in the war, the Agrarian party of Stambolijski gave up [contesting] Macedonia. It gave up not only formally, and in Nis it signed a treaty with Yugoslavia on the basis of which Stambolijski would persecute the old Macedonian organisations. From a social perspective, these are organisations of small and poor peasants. They have a revolutionary past, they have struggled against the rule of the Turkish landowners, against the Serbian bourgeoisie, they have illegal revolutionary organisations. There has been*

> *sympathy for the Russian Revolution for a while now. The Macedonian organisations were a social factor with which we could have connected... The Party has done nothing and its neglect of the Macedonian Question is typical.'*[3]

Instead of the term 'Bulgarian people', as this was used in previous declarations of the Third International, the terms 'Macedonian people' and 'Macedonian population without national distinctions' were introduced in 1923-24. The aim of the Communist International was that all nationalities in Macedonian would develop an indigenous Macedonian consciousness as one 'people' from a political perspective, and aspire to a United and Independent Macedonia so as to undermine the 'bourgeois' Balkan states.

The new line imposed at the 6th Conference of the Balkan Communist Federation (Moscow, December 1923) and the fifth Congress of the Communist International (17/6 – 8/7/1924) was for a 'United and Independent Macedonia within a Balkan Federation', which would be achievable '*only if the struggle of the Macedonian people is aligned with the struggle of the workers and peasants of the Balkans*'. It is obvious that such a policy aimed at the undermining of the Balkan states, including Bulgaria. In a letter to IMRO in July 1924, the Communist International set as a precondition for its assistance the obligation of the organisation to begin the revolution in Bulgaria, with the aim of expelling the Bulgarian state organs from the Bulgarian section of Macedonia, and its proclamation as an independent state.[4] The pressure exercised by the Communist International on the Communist Party of Greece (KKE) in 1924 to accept the decision of the fifth Congress of the Communist International on the Macedonian Question can be explained by its policy toward IMRO. The wing of the KKE that accepted the new line justified its position with the argument that, to the degree that support for a 'United and Independent Macedonia' contributed to the successful outcome of the revolution in Bulgaria and the Balkans, then the KKE, as an internationalist party, was obliged to accept it, even coming into conflict with the Greek bourgeoisie.[5]

The term 'Macedonian nation', identified exclusively and emphatically with the Slav element of Macedonia, had not yet appeared in the texts of the Communist International, but the Macedonian Question was no longer considered simply a Bulgarian issue. The plan of the Communist International failed, but Soviet involvement in the Macedonian Question resulted in the political and ideological polarisation of the Bulgarian-Macedonian initiative. As an ideological and political counterweight to the IMRO of Ivan Mihajlov, an IMRO (United) was founded in Vienna in October 1925, under the mantle of the Communist International. On the Central Committee of IMRO (United) there was a communist wing and a national-revolutionary wing, which, although it disagreed with the communist orientation of the organisation, was counting on the assistance of the Soviet Union for a review of the peace treaty. In 1928, with the decisions of the sixth Congress of the Communist International, the national-revolutionary wing of the Central Committee of IMRO (United) was eliminated, and the organisation now acquired a narrowly communist character, with Dimităr Vlahov and Vladimir Poptomov, members of the Bulgarian Communist Party, in a leading role. The influence of the IMRO (United) in the Balkans was insignificant, given that it was first based in Vienna and later in Berlin and that its newspaper, the *Makedonsko Delo* (*Macedonian Question*) published in Bulgarian, was not easily accessible in the Balkans. Until 1928, small groups of the IMRO (United) had been formed only in the Serbian section of Macedonia. They were of little political significance and were expunged completely by the Serbian authorities in 1929. The first nucleuses of the organisation were formed in Bulgaria in 1928. Yet, due to its narrow communist character and the enmity of Mihajlov's IMRO, IMRO (United) could not evolve into a significant political factor in Bulgaria, and was limited to a propaganda role amongst the Bulgarian-Macedonian refugees. The

basic political line of the organisation was a 'United and Independent Macedonia' within a Balkan Federation, and by Macedonian people they meant all the ethnicities of Macedonia (Bulgarians, Albanians, Turks, Jews, Vlachs, Greeks, Gypsies). In a memorandum (10/9/1927) on the condition of the oppressed peoples of the Balkans to the President of the Council for National Minorities in Geneva, they noted characteristically:

> *'In Serbian Macedonia all Belgrade governments, regardless of their differences in domestic and foreign policy, apply the same policy as regards the Macedonians. The Macedonian people, that is all the nationalities that live there and in whose name we speak - Bulgarians, Albanians, Turks, Jews, Greeks, Gypsies – are denied political and civil rights. All Serbian authorities have treated them and continue to treat them as though they are Serbs... If we were to examine how the Macedonian people lives from Greek work, we would see that here the situation is the same. The Greek authorities expelled the Turks from Macedonia, after having first plundered them. They impose many impediments on the Jews, so as to force them to move elsewhere. They expel the Bulgarians as well… There is no difference between the Greek and the Serb governments as regards the nationalities in Macedonia. Greece treats these nationalities as though they were slaves… If we examine the Bulgarian section of Macedonia, we would see that the situation here is similar to that in the Serbian and Greek sections. The Greek and Turk Macedonians who lived here before were expelled. The population that lives in this section of Macedonia, indeed of Bulgarian nationality, enjoys cultural rights. It has schools, churches, etc. And this is the only difference between the condition of the Macedonians in Bulgaria and those in Greece and Serbia… From every other perspective, the condition of the Macedonians in this section of Macedonia does not differ from that of those under Greek and Serbian rule, and in some cases is even worse. The political regime in the Macedonia under Bulgarian rule is one of the most tyrannical in the world… As for the economic situation to which the Bulgarian Macedonians have been abandoned to live in, this is especially tragic.'*[6]

Which factors were influential in the abandonment of this position and the adoption of the view that there existed a 'Macedonian nation', exclusively identified with the Slavic group? The access to the Comintern Archive that we enjoy today allows us to follow this process much more completely.

The old view is generally confirmed, that with Hitler's rise to power the Comintern wished to avoid exploitation of the Macedonian Question by Nazi Germany in favour of Bulgaria in the upcoming war, as had happened during the First World War. In 1933 Mihajlov's IMRO had accepted the IMRO (United) position for a Unified and Independent Macedonia, as a second Bulgarian state, considering the national identity of Bulgarian compatible with the political name of Macedonian. The need for a not only ideological and political campaign, but also a national one against Mihajlov's IMRO, was thus now clear. The efforts of the Comintern to prevent the exploitation of Yugoslavia's ethnic problems, especially the Croatian, by Nazi Germany had a significant effect. The issue of the foundation of a national Croat and Slovenian Party was thus quickly posed, so that the now nationally-based Communist Parties would henceforth deal with the country's ethnic problems. Given the new conditions, Yugoslavia should act as a bulwark to Nazi Germany's efforts to penetrate the Balkans.

As soon as Vladimir Poptomov, a member of the Central Committee of the IMRO (United), was informed that the situation of the organisation and the prospect of 'revolu-

tionary action' were to be discussed within the Comintern, he submitted a memorandum on 15/11/1933 to the Secretariat of the Balkan States (Balkanländer Sekretariat, henceforth BLS), the Comintern organ responsible for the Balkans. He attributed the causes for the failure of IMRO (United) to develop into a mass organisation to its centralised character, the problems in distributing the newspaper *Makedonsko Delo*, and the difficulties in reading and understanding the newspaper in Greece and Yugoslavia, since it was published in the scholarly Bulgarian language.[7] Poptomov placed particular importance on the different socio-political conditions that prevailed in the three sections of the wider area of Macedonia, the continuous Serbisation and Hellenisation of the Slavic population, with the result that the younger generations could only easily read and speak the Greek or Serbian languages. As such, according to Poptomov, the newspaper *Makedonsko Delo* could only be understood by the Bulgarian-Macedonian refugees in Bulgaria. He proposed the decentralisation of the organisation, that a national-revolutionary organisation be founded in every section of Macedonia under the guidance of the Communist Parties and with the slogan 'self-determination of the Macedonian people until the secession of a sovereign and unified Macedonia.'[8] Perhaps the main point of Poptomov's essay was the danger of Serbisation and Hellenisation succeeding.

At the meeting of the Office of the BLS on 20 December 1933, the proposal of Rilski - pseudonym of Georgi Karadžov, a member of the Bulgarian IMRO (United) - for the IMRO (United) was examined;[9] his position on the right of the 'Macedonian people' to secede, for a Unified and Independent Macedonia, for a Balkan federation of workers, was ratified.[10] The question of the ethnicity of the Macedonians was also posed, and '*a special examination of the question was deemed necessary, if possible with the participation of the comrades who have arrived from Macedonia*.'[11] Vlahov was also in attendance at the meeting of 22 December 1933. The issue of the drafting of a decision for IMRO (United) was posed, with the ethnicity of the Macedonians at its core. This task was assigned to Vlahov, Rilski and German, pseudonym of the Bulgarian communist Pavle Gičev, who were given three days in which to present the draft decision.[12] The basic points of the decision were as follows:

'The national question of Macedonia is particularly closely tied to the question of the war and the question of international social revolution. The rare peculiarity of historical evolution created here, from an ethnic perspective, a situation of which there is no comparison anywhere else in Europe… After the Balkan and the imperialist wars, Macedonia was divided between Serbia, Greece and Bulgaria. There followed an artificial movement of populations from whole regions, settlements, violent denationalisation and assimilation… The Macedonian people see the danger in which they will be as long as capitalism and imperialism exist, as long as the large imperialist centres continue to exploit the small Balkan states… The country's population, which has passed through so many wars, has realised that the new imperial war could lead to its complete physical annihilation, if war is not prevented by a prior uprising and the victory of the social revolution in Europe. This situation has rallied all the working population of this section of the Balkan peninsula into one totality, and has created a peculiar situation here, that the population that speaks Slavic and the population that speaks the languages of the minorities feel the same national oppression, economic exploitation and pillaging. They have common interests at the present moment and feel the necessity for a common defence, for when the future historical events arrive…

> *'The working masses of Macedonia do not characterise themselves and they do not want to be either Bulgarians or Serbs, they consider the governments of the Greeks and the Turks as foreign powers. They characterise them-*

selves as the predominant Macedonian whole… This is where the idea of national Macedonian rule is found, the right of the full national self-determination of the Macedonians, the idea of a unified and independent Macedonian workers democracy, in a common struggle against imperialism and for social revolution.'[13]

The main section of the draft plan referred to the upcoming war, using the terms 'Macedonian people' and 'working masses of Macedonia', indicating all the nationalities of Macedonia, Slav and non-Slav, as a unified total coming under the term 'people'. This specificity legitimated the right to a unified and independent Macedonian state 'of the working masses'. In essence, this draft plan did not differ from previous IMRO (United) declarations, with the simple difference that, for tactical purposes, mention was no longer made of Soviet democracies or Balkan federations. The draft plan was not deemed satisfactory and, at the meeting of the BLS on 28 December 1933, which Vlahov did not attend, German (pseudonym of Gičev) was given until 31 December 1933 to submit the text of a final decision to the Office of the BLS.[14]

Yet, the text submitted to the BLS on 31 December 1933 was similar to the previous draft plan:

'After the Balkan and imperial wars - the result of which was that the unified from a geographical and economic perspective area of Macedonia was divided into three parts between Serbia, Greece and Bulgaria – the economic and political condition of the Macedonian population has worsened even further… As a result of this policy, the old ethnographic physiognomy of some sections of Macedonia almost changed radically – in the Greek section of Macedonia - and to the degree that the local populations that remained there are prohibited, with the threat of capital punishment, of speaking their mother tongue (in the Macedonia under Serbian or Greek rule)… The overwhelming majority of the working population of Macedonia, which lives in Macedonia or as a refugee elsewhere, despite the differences existing in religion and language and the discord that has been artificially created over the centuries, constitutes a whole, with common economic and political interests at the present moment and feels the need for a common defence, for when the great future historic events arrive… Having as a basis the realisation of the need to preserve the common economic and political unity of Macedonia in the interest of its physical existence, [the population] demands the right to national self-determination and even the secession of an independent Macedonian state. The Macedonian masses do not want to belong neither to Bulgaria nor to Serbia nor to Greece, despite the fact that, from the point of view of language and religion, different sections of the Macedonian population are more closely related to the population of one or another Balkan state… Bearing all this in mind, the Balkan proletariat must support the national liberation struggle of the Macedonian people for national liberation and unity in every way, teaching it always consistently and surely that only the total defeat of imperialism will free the Macedonian people from the danger of total physical annihilation, a threat which it always finds it itself under given its geographical position.'[15]

The Balkan Communists had not grasped the essence of the problem. This was, of course, the matter of the identity of the Slavs of Macedonia, whom revisionist Bulgaria considered as unredeemed Bulgarians, something that would lead to Bulgaria joining the German camp in the upcoming war. The questioning of the Bulgarian identity of the

Slavs of Macedonia would deny Bulgaria the right to make claims. Already during the Balkan Conferences (1930 - 1933) Bulgaria had insisted on the signing of bilateral treaties for the protection of minorities. This should characterise the spirit of the decision. During the meeting of the BLS on 3 January 1934, then, German's text was rejected and the intervention of leading Comintern cadres was necessary. The participation of Vasil Kolarov in amending the draft decision is acknowledged.[16] The new text was presented at the meeting of the BLS on 7 January 1934, and was ratified by the Political Office of the Executive Committee of the Communist International at a closed meeting on 11 January 1934. According to the brief proceedings of the meeting, a discussion was held in which Vlahov, Kolarov, German and others participated. Unfortunately, the views that they presented have not been recorded. The Political Office accepted the text of the proposal as a basis, and commissioned the BLS '*to compose a final text on the basis of the views exchanged and in agreement with comrade Kuusinen. The slogan 'Workers Democracy' should remain in the decision*.'[17]. The intervention of the higher cadres of the Comintern - including Otto Kuusinen, Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and member of the Finnish Communist Party - was, therefore, decisive for the final formulation of the decision on the Macedonian Question and the IMRO (United). The decision differed significantly from the draft decision of 31 December 1933.

> *'In conditions of increased international and class conflicts, the direct danger of new wars and the maturing of the revolutionary crisis, the Macedonian national-revolutionary movement, the head of which is the IMRO (United), plays the role of an important element and ally of the working class, the peasantry and all the oppressed nationalities in the struggle to overturn the domination of the bourgeois class and the landowners in the three states that enslaved Macedonia.*
>
> *'The division of Macedonia, which was the foundation of the alliance between Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece in the war against Turkey and which immediately emerged as an issue that led to a new war between Serbia, Greece and others against Bulgaria, constitutes in the post-war period a permanent cause for the rise in conflict and the struggle between the three states for rule over the whole of Macedonia and access to the Aegean. On the other hand, the great imperialist states turned Macedonia into a bridgehead for political activities during the imperialist World War, and are now exploiting the Macedonian Question to strengthen their positions in the Balkans. Macedonia is thus one of the centres of the upcoming imperialist war.*
>
> *'The states that exist in Macedonia apply a pillaging economic policy that sucks the workers, waging terror and national oppression… The dominant nations of the three imperialist states that divided Macedonia justify national oppression by denying the national specificities of the Macedonian people, by denying the existence of a Macedonian nation. Greek chauvinism declares that the indigenous Slav population in the part of Macedonia that she rules over is constituted of Greeks who had been Slavised in the past centuries, who through violence must "return" to Greek culture, prohibiting them from speaking or learning their mother tongue. The great Serb chauvinists, invoking the existence of Serbian loanwords in the language of the local Macedonian population, declare that this population is one of the "tribes" of the unified Yugoslav nation and they Serbise it through violence. Finally, Bulgarian nationalism, exploiting the relationship of the Macedonian language with the Bulgarian, declares them to be Bulgarians and thus justifies the occupation of the region of Petritsi and its pillaging policy to-*

> *ward the whole of Macedonia. By waging a struggle against the division and enslavement of the Macedonian people, against every kind of national, cultural, social and economic oppression, IMRO (United) must uncover the true meaning of all the sophisms that deny the Macedonians the character of a nation, and not allow them to spread throughout its environment… IMRO (United) must organise and wage a daily struggle against all types of national oppression, against every extraordinary law, for the right to the use of the mother tongue in all state and public institutions, for the freedom to have schools, publications, etc. in the mother tongue… In this struggle, the central slogan of IMRO (United) must be the slogan for the right of the nation to self-determination as far as secession and the achievement of a unified, Macedonian workers democracy.'*[18]

The differentiation between the meanings 'Macedonian people' (i.e. all the ethnicities of Macedonia and with the political meaning of the term 'people') and 'Macedonian nation' as a national community with reference only to the Slavs is clear. Since the efforts of the Comintern to exploit the Macedonian Question to promote revolution had so far not brought the desired results, the appeal to the national idea was deemed more effective. Was, however, the decision a reflection of real conditions, or had the division of Macedonia created a feeling of unity amongst the Slavs, with a need to detach themselves from the Bulgarian, Greek and Serbian national ideas? As mentioned, the developments in the three sections were different. The Slav population used the term (Slav-) Macedonians as a geographical term, but also as a anodyne term that could neutralise the perhaps dangerous public self-characterisation of 'Bulgarian' in Yugoslavia and Greece, and which could express a localism with the meaning of 'autochthon' in contrast to the migrants, the Serb settlers or the Greek refugees. In terms of consciousness, the sense of difference from the Greek or Serb idea was expressed more in pro-Bulgarian terms,[19] to the extent that we cannot talk about individuals with a fluid identity.

In the historiography of Skopje it is argued that the decision of the Communist International signified the first recognition of the 'Macedonian nation' as an objective reality in international arenas, something of great importance for subsequent developments. But, as arises from the proceedings of the meetings, the differing contents of the texts of the draft decision and the final decision indicate that the 'Macedonian nation' was not immediately considered a given reality. The Communist International did not mention the prime movers of Slav-Macedonian separatism, nor did it clarify the particular national characteristics of the 'Macedonians', which distinguished them from the Serbs, Greeks or Bulgarians. It is characteristic that in the draft and the decision for IMRO (United) even the Balkan Communists were unable to conceive the meaning of 'nationality of the Macedonians' as a specific 'Slav-Macedonian nation'. There is no doubt that this was a political decision of the Comintern that was imposed on the Balkan Communist Parties. This decision questioned the right of the Bulgarians and of Mihajlov's IMRO to contest the liberation of the 'Macedonians' as unredeemed Bulgarians. At the same time, it eliminated the differences between the Bulgarian and Yugoslav Communists over the ethnic identity of the 'Macedonians'. The Balkan Communist Parties were now called upon to transform the geographical term 'Macedonians' into an ethnic term, with exclusive reference to Slavs. Within the new global conditions, after the rise of Nazism, a strong Yugoslavia had to constitute a barrier to Hitler's expansion in the Balkans. Recognition of the national specificity of the 'Macedonians' and the questioning of Bulgarian and Serbian contestations, meant that the Macedonian Question could be resolved within the context of a new, federal Yugoslavia. It was not a coincidence then that, at the meeting of the BLS on 5 January 1934, it

was decided, alongside the decision on the existence of a 'Macedonian nation', to establish a Croatian and a Slovenian Communist Party within the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.[20]

Yet, there is still the anthropological aspect. Independent of the political goals of the Communist International, what impact could the call for the existence of a 'Macedonian nation' have on the simple peasants of the wider Macedonian region? Was it ultimately an incumbent, alienated identity? As already mentioned, the term 'Macedonian' was used by the Slavs as a geographical, localised term, and the villagers called the Slavic idiom 'Macedonian'. From this perspective, there was no name issue. The geographical term 'Macedonian' could take on a national dimension in the consciousness of the villages, if there was a political dynamic to promote this transformation, and if the political conditions required it, as indeed was the case during the Second World War. The fact should not be ignored that the Slav population in Serbian Macedonia was the victim of Serb-Bulgarian antagonism and of Greek-Bulgarian antagonism in Greek Macedonia. On the one hand, it was forced by IMRO to shelter the *comitadjis*, to declare itself Bulgarian and to maintain a Bulgarian position. Yet, on the other, it was persecuted by the Serbian military organisations, when it harboured IMRO, and was undergoing political Serbisation. It was natural that it would be experiencing a crisis of national identity.

For the Greeks, there was the saga of the Politis-Kalfov Protocol, the subsequent insistence of Bulgaria that the Greek government recognise a Bulgarian minority, and the general revisionist policy of Sofia made urgent the need for the Hellenisation of other language speakers in Greek Macedonia. Regardless of the long-term potential successes of Serbisation and Hellenisation, the alternative solution of the 'Macedonian nation' operated as a balance to traditional Serb-Bulgarian and Greek-Bulgarian antagonism and provided the population with a sense of security. Political elements could easily concoct a national ideology to service the needs of this 'ethnogenesis', with unclear dividing lines between myth and historical fact, so as to lend the Slavs of Macedonia a 'glorious' past.

The subsequent policy of the Comintern on the Macedonian issue was determined by the need to constitute a unified anti-fascist front along the spirit of the decisions of the Seventh and final Congress of the Communist International (25/7-20/8/1935). Immediately after the Congress, and in the aftermath of the assassination of the king of Yugoslavia Aleksander Karadjordjevič, in October 1934 orders were given to the Balkan Communist Parties to gain the support of the 'Macedonian masses' for this front. The formation of a unified anti-fascist front along with the 'bourgeois regimes' made the continued existence of IMRO (United) as a separate political organisation unnecessary. The slogan of an 'Independent Macedonia' was abandoned in favour of campaigning for basic national, political and economic rights and freedoms.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist International provided the Balkan Communist Parties with the opportunity to shape their tactics in a manner that was to a great extent autonomous. Their position on the existence of a 'Macedonian nation', however, was a new factor, which they were obliged to take into account in their policies.

2. The Balkan communist parties in the light of the Comintern position on the existence of a 'Macedonian nation'.

2.1. The Bulgarian Communist Party

The Bulgarian Communist Party considered the Macedonian Question to be at bottom a Bulgarian issue, and talked in terms of the divided sections of the Bulgarian people in Macedonia, Thrace and Dobrutsa. The only difference between the Party and the official Bulgarian line on the autonomy of Macedonia was the position that the national issues of the Balkans, and, by extension, the Macedonian Question, would not be fully resolved within the existing capitalist system, but within a socialist society and a Soviet-style Balkan federation.

After the unsuccessful rebellion of September 1923, leading party cadres, among them Georgi Dimitrov and Vasil Kolarov, fled abroad (Vienna, Berlin and finally Moscow), founding the External Bureau of the Bulgarian Communist Party. The majority of the Party Central Committee, however, remained in Bulgaria. Dimitrov and Kolarov gained high positions in the Comintern, meaning that they did not often express their positions, being still in tune with Bulgarian interests. Kolarov's involvement in the processing of the decision of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on 11 January 1934 is a typical example. In Bulgaria (in contrast with Greece and Yugoslavia) there was an active IMRO (United) that functioned as an ideological and political counterpart to Mihajlov's IMRO. The publication of the Comintern decision in the newspaper *Makedonsko Delo* in April 1934 provoked disarray and division within IMRO (United) in Bulgaria. Certain members of the 'national-revolutionary' wing denied the existence of a 'Macedonian nation'. They believed that the break-up of Mihajlov's IMRO in June 1934 and the political-military regime of 19 March 1934 had created a favourable climate for the further activity of the IMRO (United),[21] which could turn against the party line. The result was that they were marginalised within the organisation, which was now fully controlled by the Bulgarian Communist Party.[22] In February 1935, then, the Regional Committee of the IMRO (United) in Bulgarian Macedonia issued the following announcement to the 'Brother Macedonians', in complete harmony with the Comintern position.

> *'The Greeks call us 'Slavophone Greeks' and the Serbs 'correct Serbs'. Why? So as to justify their rule and their oppressive aspirations towards Macedonia. The Bulgarian chauvinists act in the same way. They exploit the relationship between the Macedonians and Bulgarians and characterise us as an 'indivisible section of the Bulgarian nation'. The Bulgarian imperialists have always aspired to conquer and enslave Macedonia, not liberate it. Proof of this is our enslaved region. Is it for such freedom that now exists in the region of Petritsi that we struggled and continue to struggle?... We must state it so that all hear, that we are not Serbs, nor Greeks, nor Bulgarians. We are Macedonians, a separate Macedonian nation. Only in this way can we best defend the independence of our movement and our right for an independent Macedonian state.'*[23]

This proclamation provoked the reaction of the Bulgarian authorities. On 15 August 1935, a wave of arrests of members of IMRO (United) ensued, both in Sofia and the region of Petritsi, essentially completely eliminating the organisation.[24] The main charge related to the IMRO (United) position that the Macedonians were not Bulgarians, but a specific nation, as well as the organisation's relations with the Communist Party.

With the 1935 arrests, the activities of IMRO (United) in Bulgaria were essentially paralysed. The arrested members were tried on 8 July 1936. They denied the category that IMRO (United) was a class-based organisation, an annex of the Bulgarian Communist Party, and claimed their relations with the Communists were tactic cal. All defined themselves as Bulgarians. The only one to characterise himself as a Macedonian was Asen Karakčiev, claiming the right to self-determination of the region of Petritsi and even to its secession from Bulgaria.[25] The court's decision was issued on 21 July 1936. Dimităr Vlahov and Vladimir Poptomov were sentenced in their absence to 12 years and 6 months imprisonment. Others were sentenced to 5 years imprisonment and a fine of 50,000 lev,[26] and others were found innocent. The trial, as well as general international developments, essentially marked the political death of IMRO (United) in Bulgaria. The initiative for propagandising in favour of the new positions on the Macedonian Question was now assumed by the BCP.

A succinct theoretical introduction to the 'historical' foundation of Slav-Macedonian identity was attempted from the columns of the newspaper *Macedonian News*, published in 1935-1936 by Angel Dinev for the Macedonian brotherhoods. Initially, it expressed the IMRO (United) line for a Unified and Independent Macedonian as an equal member of a Balkan Federation. In the spirit of the Comintern decision, Dinev attempted to distinguish between the specific term 'Macedonian nation' and the general term 'Macedonian people'.

'The Macedonian nation was created through a long historical process and formed fully even in the last century. Its anthropological composition is constituted through the admixture into a complete whole of the Ancient Macedonians and later Slavs in Macedonia… The Macedonian nation exists because its Slav-Macedonian population has a common language, the same customs, historical unity… unified Macedonian space and unified economy. There is also a Macedonian people, made up of the Slav-Macedonians and all the ethnicities in Macedonia. And it is not the first time that this question arises. Even in the 19th century, when our Macedonian renaissance began, the figures of the Macedonian Enlightenment, Theodosios of Skopje, the "Lozars", those who fought for the dominance of the western dialect (the Macedonian) and others were bearers of a pure Macedonian consciousness and, just like the Bulgarian father Paisios, they taught our compatriots not to be ashamed to call themselves Macedonians. It is precisely these campaigners for an autocephalous Macedonian church and the creators of a self-existent Macedonian culture, those worthy successors of the first Macedonian teachers, the Saints Cyril and Methodius, who are the first people who showed us the existence of a specific Macedonian nationality. The Macedonian News is only following their sacred work, which was strangled by the foreign propaganda in Macedonia. We know of the damage done by this propaganda – in the past they divided the Macedonian population into Graekomans, Serbomans and Bulgarians to make the division and enslavement of the Macedonian homeland easier.

'Regarding the question of the nationality of the Macedonians, we do not doubt that we shall meet resistance, and from many of our erstwhile friends… We do not deceive ourselves that it will be easy to stir the national consciousness of the Macedonians in Bulgaria, where their assimilation has progressed greatly. But we shall work without slacking in this direction, because we are committed Macedonians and know that only the Macedonian consciousness and sense of self will help to overcome in the best possible

> *way the wavering throughout the whole Macedonian movement on the road towards freedom and independence.'*[27]

This is an over-simplified, mechanistic application of the Stalinist model of the nation. The formation of a Slav-Macedonian identity is traced to the 19th century and its main pioneers are declared to be those who worked for the codification of a multi-dialect modern Bulgarian language, and who called themselves Bulgarians. But the difficulties implicated in the effort for 'Macedonianisation' in the inter-war period are not ignored. The newspaper could not begin a serious attempt at its mission, because the Bulgarian authorities soon ordered that it be closed down.

A 'Macedonian Literary Circle' was founded in 1938, at the instigation of the Bulgarian Communist Party. Its main members were Nikola Vapčarov, Anton Popov, Mihajl Smatrakalev, Kole Nedelkovski, Venko Markovski and Georgi Abadžiev. The purpose of the Circle, according to Vapčarov's introduction, was the development of a 'Macedonian' literature through the study of linguistic idioms, folklore, customs, and the cultivation of a revolutionary romanticism about the past of the 'Macedonian' national-revolutionary movement (the Ilinden Uprising) as an element of an artistic realism.[28] According to its statutes, the Circle remained clear of political activities, but it could express a political ideology. Its focus on Slav-Macedonianism, however, was more a flirtation. The language of the poetry was, as a rule, scholarly Bulgarian, and only Venko Markovski and Kole Nedelkovski made some attempt to write poems in the Slav-Macedonian idiom. Nedelkovski restored contacts with the widow and son of Misirkov, copying some of the publications of the father of Slav-Macedonian separatism, such as the work *On Macedonian Matters*, and sending them to his colleagues in Serbian Macedonia.[29] In the spirit of the party line, the question or otherwise of a 'Macedonian nation' was seen as a political question. In 1939, Anton Popov wrote the following on the issue:

> *'Is there a Macedonian nation? What are its features and which its characteristics? Where should we look for its beginning and its origin? It is to these questions that we have turned our attention the past few years. These are the objects of discord within various Macedonian circles. And, in keeping with the class and ideological camps of the rivals, different answers are given to these questions… In the last period, with the rise of imperialistic conflicts among the Balkan states, with the formation of the imperialist front in Macedonia as well, the propaganda spread among the Macedonian population and Macedonian refugees has been palpably strengthened. Macedonia has again become an object for division and distribution… Within such a context for Macedonia and the Macedonian Question, the acceptance or denial of the idea of the Macedonian nation is seen as a touchstone for Macedonia and its orientation, for the political road that it must take, for the reason that this question today can be posed only as the basis of the slogan for a free and independent Macedonia. The black agents of Bulgarian and Italian imperialism see these proclamations as Serbian work… They were never close to the Macedonian people, to the Macedonian masses, so as to be able to understand the changes that have taken place in the world view and orientation of the masses… They dream of a 'Greater Bulgaria,' 'the union of the Bulgarian race,' the 'vital area', etc. Yet, of a free Macedonia they do not want to hear or to think, and they want even less to hear of a Macedonian nation…'*[30]

But in May 1941, immediately after the entry of the Bulgarian army into Serbian Macedonia, when it might have been expected that Slav-Macedonian feeling would

have increased, the Circle broke up and all attempts to awaken Slav-Macedonian sensibility were abandoned.[31] Vapčarov and Popov were executed by the Germans in 1942 as Communists and for their resistance activity.

There was no fertile ground in Bulgaria for the cultivation of Slav-Macedonianism. In addition to the reaction of the Bulgarian state authorities, the stance of academic circles, who described the 'Macedonian' nation as an invention of the workshop of the Bulgarian Communist Party, was also negative. They would ironically comment that if only Dimităr Blagoev, founder of the Bulgarian Communist Party who came from Vasileiada, near Kastoria in Greek Macedonia, were alive, so that he could be informed as to his ethnicity![32] Even the BCP avoided clashing with the Bulgarian authorities, limiting itself more to theoretical pronouncements and adopting a flexible policy line.

2.2. The Communist Party of Greece

The saga that the KKE had implicated itself in with its acceptance in 1924, following great pressure, of the decision of the fifth Congress of the Communist International, for a 'Unified and Independent' Macedonia, meant that in the future it was far more careful as regards the Macedonian Question. The main reason as to why the KKE, provoking internal division, adopted the decision of the fifth Congress at the Third Extraordinary Conference (December 1924) was to promote a collaboration with IMRO and the Bulgarian Communist Party, in the light of the upcoming rebellion in Bulgaria.[33] This turned out to be revolutionary adventurism. Even if the line of a 'Unified and Independent Macedonia' theoretically held up, the KKE was not active on a political level. It is characteristic that after 1925 it was hesitant to found IMRO (United) groups in Greek Macedonia, drawing criticism from the Cominterm. When Zachariades took over the Party leadership and visited Moscow in autumn 1931 with a Party delegation, he faced criticism for the KKE's position on the Macedonian Question.[34] Thus, after two meetings (the first at Thessaloniki in early 1932, attended not only by Slavophones but also by Jews, Muslims and Vlachs, and the second the same year at Veria, attended only by Slavophones), at which the member of the Political Office of the KKE Central Committee Stylianos Sklavinas was present, a founding meeting of IMRO (United) was called at Edessa in March 1933, electing a leadership core headed by Andreas Chipas, a member of the KKE from Ayios Panteleimonas.[35]

In September 1934, the first statements of IMRO (United) groups began to be published in *Rizospastis*, on the Bulgarian, Serbian and Greek identity of the Slav-Macedonians and the meaning of IMRO (United).[36] The leading cadres of IMRO (United) were the Slav-Macedonians, members of the KKE, Andreas Tsipas, Georgios Tourountzas, and others. A mass organisation of IMRO (United) could, of course, not be set up in the brief time period of 1934 - 1936. Tsipas claimed that it had 893 members and Vlahov 700, figures that are perhaps exaggerated.[37] Even so, the KKE zealously gave itself over to propagandising for the existence of a 'Macedonian nation'. On 1 February 1935, the *Communist Review* published a Greek translation of Vasil Ivanovski's article 'The Macedonian nationality'. Ivanovski was a journalist, political secretary of IMRO (United) in Bulgaria, but he had also studied in Moscow and thus had a theoretical training with which he could historically ground the 'Macedonian nation'. He outlined a historically existent nation, which came from the admixture of the Ancient Macedonians (non Greeks) with the Slavs. These had created a state in the era of Samuel (10th-11th century), which, in its attempt in the 19th century to achieve its national fulfilment, had fallen victim to the assimilationist policy of the Greeks, Serbs and Bulgarians. As historical roots were added to the 'Macedonian nation', so the term

'Macedonian' acquired an existence and superseded the term 'Slav-Macedonians' in the publications.

After the failed Venizelist coup of 1 March 1935, the KKE replaced the slogan 'Unified and Independent Macedonia' with that of 'full equality for minorities'. This change was justified by the change in the ethnological composition of Greek Macedonia, '*closely connected to the conditions within which the revolutionary movement is developing generally in the Balkans today, and in particular in our country, with the anti-fascist and anti-war struggle as the main duty.*'[38] In conclusion, it was noted: '*the change of slogan is anything but a sign of weakness of our work in Macedonia and among the ethnic minorities. On the contrary, it is necessary, to strengthen our efforts to secure full rights for the minorities. The Party will not cease to declare that the Macedonian Question will only fully and completely be resolved in a brotherly way, after the victory of Soviet power in the Balkans, which shall tear apart the unjust conditions of the population exchanges and take all practical measures to extinguish their imperialist injustices. Only in this way will the Macedonian People find their complete national fulfilment.*'[39]

At its Seventh Congress (December 1935), the KKE formalised the abandonment of its position for a 'Unified and Independent Macedonia', and adopted the line 'full equality for minorities'. Its tactic moved within the logic of forming a popular anti-fascist front. But it always propagandised for the existence of a 'Macedonian nation', attempting at the same time to incorporate as members individuals from the Slav-Macedonian camp,[40] in particular the younger generation that had attended Greek schools or even Greek universities.

The propagandistic activity of the KKE resulted in the formation of a core of Slav-Macedonian cadres, such as Lazaros Terpovski, Andreas Chipas, Paschalis Mitropoulos, Ilias Tourountzas, Giorgos Tourountzas and others. They may not have cut themselves off completely from their pro-Bulgarian roots, but they presented the Macedonian Question as a non-Bulgarian issue and linked its solution to the 'socialist revolution'.

2.3. The Communist Party of Yugoslavia

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia, the KPJ, illegal from 1921, did not initially involve itself with national questions. According to the official ideology, the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes were seen as three clans of the same nation, and the socialist revolution was seen as a precondition for the settlement of national questions. When, in 1923-1924, the Communist International promoted a communist revolution in Bulgaria and the destabilisation of the Balkans, the Yugoslav communists, under pressure from Moscow, began to pay attention to the national questions. The problem according to the Communist International, was not the relegation of the settlement of national questions to the communist revolution, but the exploitation of the national questions to the benefit of the spread of communism. Two wings developed in the Yugoslav Communist Party: a 'right' wing, led by the Serb Sima Marković and a 'left' wing led mainly by Croats. In 1923 Marković published a leaflet entitled 'The national question in the light of Marxism', in which, taking the Stalinist terminology for the nation, he argued that the Croats and the Slovenes had the same right as Serbs to seek autonomy. The national question of Yugoslavia was in essence, according to Marković, a constitutional issue the resolution of which should be sought in the adoption of a federal constitution. The other wing emphasised the right of self-determination, without, however, necessarily interpreting this as secession. The fifth Congress of the Communist International (June – July 1924) took the decision to dissolve Yugoslavia, as a product of imperialism (secession of

Croatia, Slovenia, Unified and Independent Macedonia). Yet, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia did not adopt the Comintern line straightaway. In early 1925, Stalin himself intervened in the discussions of the Yugoslav communists, proposing the following solution: as long as Yugoslavia remained a capitalist state, the Party would support the peoples' right to self-determination, including secession; but, in the event of a Soviet victory, it would apply the Soviet model, i.e. a federal system. Secession, according to Stalin, is not always the duty of Communists.

As for the Macedonian Question, the Yugoslav Communist Party initially considered it a Balkan Question (and not a Bulgarian one), and distinguished it from the general national question of Yugoslavia. It had always seen the intervention of the Bulgarian communists into its internal affairs as a reflection of their ambition to incorporate Serbian Macedonia into their zone of responsibility. As a result of profound Serb-Bulgarian antagonism in Serbian Macedonia, the Yugoslav Communist Party avoided characterising the region's Slavic population Bulgarian or Serbian, simply referring to Macedonians and Macedonian population. The Yugoslav Communist Party found itself in a difficult position. On the one hand, it condemned the hegemony of 'Greater Serbia' in Serbian Macedonia; on the other, it defined IMRO as a terrorist, pro-Bulgarian chauvinist organisation, and not as a national-liberation one. In 1924, Kosta Novaković published the leaflet 'Macedonia for the Macedonians – the land for the peasants', in which he recognised the right of the Macedonians for self-determination. The Belgrade authorities responded with a wave of prosecutions against members of the Yugoslav Communist Party, and against Novaković himself.

The decision to dissolve Yugoslavia and establish independent states was taken by the Yugoslav Communist Party at Dresden in 1928, at the high point of the Serb-Croat conflict, once Marković had first been eliminated and the Serbian resistance weakened. In 1935 and following, in the light of the decisions of the Seventh Comintern Congress for the creation of a unified anti-fascist front, the Yugoslav Communist Party began to shift orientation to the solution of a Yugoslav federation. Within the new political conditions, with the rise of Nazism in Germany, the break-up of Yugoslavia would have benefited Nazi Germany. In 1934, the Yugoslav Communist Party therefore recognised, in accordance with the Comintern decision, the existence of a 'Macedonian nation', which would be able to contest Bulgarian claims. At the fifth Congress of the Yugoslav Communist Party, which met in December 1934 at Ljubljana, it was decided to found the 'Communist Party of Croatia, the Communist Party of Slovenia and, in the near future, the Communist Party of Macedonia.'[41]

This was essentially the implementation of the January 1934 decision of the BLS. In 1937 the Communist Party of Croatia and Slovenia was founded, but it was not possible to establish a Communist Party of 'Macedonia' as members could not be found.

IMRO (United) groups had been formed in Yugoslav Macedonia. They did not, however, have any political influence, their relations with the Yugoslav Communist Party were problematic, and in 1928 they were completely dissolved by the Yugoslav authorities. In the guidelines he gave to the Yugoslav Communist Party after the fifth Congress of the Communist International, Poptomov emphasised to the Yugoslav Communist Party the need to refound IMRO (United), to publish a newspaper in the 'Macedonian language' in Serbian Macedonia, to found an IMRO (United) student group in Belgrade and Zagreb, to restore regular contact with Thessaloniki, which was destined as an IMRO (United) coordination centre, and to distribute in Serbian Macedonia a populist leaflet on the Macedonian Question and the duties of IMRO (United).[42]

Yet, after the decision of the Comintern to dissolve IMRO (United), every attempt at reforming the organisation in Serbian Macedonia was abandoned. Even so, on the

initiative of the Yugoslav Communist Party, an organisation of Slav-Macedonian students (around 250 members) was formed in 1936 at the Universities of Zagreb and Belgrade, under the name 'MANARO - Makedonski Naroden Pokret' (Macedonian People's Movements). Its political programme foresaw: 1) that the Macedonian people had the right to a free national life within a Yugoslav federation; 2) this right could only be implemented with the overthrow of the monarcho-fascist dictatorship and leadership and its replacement with widespread democracy; 3) for this reason, the Macedonian people must struggle alongside the other peoples and progressive powers in Yugoslavia to liberate political prisoners, for the freedom of speech and of the press, for the abolishment of all anti-democratic laws; 4) the Macedonian people seeks to restore diplomatic relations and the establishment of a friendship treaty with the Soviet Union; and, 5) to demand an immediate call for free parliamentary elections with a secret ballot.[43]

MANARO presented itself as a national, but at the same time democratic, anti-dictatorship organisation within the popular front. Even so, it could not find political partners in Yugoslavia. It attempted to form an alliance with the Agrarian Republican Croatian Party and the left wing of the Agrarian Serbian Party in the 1938 elections, but its efforts did not bear fruit. The Croatian leader Vladko Maček, who was fighting for Croatian autonomy, obviously did not want to ally with an anti-state organisation. For this reason he rejected the MANARO offer of an alliance with the argument that he was very preoccupied with Croatian issues. MANARO was limited to Yugoslav Macedonia and did not include Greek or Bulgarian Macedonia in its programme.

MANARO was not able to exercise significant political influence in Macedonia, and it ceased existing as a political organisation in 1939. Even so, a section of the new generation of Slav-Macedonian students and intellectuals, inclined towards the Yugoslav Communist Party, and former members of IMRO (United) agreed to propagandise for the Comintern and Yugoslav Communist Party position on the existence of a Macedonian nation. Most characteristic is the case of the poet Kočo Racin, who wrote the poetic work 'Beli Mugri' ('White Joy') in the Slav-Macedonian idiom, publishing it in *Samobor* in Croatia in late 1939. In his poem, Racin described the terrible economic situation of villagers in Serbian Macedonia, and invited them to revolt. Racin had contacts with the Macedonian Literary Circle in Sofia. In August 1939, there was a Serb-Croat agreement to grant Croatia autonomy and for the participation of Croatians in the government. After this, in philological discussions within literary circles, former members of MANARO and IMRO (United) touched upon the issue of granting autonomy to Serbian Macedonia and the recognition of the Slav-Macedonians as a distinct people, as well as the codification of a Slav-Macedonian language. In an interesting discussion that Kočo Racin, Ljubčo Arsov and Panko Brašnarov had with the Serbian university professors Vulić and Radović in December 1939, they insisted upon the existence of the Slav-Macedonians as a distinct nation, with roots in antiquity and the Middle Ages, and demanded that Serbian Macedonia be granted the same things that the Croats had achieved. The Serbian professors, who used historical arguments and defended the policy of Serbisation, were completely negative to these suggestions. Vulić argued the following:

> *'What do you Macedonians want? You want autonomy like the Croats. The Croats sacrificed their language, which is Kajkavian and Chakavian [dialects of Serbo-Croat] and adopted a language that is not theirs, the Shtokavian [a dialect of Serbo-Croat spoken in Serbia]. You would want to use your Macedonian language as a scholarly language. But, what would be the gain? In Germany, the Prussian doesn't at all understand the Bavarian, but they are together. People unite… What would you gain with the use of*

your language in schools? There will then start a battle for the prevalence of the dialects. I do not see any gain from the name Macedonian. It is deceptive to trace your descent to Alexander the Great. I understand, you are asking for rights, but it will be easier to gain them with us rather than alone. If the Croatians had not had a sovereign state in the past (council, banat, etc.) they would never have asked for the things they asked for. You are asking for something you never had. You are young idealists and are deluded… I never heard a Skopjan say he is a Macedonian. You grew up in this environment, you are called Macedonians and want your language. I, on the other hand, know many people from this area who say that they are Serbs…[44]

Professor Radović was more condemnatory:

'We cannot recognise you as a national distinction. I say this as a politician… It is true that without the Morava and Vardar valley we cannot exist. It is the spinal cord of our Yugoslavia. The idea is that the state unites all our powers so that we can hold on. Government must be improved and we must be equal. Croatia has a particular form of life and for this reason has the right to autonomy. If we had granted this autonomy earlier, today we would have had greater cohesion… We shall improve our government and grant you full equality… We cannot, and we shall not permit the recognition of the national peculiarity of the Macedonians for political reasons. We must correct the mistakes and you must learn the common language, and that's it.'[45]

As already mentioned, a Communist Party of Macedonia was not founded, and there were only a very few members of the KPJ in Serbian Macedonia. Since the situation in Serbian Macedonia remained confused, after an agreement with Tito, in the spring of 1940 Dimitrov sent Metodija Šatorov from Moscow to Serbian Macedonia as Secretary of a Regional Committee within the KPJ. Šatorov was a member of the Bulgarian Communist Party and a former member of IMRO (United). The fact that a member of the BCP had undertaken the reorganisation of the party bases in Serbian Macedonia demonstrates that the Bulgarian communists aspired to play an important role in a future settlement to the Macedonian Question. In 1940, Tito, who had already returned to Yugoslavia from Moscow, became Secretary of the Central Committee of the KPJ. At the fifth Congress of the KPJ (October 1940) the right of the Macedonian people to equality within a Yugoslav federation was recognised. In the terminology of the Yugoslav Communists, the term 'people' meant sovereign nation.

The ideology of 'Macedonianism' was an alternative solution to the antagonism of the Balkan states for influence within the wider Macedonian region. In contrast with the case of Misirkov, there were now political powers that supported a Slav-Macedonian solution. The short-term political goals of the Comintern were, of course, not achieved. IMRO (United) was disbanded and Bulgaria proceeded to join the Axis powers. But Slav-Macedonianism remained a national choice. That this development was not irreversible – to the degree that Bulgaria could fulfil its 'historical' mission – was a logical assumption. Even so, developments during the Second World War proved to favour the Slav-Macedonian solution, with the KPJ as the main player, turning the Macedonian Question into a Yugoslav one.

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5. Sfetas, Spyridon, I diamorphosi tis Slavomakedonikis taftotitas. Mia epodyni diadikasia [The formation of the Slav-Macedonian identity. A painful process], Thessaloniki 2003.
6. BKP, Komiternăt i Makedonskijăt Văpros (1917 - 1946), Tom Vtori [The Bulgarian Communist Party, the Communist International and the Macedonian Question 1917-1946, Vol. B], published by the Bulgarian State Archives, Sofia 1999.
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9. Tocinovski Vasil, Makedonskiot Literaturen Kružok - Sofija 1938 - 1941, Dokumenti. [The Macedonian Literary Circle, Sofia, 1938-1941, Documents], Skopje 1995.
10. VMRO (Obedineta). Dokumenti i Materiali, Kniga II Kniga II, [IMRO (United). Documents and Materials, Vol. A], ed. I. Katardžiev, Skopje 1992.
11. Žila Lina. I. and Popovski Vlado., Makedonskij Vopros v Dokumentov Kominterna, Tom I. Čast 1. 1923 - 1925 gg. [The Macedonian Question in the documents of the Communist International, Vol. A, Part A, 1923-1925], Skopje 1999.

Notes

1. For an initial approach, see Sp. Sfetas, Opseis tou Makedonikou Zitimatos ston 20o aiona [Aspects of the Macedonian Question in the 20th century], Thessaloniki 2001, pp. 55-78.
2. See the documents collected in L.I. Žila and V.T. Popovski, Makedonskij Vopros v Dokumentov Kominterna, Tom I. Čast 1, 1923-1925 gg. [The Macedonian Question in the documents of the Communist International, Vol. A, Part A, 1923-1925], Skopje 1999.
3. See K. Radek, 'Der Umsturz in Bulgarien', *Die Kommunistische Internationale,* 27 (15. 8. 1923), pp. 115-116.
4. See Sp. Sfetas, Makedonien und Interbalkanische Beziehungen 1920-1924, Munich 1992, p. 320.
5. On these debates, see Sfetas, *Makedonien*, pp. 434-440.
6. See *VMRO (Obedineta), Dokumenti i Materiali,* Kniga I [*IMRO (United). Documents and Materials, Vol. A*], ed. Ivan Katardžiev, Skopje 1991, pp. 129-137 (here pp. 131, 133-134).
7. *Rossijski Centr Hranenija i Izučenija Dokumentov Novejšej Istorii* (henceforth *RCHIDNI*, Russian Centre for the Preservation and Study of the Records of Contemporary History), Fond 509 (henceforth F-Series), Opis 1, (henceforth Op-

Catalogue), Delo 164 (henceforth D-File), Confidential, Letter from Poptomov to the Secretariat of the Balkan States, 15/11/1933.
8. *Ibid*.
9. It has not been possible to locate the proposal in the Archives.
10. *RCHIDNI, F.495, Op. 69, D.56.* Proceedings of the meeting of 20 December 1933.
11. Ibid.
12. *RCHIDNI, F.495, Op. 69, D.56.* Proceedings of the meeting of 22 December 1933.
13. *RCHIDNI, F.509, Op.169, (no indication on folder)* – Proekt rezolucii o makedonskoj 'nacii' 1933, [Draft for the decision on the Macedonian 'nation', 1933].
14. *RCHIDNI, F.459, Op.69, D.56*, Proceedings of the meeting of 28 December 1933.
15. *RCHIDNI, F.509, Op.169, (no indication on folder)*, O prave makedonskogo naroda na samoopredelenie, 31/12/1933 [On the right of the Macedonian people for self-determination, 31/12/1933].
16. See 'Dokumenti. Rezoljucijata po Makedonskijat Văpros', [Documents. The decision on the Macedonian Question], *Vremena, 1* (1992), pp. 100-111.
17. *RCHIDNI, F. 495*, *Op. 3, D. 402* 'Resolutionentwurf des Balkan - LS über die makedoniche Frage und die AMRO (Vereinigte). Wird als Grundlage angenommen. Das Balkan - LS wird beauftragt, den Entwurf auf Grund der Meinungsaustausches endgültig zu redigieren und mit dem Gen. Kuusinen zu vereinbarren. Die Losung', Republik der Werktätigen 'soll in der Resolution bleiben'. It does not appear from the Comintern Archives that the role of Vlahov in processing the decision was important, contrary to what he claims in his Memoirs. See D. Vlahov, *Memoari* [*Recollections*], Skopje 1970, p. 357.
18. See the collected documents published by the Central Archive Directorate and the State Archives, BKP, Komiternăt i Makedonskijăt Văpros, (1917-1946), Tom Vtori, [The Bulgarian Communist Party, the Communist International and the Macedonian Question 1917-1946, Vol. B], Sofia 1999, pp. 881-884.
19. The interview (1975) with Mihalis Keramitzis, member of the KKE before the war and leading cadre of SNOF and NOF during the Occupation and the Civil War is revealing. 'Then [1939] I had no idea about such things: Macedonians, Macedonia, Macedonian Question, Committee, etc. The same went for all our Macedonian cadres. I felt the same thing that a Greek communist felt. To the extent that I felt something different as a Slav, I felt that I was a Bulgarian…' See E. Kofos, 'To Makedoniko stis scheseis KKE-KKY kata ta teli tou 1944' ['The Macedonian Question in the relations between the KKE and the Yugoslav Communist Party in late 1944'], in the collective volume *Makedonia kai Thraki 1941-1944. Katochi-Antistasi-Apeleftherosi* [*Macedonia and Thrace. Occupation-Resistance-Liberation*], IMXA (269), Thessaloniki 1998, p. 131.
20. See *RCHIDNI, F. 495, Op. 69, D. 63.* Proceedings of the meeting of 5 January 1934.
21. See Sfetas, Aspects of the Macedonian Question, p. 80.
22. See D. Dobrinov, *VMRO (Obedinena)* [IMRO (United)], Sofia 1993, pp. 223-224.
23. See Sfetas, I diamorphosi tis Slavomakedonikis taftotitas. Mia epodyni diadikasia [The formation of the Slav-Macedonian identity. A painful process], Thessaloniki 2003, p.107.
24. See Dobrinov, *op. cit.,* p. 232.
25. See Dobrinov, *op. cit.*, pp. 234-235.
26. See Dobrinov, *op. cit.,* p. 236. In 1937, when the successor to the throne and recent former Prime Minister of Bulgaria Simeon was born, King Boris granted a general amnesty.
27. See *Makedonski Vesti, God. II, 12. VII. 1936* [*Macedonian News*, Year 2].
28. See V.Tocinovski, *Makedonskiot Literaturen Kružok – Sofija 1938-1941, Dokumenti* [*The Macedonian Literary Circle, Sofia, 1938-1941, Documents*], Skopje 1995, p. 44.
29. See V. Tocinovski, *op. cit.,* pp. 97-98.
30. See V. Tocinovski, *op. cit.,* pp. 56-59.
31. See P. Galčin, 'Makedonski literaturen kražok (1938-1941) g.) Văzvrăštane kăm bălgarskite koreni', ['The Macedonian Literary Circle, 1938-1941. Return to Bulgarian roots'], *Makedonski Pregled, 2 (2002),* p. 25.

32. See N. Minkov, ‘Makedonska nacija?’, [‘Macedonian nation?’], *Nacija I Politika 4 (1936),* pp.148-149.
33. On this issue, see Sp. Sfetas, *Makedonien,* pp. 434-440.
34. See R. Kirjazovski, ‘Aktinovsta na VMRO (Obedineta) vo Egeskiot Del na Makedonija do 1936 godina’ [The activities of IMRO (United) in Aegean Macedonia’], in the collective work *70 godini VMRO (Obedineta)1925-1995* [70 years of IMRO (United), 1925-1995], *Praktika Epistimonikis Imeridas (20/12/1995),* Institute of National History, Skopje 1998, p. 109.
35. See Kirjazovski, *op. cit.,* p. 110.
36. See *VMRO (Obedineta). Dokumenti i Materiali, Kniga II,* [IMRO (United). Documents and Material, Vol. A), ed. I. Katardžiev], Skopje 1992, pp. 276-278. In a letter to *Rizospastis*, one ‘Macedonian’ wrote: ‘Here in Florina the terrorism is unbearable. Decent Macedonians are dragged to the courts on heavy charges, and because they don’t know the Greek language they call them Bulgarians. The Greek dynasts should know that we aren’t Bulgarians, or Serbs or Greeks, but true Macedonians with the history of the liberation of Macedonia behind us’. See *Rizospastis, 1/12/1934.*
37. See S. Sfetas, Aspects of the Macedonian Question, p. 76.
38. See To KKE. Episima Keimena, Tomos D (1934-1940) [KKE. Official Documents, Vol. IV], Synchroni Epochi, Athens 1975, p. 296.
39. See *KKE, op. cit.,* p. 297.
40. Revealing of this transformation in identity is the statement of Michalis Keramitzis, a member of SNOF during the Occupation and NOF during the Civil War: ‘Only the Greek Communists would talk always about the Macedonians, about Macedonia, they defended this position in the courts and were convicted. It was from inside the KKE and from the KKE, from the Greek Communists and not from the Macedonians, that I began to learn that I’m a Macedonian. That’s the truth.’ See E. Kofos, *op. cit.,* p. 131.
41. See K. Miljovski, *Makedonskoto prašanje vo nacionalnata programma na KPJ (1919-1937),* [*The Macedonian Question within the national programme of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia 1919-1937*], Skopje 1962, p. 121.
42. RCHIDNI*, F. 495, Op. 74, D. 64.* Specific issues on the national-liberation movement of the Balkans after the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, 11/9/1935, Confidential.
43. See K. Miljovski, *op. cit.,* p. 148 -149.
44. See I. Katardžiev, Po Vrcinite na makedonskata istorija [The heights of Macedonian history], Skopje 1986, pp. 376-377.
45. See Katardžiev, *op. cit.,* pp. 381-382.

XIV. Macedonia in the Maelstrom of World War II

by Ioannis Koliopoulos

Professor of Modern History, Department of History and Archaeology, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece

The decade ushered in by the outbreak of World War II, in September 1939, began with many circles in Macedonia persuaded that this new European war would, like all preceding ones, change the map of the region: this, indeed, was why the countries in the area had hastened to side themselves with the alliance of Great Powers they thought would best serve their national interests. The 1934 Balkan Entente between Greece, Yugoslavia, Romania and Turkey, which was intended to neutralise the menace represented by Bulgaria's revisionist policy, had languished; for it had soon become clear that Bulgaria could only threaten the regional territorial status quo as the ally of a great European power. This possibility had progressively paralysed and in the end rendered the pact ineffective, since, with Bulgaria allied to either of Europe's great revisionist powers, Italy and Germany, it offered no security to any of its signatories. Of the parties to it, Greece and Turkey appeared to be leaning towards the emerging Anglo-French front against the Axis powers, Yugoslavia was moving towards reconciliation with Bulgaria while at the same time extending a hand of friendship towards Italy, and Romania was turning towards Germany, partly out of necessity but partly also because of the similarity of their regimes.

Bulgaria, refusing to accept the territorial arrangements that had come out of the treaties signed after the Second Balkan War and World War I, or to abandon its expansionist designs at the expense of its neighbours, accepted the blandishments of Italy and Germany, which wanted to use it in order to advance their own aspirations in the region, and abandoned itself to the inventions and balancing acts of King Boris, a monarch who was an exceptionally skilled opportunist. Bulgaro-Macedonian irredentism and its armed wing, the *Komitadji*, held Bulgarian politics hostage and undermined all attempts at formulating and exercising a foreign policy based on rational analysis of all the objective facts. Bulgaria in 1939 appeared to be rushing headlong into yet another opportunistic involvement in a new war, and yet another crushing defeat.

Greece, faced with the opportunism of Yugoslavia, the aggressive irredentism of Bulgaria and the unreliable support of Turkey, had to rely essentially on its own forces to preserve the northern territories it had acquired. Official British support, as expressed in April 1939 with the simultaneous guarantees offered by Britain and France to Greece and Romania, covered the country's national independence against attack from, chiefly, Germany and Italy, but did not provide for the talks between the two countries that the Greek Government wanted, in order to avoid any British Government treaty obligation towards Greece on the country's northern borders.

The ethnological situation in Macedonia after twenty years of forcible or voluntary transfers of populations between the three countries that had, with ethnic homogeneity as their primary objective, liberated the region, reflected their separate aspirations. Greek Macedonia, after the evacuation of 380,000 Muslims and more than 100,000 Slav-Macedonians and the resettlement of 640,000 Greek Asia Minor and Pontic refugees, displayed an ethnic mix very different from the period of the Balkan Wars. This ethnic mix was the product of a national choice. So too, to a considerable degree,

was the ethnic mix in Yugoslav Macedonia, although the Serbianisation campaign had not, despite the expulsion of the Greek Vlachs, produced the desired results. Bulgarian Macedonia, finally, had been further “Macedonised” with the resettlement of the majority of the Slav-Macedonians from Greece who had emigrated to Bulgaria in the wake of the Treaty of Neuilly (1919). Greece and Yugoslavia had tried to structurally integrate the parts of Macedonia they had, respectively, liberated, but only Greece had succeeded in doing so. Bulgaria, by contrast, made the Macedonian part of its territory an open and ‘military’ frontier, which was expected in due course to facilitate its absorption of the Greek and Yugoslav parts of Macedonia.

As in World War I, Macedonia was unsurprisingly once again the apple of discord between Greece, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. With some variations the three countries repeated their same roles, while Germany continued as before to intervene in favour of the Bulgarians and Britain in favour of the Greeks; but new factors were complicating the situation and making analogies with the period of the Great War untenable or misleading. Two new factors, Communism and Fascism, had been introduced into the equation alongside the nationalism of that earlier period, and these intensified the ethnic clashes in Macedonia. Communism, particularly, had a catalytic influence on political developments, largely because it was the vehicle of ethnic aspiration, and as such deceived all those who believed that nationalism was yielding its place to it. In the case of the Slav-Macedonians, Communism was the womb from which their nation emerged.

In September 1939, however, when Europe had for the second time skipped gradually into total war, all this seemed like Utopian fantasising. Everything indicated that this crisis, like so many others in the past – the Ethiopian crisis of 1935-1936, the Munich crisis of 1938 –, would end with a settlement of the differences between the parties involved. Moreover, news of the events that were shaking the rest of Europe reached the interested countries either through a firmly controlled press or, more likely, in the form of rumours. The intervening years and events, and especially the triumph of the principles and institutions of liberal democracy and the defeat of Fascism as a system of government in Europe, make it difficult now to reproduce the atmosphere in which public opinion was then shaped.

Also difficult to discern today are certain realities that have since, and particularly in recent years, been much explored and that explain the ferocity of the passions aroused by the war and the events that succeeded it. Such realities are the slow incorporation of the numerous and then distinct communities of refugees created by the Great War, especially on the Greek side of the border, the friction between the refugees and the Slav-Macedonians, again on the Greek side of the border, the fear kindled in extremely broad strata of society by communist action, since the communist parties of the day were committed to the overthrow of the existing social order, and the concomitant broad consensus for the suppression of their activity. The repressive measures against communism, which were the result of the anti-communist regimes of the time – totalitarian and other – in the general area, favoured displays of excessive zeal on the part of the instruments of public order, usually with the forbearance of the political authorities. In this climate of friction between native-born and incomers, these repressive measures and the excessive zeal with which they were carried out created the impression of a persecution, not only of the dissenting communist Slav-Macedonians, but of the Slav-Macedonians in general. This impression has recently been cultivated by post-modernist historiography, despite the fact that the available sources do not support such an inference. In contrast to other dictatorships in the area, that of Ioannis Metaxas in Greece (1936-1941) never applied – or even formulated – a policy of ethnic cleansing.

The war that was raging in Northern Europe eventually reached the South; and when Italy attacked Greece through Albania into Epirus and Western Macedonia,

Greece's allies, Yugoslavia and Turkey, to no one's surprise remained neutral. The fighting on Greece's north-western frontier, in conjunction on the one hand with the communist activity among the country's Slav-Macedonians and on the other with the pro-Bulgarian sentiments prevailing in Greek Macedonia's Slav-Macedonian pockets, especially in view of Bulgaria's obvious inclination towards the Italo-German Axis, worsened the already tense situation in the region.

It is not easy today to reconstruct those times, for want of specific information; but some idea of the situation can be gleaned from certain official actions. Western Macedonia was a war zone – as indeed, in view of the clear threat from Bulgaria, was the whole of Macedonia. As a result, the Greek military and administrative authorities proceeded, for security reasons, to evacuate from the frontier districts to the interior the Slav-Macedonian communists and/or pro-Bulgarians whose loyalty they felt to be doubtful. The exact number of these displaced Slav-Macedonians is not known, nor is it possible to distinguish them from another category of Slav-Macedonians displaced at about the same time, namely the fathers and adult brothers of Slav-Macedonian conscripts who defected to the Italians. The number of these defectors is not known, nor are the reasons for their defection. The Italians wanted to believe it was because they were stirred by Italian promises of autonomy once the Italians had occupied Greece. There are reports, after the occupation of Greece by the Italians and the Germans, of some hundreds of Slav-Macedonian prisoners of war held in various parts of the country in whom the Bulgarian authorities in Greece took an interest. The Bulgarians considered the Slav-Macedonians in Greece to be Bulgarians, and tried to persuade their allies to entrust to them their protection in occupied Greece[1].

The displaced Slav-Macedonians, communists for the most part but also the male relatives of Slav-Macedonian defectors, as well as the defectors themselves, joined the Slav-Macedonian communists who had been exiled by the Metaxas government for their beliefs. All these people, together with the traditionally pro-Bulgarian Slav-Macedonians of Macedonia, formed hotbeds of intense disaffection against the Greek authorities and were willing collaborators with the Bulgarians, Italians and Germans throughout the Occupation. The flattery and promises of the occupation authorities, in conjunction with such material benefits as food, animal feed and scholarships to study in Bulgaria or Bulgarian-occupied Yugoslav Macedonia, did not go unrewarded: several thousands of Slav-Macedonians were enticed into collaboration and repudiation of Greece, as will be explained below.

One consequence of the fall of Greece and Yugoslavia to the Axis forces in April 1941 was the partition of Macedonia into occupied zones and zones of covert sovereignty. Germany occupied Greek Central Macedonia, west of the river Strymon and east of Grevena and Kastoria, a broad corridor essential for unimpeded communications with the Aegean, the Peloponnese, Crete and North Africa. Germany had no territorial designs on Greece, but occupied this area for the purposes of unobstructed conduct of the war in the Eastern Mediterranean and North Africa. Covert territorial designs on Greece were held by Italy, which annexed the western part of Greek Western Macedonia and the Albanian-speaking part of Yugoslav Macedonia to the newly-hatched Italian protectorate of Albania, with the intention of incorporating the country into its intended post-war Empire, the "Third Rome" of the Italian Fascists. Less veiled, however, were Bulgaria's intentions for the future of Macedonia. Bulgaria then and later considered Greek Macedonia and Western Thrace to be an organic part of "historical" Bulgaria and, together with Yugoslav Macedonia, an inseparable part of the "new" post-war Bulgaria. Germany, which did not let Bulgaria annex Greek Macedonia and Thrace officially while the war was still in progress, so as not provoke the wrath of Greece, left its ally considerable freedom of action in the occupied lands, which Bulgaria claimed to

have “liberated” from the Greek and Serbian “yoke”. It is worth noting in this regard that Bulgarian historians, now as then, use the term “presence” in referring to the Bulgarian occupation of those countries.

The Bulgarian occupation of parts of Greek and Yugoslav Macedonia and the freedom of action allowed the Bulgarian liaison officers in the allied garrisons in the rest of Greek Macedonia increased the ambitions of many pro-Bulgarian Slav-Macedonians and further fuelled the passions and the suspicions and the fears of everyone in those regions. The retreat of the Greek resistance before the German advance in Northern Greece in April 1941 and the concomitant collapse of the Greek front in Albania, in conjunction with the withdrawal to Southern Greece of public officials who had been serving in the northern provinces, and particularly in Thrace and Macedonia, created a climate of insecurity among the population that emboldened opportunists of all sorts, not least the Slav-Macedonians and Vlachs.

The appearance of Italian occupation forces in the Vlach villages of Pindus and Western Macedonia in general was welcomed by many Vlachs, who hastened to offer their services as guides and interpreters in exchange for various benefits, which the Italians, in the interests of facilitating their work, had no reason to refuse. One of the most active of these renegade Vlach adventurers was Alcibiades Diamantis of Samarina (Pindus), an erstwhile pro-Romanian now turned pro-Italian. Diamantis undertook to promote among the Vlachs of the Pindus massif the cause of an Italian-inspired Vlach autonomy under the aegis of mighty Rome, in the form of the stillborn “Principality of Pindus”. This vision did not win many converts: most Vlachs failed to be moved by the promises of the adventurer from Samarina, on the one hand because they knew him as an opportunist and on the other, and more decisively, because they were not disposed to reject the Greek homeland they had played such an important part in creating during the age of the Modern Greek Enlightenment. Some 2000 Vlachs were, however, persuaded to form the notorious “Roman Legion”, a political organisation led by Diamantis (and following him another Vlach adventurer, Nikolaos Manousis, a lawyer with his own band of armed followers) and a sort of militia at the service of the Italian military detachments that carried out raids on the villages in search of food and arms[2].

The action of the Legion, and particularly of its armed members, created serious problems, less for the victims of the raids, however, than for the Vlachs themselves, because it sowed suspicion and hatred within the Vlach communities, and because in the traditional world of that age the actions of some members of a community exposed the entire community as jointly responsible. Old passions, dating from the time of the activity of Romanian agents seeking to rally the Vlachs of Macedonia to their side, combined with displeasure at certain measures taken by the Greek Government and the military authorities during the active phase of the war against the Italians and the Germans, such as the requisitioning of draught animals and feed for the requirements of the war, predisposed some Vlachs to ally themselves with the Italians, whose objectives were twofold: to use these collaborators for their own purposes and to disunite the local population and render its subjugation an easier task.

The autonomist action of the Vlachs of the Legion was confined to the Italian zone of occupation, a clear indication of its non-indigenous nature, and was moreover short-lived: the Legion was dissolved in 1942, and the following year, with the capitulation of Italy, its most active members sought refuge in the cities, in Greece or in Romania, where many of them later joined the communist regime imposed with Soviet assistance after the war. After the liberation of Greece, the most active members of the autonomist movement were tried as war criminals in Larisa, mostly *in absentia*, and given heavy sentences. The treacherous actions of many of these Vlach autonomists

were largely forgotten, however, in the Civil War that followed; and some of them, indeed, actively sided with the government in its fight against the communist guerrillas.

More serious, from every point of view, was the pro-Bulgarian activity among the Slav-Macedonians in Greek and, chiefly, Yugoslav Macedonia. The Bulgarian army of occupation entered what was then called "Vardar Province" and later the "People's Republic of Macedonia" (now the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia) as a liberating force and was accepted as such by much of the Slav population. In Greek Macedonia, by contrast, at least in the part of it that the Bulgarian army entered in 1941, and where it remained, the response of the Slav-Macedonians was limited, and for the Bulgarians rather disappointing. Bulgarian expansionism was better received at that time in those parts of Greek Macedonia, like the frontier districts of Kastoria, Florina and Pella, which still had pockets of Slav-Macedonians where pro-Bulgarian sentiments continued to flourish. There were two principal reasons for this limited response to the Bulgarian military and political presence in Greek Macedonia, in contrast to the response to the similar presence in neighbouring Yugoslav Macedonia: first, the small proportion of Slav-Macedonians in Greek Macedonia and, second, the effective Hellenisation, both in language and in convictions, of the overwhelming majority of the Slav-Macedonians in Greece.

The progressive adoption of the Greek language by the Slav-Macedonians in Greece, at least from the time of the Modern Greek Enlightenment, and the unquestionably Greek sympathies of most of their number when their loyalties were tested during the harsh contest between the Greeks and the Bulgarians to determine their leanings, were indisputable facts; and they severely hampered the penetration of the propaganda disseminated by Bulgarian authorities and agents among the Slav-Macedonians in Greece. In Yugoslav Macedonia, by contrast, Bulgaria's political and military authorities found fertile soil for their action, mainly since the assimilation of the Slav-Macedonians, who constituted the overwhelming majority of the population, had not been as successful as it had in Greek Macedonia.

The difference in the scale of the response to the Bulgarian presence in the principal parts of Macedonia, the Greek and the Yugoslav, was evident in the degree to which the Slav-Macedonians collaborated with the occupying forces of those two provinces. In Greek Macedonia, whether in the Bulgarian-occupied eastern section or the German-occupied centre or the Italian-occupied west, only a small fraction of the Slav-Macedonians collaborated, whereas in Yugoslav Macedonia much of the Slav-Macedonian population collaborated with the Bulgarian occupying force.

There was also a significant difference in the resistance against the Axis occupation forces in these two Macedonian provinces. In Greek Macedonia more Slav-Macedonians rallied from the outset to the side of the resistance organisations and fewer to the occupation forces, while those who did collaborate with the occupying forces did so largely on account of those same resistance organisations. In the Slav-Macedonian pockets of Greek Macedonia communist resistance action broke out far more rapidly than the corresponding resistance action in Slav-Macedonian Yugoslav Macedonia, mainly because in Greek Macedonia the communist movement was not burdened with the thraldom attached to the corresponding movement in Yugoslav Macedonia, where the local communist leadership had since 1940 been placed under Bulgarian tutelage.

In Yugoslav – or, more correctly, Serbian – Macedonia, there was no local communist party; the local communists were members of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. In the spring of 1940, and with the approval of Josip Broz Tito (who had just taken over as Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the CPY), Giorgi Dimitrov sent Metodija Šatorov from Moscow, the headquarters of the Communist

International, to Serbian Macedonia. Šatorov was a member of the Communist Party of Bulgaria and a former member of the international branch of IMRO – IMRO (United), as it was known. In October of that same year (1940), the Yugoslav communists under Tito recognised the right of the Slav-Macedonians of Serbian Macedonia to equality within a federation of South Slav peoples. This recognition, as was to be expected, fostered the growth of "Macedonianism" among the country's Slav-Macedonians; but this "Macedonianism" did not favour Bulgaria[3].

Serbian influence appeared to be waning in Serbian Macedonia, and Bulgarian influence waxing stronger: the Bulgarian troops that had entered the country in April were welcomed with obvious enthusiasm by the Slav-Macedonian population. The Bulgaro-Macedonian refugees that had fled there earlier had paved the way for the Bulgarian army. Subsequent developments did not, however, vindicate Bulgarian expectations. The Albanian-speaking districts of Tetovo, Gostivar, Dibra, Strounga and Ochrid were assigned to the Italo-Albanian zone of occupation, the districts of Monastir and Skopje, the two Slav-Macedonian provinces, were separate administrative entities, while of Greek Macedonia only the eastern section was occupied by the Bulgarian army, but without being annexed to Bulgaria. The 'liberation' of Macedonia proclaimed by Bulgaria before the war, and the main reason why it had joined in on the side of Italy and Germany, remained an unfulfilled promise. In addition, the senior Serb employees in Serbian Macedonia's public services were now being replaced by Bulgarians, who did not conceal their contempt for the Slav-Macedonians. The Serbs' endeavour to Serbianise the country was replaced by the Bulgarians' endeavour to Bulgarise it. The initial enthusiasm of Ivan Mihailov's pro-Bulgarian branch of IMRO gave way to disappointment and obvious disenchantment. In Greek Eastern Macedonia, the Bulgarian occupation authorities imposed a regime designed to Bulgarise the country by force, by persecuting the Greek population and attempting to attract Bulgarians or Bulgaro-Macedonians from Bulgaria; but they were essentially unsuccessful. They derived little benefit from the latter measure, while the former hardened the endurance of the Greeks and favoured the growth of armed resistance in the region. Soon, however, as the fortunes of war seemed to favour the forces fighting against the Axis, the situation began to change in Macedonia as well.

A catalytic new factor now made its appearance in the country: resistance against the occupier, and particularly communist-driven resistance. In Greek Macedonia this resistance, shaped by different local factors, displayed different characteristics from region to region. In Eastern Macedonia, the resistance against the Bulgarian occupation authorities was universal, in the sense that there was no collaboration with them, although the resistance organisations were from the beginning divided into two camps, one communist and the other anti-communist.

It was in Greek Eastern Macedonia that one of the first resistance actions in Greece took place: a serious uprising against the Bulgarian occupation authorities in and around Drama in September 1941. This insurgency, which was organised and instigated by members of the Greek Communist Party (KKE) without the approval of the central party organisation, ended in a bloodbath at the hands of the Bulgarian military forces, which displayed such savagery and seemed to be so well-prepared to put down the revolt as to raise questions, both then and later, about the possibility of official involvement in its outbreak. The insurgency was used by the Bulgarian occupation authorities as a heaven-sent opportunity to eliminate or exile the Greek population from the villages and cities of the area. Doxato, Drama and many villages paid heavily for the uprising, so heavily that one might reasonably wonder whether the Bulgarian authorities were not in fact aware of what the communist conspirators were planning. There is,

however, no evidence to support this hypothesis, nor can events or developments be judged by their outcomes: *cui bono* is not an infallible guide. [4]

In the same year a similar provocation in the German-occupied zone, in Mesovouno in the district of Eordaia, was put down with the same harshness but on an incomparably smaller and more geographically limited scale. In Mesovouno, as in Doxato and Drama, local members of the KKE launched premature revolutionary action, independent of the plans and purposes of the central party organisation. One of the consequences of these insurgencies and the harshness with which they were suppressed was to delay communist resistance action in both regions and allow anti-Communist guerrilla groups to emerge and become established. They also proved that the most effective way to drive hesitant villagers into the mountains was to provoke harsh reprisals from the occupation authorities.

In the rest of Greek Macedonia, both the German-occupied middle zone and the Italian-occupied western zone, the resistance activity of the Communist National Liberation Front (*Ethniko Apeleutherotiko Metopo*, or EAM) resistance acted as a catalyst, since it was accompanied by an attempt to enlist all guerrilla groups, communist or otherwise, into EAM's military wing, the National People's Liberation Army (*Ethnikos Laikos Apeleutherotikos Stratos*, or ELAS) and to eliminate those who refused. This was not unreasonably interpreted as paving the way for EAM's political predominance in the regions it sought to control through ELAS, with the relentless persecution of dissenters, the appointment of politically well-affected communal councils, commissariats and people's courts and the control of all information.

Once EAM (that is, the Communist Party and the smaller left-wing parties that had agreed to support it for the sake of its goals) had become aware of the extent of the response to its patriotic calls for the liberation of the country from its occupiers, it added a new objective: a kind of socialist revolution in the countryside. Until then primarily a party of the workers, the KKE did not estimate very highly the prospects of a rural revolution carried out mainly by peasants. The disruption of the rural economy and of legitimate Greek power, in conjunction with the subversive climate cultivated by external exhortations and fostered by persecutions and hardships, generated centrifugal forces that released young men and women from the constraints of the traditional and conservative rural society of the day. Most of the young men and women who enlisted in EAM guerrilla groups and eventually in ELAS were not communists: the communists comprised only a tiny minority of the members of the communist-run "liberation army". Most of them took to the mountains and enlisted in guerrilla bands in order to avoid persecution, either driven by patriotism or for revenge on personal or family adversaries. In situations of political disorder and easy departure from legality, it is not easy to determine the motives of those who joined the guerrilla groups acting in the country's mountain villages, nor indeed is this of much importance.

These young villagers, especially those from mountain regions, enlisted and served in ELAS because EAM had, besides the mechanism to mobilise and retain them, clear (if not transparent) objectives. EAM also had an attractive patriotic liberation discourse: unlike the bourgeois parties, which had in the past supported or tolerated illiberal and oppressive regimes, EAM carried no such baggage. Its patriotic discourse on the one hand enticed and on the other concealed the unavowed aim of the Greek Communist Party to seek, by blackmailing its political opponents or eliminating them physically or politically, a significant share of, or absolute, power after the Liberation. In those days of major upheavals, tremendous sacrifices and runaway expectations, this aim was not or did not appear to be unrealistic or unattainable: the declarations of the Allies who were fighting against the Axis, especially those from the politically and mo-

rally all-powerful Soviet Union, the Holy See of world Communism, favoured EAM's bid for power.

The dynamic projection of EAM by its communist officers as the only reliable and effective resistance force was, as we have said, catalytic. Many guerrilla groups joined ELAS; many others were dissolved by ELAS, and their members either retired from action or escaped to the Middle East; while yet others refused either to join ELAS or to disband, but used every means to try to retain and preserve their independence, usually with little success. The armed reaction to attacks by ELAS units against guerrilla groups that sought to retain their independence opened the way for acceptance of discreet tolerance or even protection on the part of the occupation authorities. In many cases, a combination of anticommunism and the mutual benefits deriving to the anti-EAM guerrilla groups and the occupation authorities from a common front against ELAS units facilitated the occasional collaboration of the opponents of that organisation. It must, however, be stressed that the political cadres of some resistance organisations, such as the Defenders of Northern Greece (*Yperaspistai tis Voreiou Ellados*, or YBE), which later became the Panhellenic Liberation Organisation (*Panellenia Apeleutherotiki Organosis*, or PAO), were not initially motivated by anticommunism.

The YBE, which first appeared in 1941 in Central Macedonia, was a typical example of a resistance organisation that was attacked by ELAS, had units disbanded, and essentially faded away when its officers abandoned the field. The name of the defunct organisation was adopted and used, in the lowlands around Kozani, and especially in the district of Eordaia, by local anti-EAM bands that constituted a sort of militia tolerated or supported by the German occupation authorities. The region of Kozani, traversed by many important roads, was naturally of particular interest to the German military authorities, which, in order to secure and retain absolute control over this important communications hub, were disposed to tolerate such auxiliary armed forces, although they often created more problems than they were supposed to be solving.

An incomparably more serious issue was created in Greek Western Macedonia (and also in Central Macedonia) by the pro-Bulgarian attitude of some of the Slav-Macedonians. In March 1943 there appeared, first in the Italian-occupied district of Kastoria and later in the neighbouring German-occupied districts of Florina and Pella, bands of armed Slav-Macedonians acting as local militia in the service of the occupation authorities. Extremely able and active Bulgarian liaison officers in the various German and Italian garrisons played an effective role in attracting Slav-Macedonians and enlisting them in these militias. One of these, Anton Kalchev, from the village of Spelaia in the Kastoria district, was very active in the formation of the Slav-Macedonian militia of Kastoria, the infamous *Okhrana*, or "Axis-Bulgarian-Macedonian Committee", and in arming its members, the *Komitadji*.

From the information available it would appear that, although - given the different provenances and uncertain validity of the sources - the total number of *Komitadji* is impossible to determine, they comprised a small but appreciable portion of Greece's Slav-Macedonians. Pro-Bulgarians or children of pro-Bulgarians for the most part, but also many opportunists whose aspirations fed on the irregular political situation, plus a fair number who advanced real or supposed persecution on the part of the local authorities as motives, agreed to be armed by the occupation authorities against the guerrillas of the resistance organisations. Many old pro-Bulgarian Slav-Macedonians, vestiges of the pro-Bulgarianism surviving in the Slavophone enclaves of Greek Macedonia from the time of the great national conflicts of the early 20th century, had never accepted Greek

sovereignty in the region and were led by events to the conviction that their districts would be ceded to Bulgaria.[5]

Nor is it easy for the historian to distinguish between cause and effect in the matter of the arming of the Slav-Macedonians in Greece by the occupation authorities. In the Kastoria district, in March 1943, this coincided with a spell of serious resistance activity in the neighbouring district of Boion. This resistance activity seems to have been one, if not the chief reason, for the occupation authorities' decision to resort to arming the Slav-Macedonians who appeared ready to repudiate Greece in favour of Bulgaria. Similarly, little is known of the role played in the formation of the Slav-Macedonian militia by Slav-Macedonians like Naoum Peïos, from the village of Gavros in the Korestia district, or Ioannis Skois, from Argos Orestikon, who were in Sofia in the early days of the occupation and belonged to Bulgaro-Macedonian irredentist organisations. These and other pro-Bulgarian Slav-Macedonians from the district, it should be noted, maintained contact with leading communists like Andreas Tzimas, a Vlach from Argos Orestikon. When, in July 1941, after he and others had been liberated from Acronauplia on July 1, Tzimas and the other Greek Communist Party cadres who formed the core of the party's Central Committee attempted to link up with the Communist International, they tried to send as a liaison to Skois another Slav-Macedonian from Argos Orestikon, Telemachus Ververis, who ended up, in the spring of 1943, in what was then Serbian Macedonia negotiating with Sfetozar Vukmanović-Tempo, Tito's envoy to the region with broad military and political powers relating to a joint headquarters for the communist organisations in Yugoslavia, Greece, Albania and Bulgaria and the communist parties' manifesto for the self-determination of the "peoples" of Macedonia after its liberation[6].

This episode is indicative of the confusion reigning in Macedonia with regard to the objectives of and relations between the different parties involved. Those who put themselves forward as representatives of organisations, movements or undefined communities *de facto* advertised or intimated only part of their plans and goals. Tito and the leaders of his communist guerrilla movement put forward, from a position of strength in the southern Balkans, liberal positions like self-determination in order to attract to their side the pro-Bulgarian Slav-Macedonians of Serbian, primarily, but also of Greek Macedonia. The self-determination for the "peoples" of the Macedonia professed by the Yugoslav communists was essentially the position of the Communist International and the Balkan Communist Federation from 1924 to 1935, which called for a "single and independent" Macedonia, now reformulated in terms echoing the Atlantic Charter of 1941.

Like their Bulgarian comrades, the Greek communists were in a position to appraise the Yugoslav Communists' bid for leadership in the desired settlement of the Macedonian question, and they rejected it; but they could not afford a breach with the Yugoslavs. Tito and his movement had been pushed into centre stage by the Allies fighting against the Axis, while the Greek and Bulgarian communists had been left in the shadows. The Greek communists, indeed, were isolated from the other communists in the region, and particularly from the Soviets, while relations with the English were anything but "comradely".

Andreas Tzimas, who had forestalled the understanding reached between Ververis and Tempo and scotched their agreement to issue to their brother Communist parties in Yugoslavia, Greece and Bulgaria a manifesto guaranteeing the "peoples" of Macedonia the right to self-determination after the Liberation, explained with disarming frankness after the war the reason why the Greek communists had avoided denouncing the provocation of their Yugoslav comrades in the matter of Macedonia: "We realised very early

on that we were going to have to deal with an English intervention in Greece. In that struggle we would have had no hope of winning without the backing of the guerrilla forces of our neighbours and without reinforcements from them. As things turned out, contact with and help from the Soviet Union was only possible through our neighbouring countries. Those were the chief problems on our minds, and only secondarily coordinating resistance action".[7] The Yugoslav communists promised their Greek comrades "help" in the expected clash with the English in order to encourage this conflict and thus keep the English in Greece busy, so that the Yugoslavs could go ahead with their plans, in Northern Greece and the rest of the region, unhindered. As will be explained in more detail in the next chapter, the involvement of the English and in general of the Western Allies in Greece's civil war favoured the ascendancy of communist regimes in Eastern Europe, which is why Eastern Europe's communist leaders not only did not discourage the Greek communists from clashing with the English but with promises of assistance actually encouraged them to do so. The maintenance of political disorder in Greece in the end contributed to the imposition and entrenchment of the communist regimes in Eastern Europe.

An important role in restoring the impaired position of the Greek Communist Party in Western Macedonia after the massive arrests of local officers by agents of the Metaxas government in 1938 and 1939 was played by party cadres from Acronauplia on 1 July 1941, mediated by the Bulgarian Embassy, as already noted. This, moreover, was the main reason for their release, at the recommendation of members of the party's Politburo, like Ioannis Ioannidis, who were held in the same camp. Many of the freed communists were Slav-Macedonians from the districts, chiefly, of Kastoria and Florina. These Slav-Macedonians were expected to revive the faltering communist machine in the region, but their arrival was accompanied by no more than the good wishes of the Greek communist leadership. The Greek communist leaders may from time to time have shown themselves to be inefficient tacticians and strategists, but they were not naïve, and they could appreciate that the motives behind the Bulgarians' interest in the Slav-Macedonian communists held in Acronauplia and their decision to have them released were not purely philanthropic. Commentary on the matter, which has been studiously avoided by all the senior Greek Communist Party officials who knew anything about the episode or were involved in it, is therefore superfluous.

The Bulgarian authorities in Greece knew that they were releasing communist Slav-Macedonians, but they calculated that their presence in Western Macedonia would be useful to Bulgaria as well as to the Greek communists. The Slav-Macedonians freed were of course communists, but they came from regions with pockets of pro-Bulgarian sentiment and were potential channels of communication with the pro-Bulgarian Slav-Macedonians of those parts. The role of these Slav-Macedonians in the setting up of the *Komitadji* militia forces is unknown: the Bulgarian liaison officers may have by-passed them. What is known, however, is their contribution to the efforts of the communist resistance organisations to draw the Slav-Macedonians, "misled" by the Axis, into the their ranks on both sides of their borders. In Greek Western Macedonia this programme of enticement was implemented, formally, by the Slav-Macedonian National Liberation Front, or SNOF, which was founded for that purpose in the autumn of 1943 but whose action was carried out essentially in the summer and autumn of 1944, in view of the withdrawal of the German forces from Greece. By that time, however, the "misled" Slav-Macedonians of Greece had massively adopted the "Macedonianism" emanating from the newly-instituted People's Republic of Macedonia in Yugoslavia.

From the spring of 1943 to the end of the autumn of 1944 at least five distinct rival groups fought over the Slav-Macedonians in Greek and Serbian Macedonia: a) the leaders of the Yugoslav communist resistance, which was promoting the "Macedonisa-

tion" of the communists of Serbian Macedonia; b) the representatives of the Bulgarian Government, who were promoting the identification of the Slav-Macedonians with Bulgaria; c) the cadres of Ivan Mihailov's organisation, who were acting independently of the Bulgarian authorities but were serving Bulgarian interests; d) the leaders of the Slav-Macedonians in Greece, who followed a basically timeserving policy, preserving channels of communication with the "Macedonianists" of Serbian Macedonia, the representatives or agents of the Bulgarians and the local Greek communist leadership; and e) the Greek communist leadership, which through the local branch of ELAS expressed displeasure at the acts of the Slav-Macedonian "Macedonianists" while at the same time through EAM displayed a toleration of them that was inexplicable at the time. As it later became clear, the explanation for the difference in attitude to the Protean metamorphoses of the Slav-Macedonian leaders in Greece and their final adherence to "Macedonianism" lay in the following peculiarity of the situation in the region in which the ELAS units were active: The ELAS 9th Division, which was deployed in the districts of Boion, Kastoria and Florina and which drew its strength, both officers and men, mainly from Greek-speaking Boion, sought to crush the pro-Bulgarian Slav-Macedonian pockets in Kastoria and Florina, which supported the *Komitadji* militia and undermined the local ELAS sermons on liberation. The attack by a 9th Brigade detachment in May 1943 against the village of Lakkomata in the district of Kastoria, which was the seat of a strong *Komitadji* group, revealed the intentions and objectives of the local ELAS. EAM, on the other hand, through Tzimas, who sought close relations with the Yugoslav communist resistance movement, urged conciliation and tolerance towards the Slav-Macedonian *Komitadji*. After the ELAS attack on Lakkomata, Tzimas imposed tolerance of *Komitadji* action on the local ELAS, with the object of alliance with the Yugoslav Partisans. This decision came from high-ranking KKE officials and was respected by ELAS, which was *de facto* advancing the liberation of the country more than the political plans of EAM and the KKE for its future. In places, ELAS units were reacting to local provocations that undermined the political plans of EAM and the KKE, which as a result deemed this corrective intervention on the part of high-ranking KKE officials necessary to prevent damage to the party's long-term and largely unexpressed political goals.[8]

The situation in Yugoslav Macedonia was more complex and more confused, on account of the region's peculiar relationship with Bulgaria, which we have already noted. The Communist Party of Bulgaria, although it was obliged to differ from the Bulgarian Government on the issue of the Bulgarian military presence in Yugoslav Macedonia and hastened to censure the Bulgarian administration, avoided condemning the union of the region with Bulgaria promised by the Bulgarian Government or supporting the slogan of self-determination for the "peoples" of Macedonia in the framework of a federal Yugoslavia. IMRO (United), the 3rd International-aligned organisation supported by the Yugoslav communist resistance movement, was naturally already active in the Bulgarian-occupied zone of Yugoslav Macedonia, but so were many pro-Bulgarian organisations as well as a branch of Draža Mihailović's pro-Serbian organisation. The Albanian-speaking zone was the arena of the Albanian organisation Balli Kombëtar.

The founding in March 1943, at the instigation of Tito's lieutenant, the very active Tempo, of the Communist Party of Macedonia was an act that played a determinant role in political developments in the broader general region. The Secretary of the Central Committee, Lazar Kolichevski, and its members were former members of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and were directed by Tito through Tempo. The promotion of "Macedonianism" as an ethnic ideology of the Slav-Macedonians and the dimly discernible defeat of the Axis and, naturally, of Bulgaria contributed to the growth of the communist-driven and Tito-controlled resistance in Yugoslav Macedonia and to the

formation of a new and autonomous political entity. It was not yet certain whether the architect of the future People's Republic of Macedonia would seek, apart from the promised union of the "Macedonian people" and of the three parts of Macedonia, to incorporate it into Yugoslavia, into a broader union of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia or into a Soviet-style Balkan federation. *De facto*, however, the leaders of the Slav-Macedonian "Macedonianists" were drawn towards its incorporation into a federal Yugoslavia. The "Yugoslav" solution to the Macedonian Question was adopted in November 1943 by the Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia in the Bosnian town of Jajce, while the irredentist perspective of the new political entity was confirmed by the selection of two former cadres of the Communist Party of Bulgaria, Dimitar Vlachov and Vladimir Poptomov, as representatives of Greek Macedonia and Bulgarian Macedonia respectively[9].

As expected, the Yugoslav communists' decision regarding the future of Macedonia was opposed by the Bulgarian communists, who raised the old IMRO call for a "single and independent Macedonia", a position that was considered "safe" and appropriate to Bulgaria's interests, a defensive position on the part of the Bulgarian communists against the hegemonistic policy of their Yugoslav comrades. The Greek communists made some objections to moving away from the Communist International 1935 call for "equality for all nationalities" in Macedonia, but not very convincingly, since they too, like the Bulgarian communists, were in a minority compared to their Yugoslav comrades. The Yugoslav communists, with their generally accepted liberal principle of national self-determination and their control of the leadership of the Communist Party of the Macedonian "people", promoted the national positions of Yugoslavia in the budding political structure.

In Greek Macedonia the Slav-Macedonian National Liberation Front, the resistance organisation of the Slav-Macedonians that was expected to become a magnet for those "misled" people who shared a language with the *Komitadji*, played the role, as its founders should have expected, of a channel for the transmission of "Macedonianism" to the Slavophone pockets in that area and did not in the end become the EAM of the Slav-Macedonians in Greece, as the KKE cadres who decided to allow it to come into being hoped it would. Ioannis Ioannidis, who assumed the responsibility for this decision, continued to argue that he gave his consent in good faith, that is, without suspecting that SNOF would act as an agent of Macedonism in Greek Macedonia. It is very probable that high-ranking KKE cadres – Tzimas and/or Ioannidis – *post facto* supported views that were not made public at the time when these momentous decisions were being made, with the result that many cadres in Greek Macedonia were not aware of the reasons for the tolerance displayed towards the *agents provocateurs* of Macedonianism nor, naturally, who was responsible for it.[10]

When in the spring of 1944 SNOF action in promoting Macedonianism in Greek Macedonia became apparent, the local cadres of the KKE hastened to disband the organisation, which allowed the opponents of the KKE to denigrate the party and argue that the Greek communists were bringing about the cession of Greek Macedonia to Greece's northern neighbours. Highly opportunistic Slav-Macedonian agents of Macedonianism like Naoum Peïos, who had initially succumbed to the allure of pro-Bulgarian *Komitadji* action, were arrested and held for a short time by ELAS units, but were released after the intervention of high-ranking Yugoslav Partisans. This was followed by the formation of two Slav-Macedonian brigades, on the mountains of Vitsi and Kaimakchalan respectively, once again by decision of high-ranking KKE cadres, Ioannidis certainly and possibly others.[11]

The "misled" Slav-Macedonians joined these Greek Slav-Macedonian units virtually *en masse*: within just a few months the flower of the pro-Bulgarian *Komitadji* of Kastoria, Florina and Pella had enlisted in the new brigades, which were ELAS units only in name. In reality they were units harbouring former pro-Bulgarian Slav-Macedonians, who through Macedonism found themselves in the same camp as those who were expected to prevail after the withdrawal of the occupation forces from the region. Communist National Front members and pro-Bulgarian *Komitadji*, now enthusiastic "*Makedonci*" one and all, repudiated both ELAS and Greece and went over, in October 1944, to the new People's Republic of Macedonia, the metropolis of communist-driven Macedonianism. The Slav-Macedonian brigades were a Pool of Siloam that cleansed the former pro-Bulgarian Slav-Macedonians from the stigma of collaboration. They were welcomed enthusiastically into the new entity to the north of the Greek border by Tito's communist Partisans, while Tito himself launched the first of a series of bitter denunciations of Greece's supposed persecution of the "Macedonians" in Greece that would punctuate the years of Greece's civil war. The first such "persecution" took place in October 1944, when the ELAS command in Macedonia tried to move the disruptive Slav-Macedonian brigades away from the Greek-Yugoslav border and the pockets of Slavophones, where they were acting as agents of Macedonianism. Elias Dimakis, or Gotse, commissar of one of these brigades, and other Slav-Macedonian leaders, all members of the KKE, refused to comply with the orders of their superior officers and abandoned Greek Macedonia, just as freedom was dawning for that country, which had paid such a terrible price in blood.

The reciprocal denunciations and accusations of provocative and "uncomradely" behaviour in the matter of the Greek Slav-Macedonians who had sided with the Axis and abandoned Greece in order not to face the consequences of their collaboration, were the visible side of a bitter rivalry for sovereignty in Macedonia. With the offer of national status for the Slav and other communities in Macedonia in the framework of a federal Yugoslavia, Tito sought to entice the populations not only of Serbian but also of Bulgarian Macedonia. Bulgarian communists like Dimitrov proposed resolving the Macedonian Question by incorporating a single unified Macedonia into a South Slav Federation of Bulgarians, Serbs, Slovenes, Croats, Montenegrins and "Macedonians", in an attempt to keep in Bulgaria Bulgarian-Macedonians (and later "Macedonians") like Vlachov, whose mutation was made more likely by the turn the war had taken against Bulgaria. Given the collective transmutation of these Bulgarian-Macedonians into Yugoslav-issue "Macedonians" when it became obvious that Bulgaria was going to be among the losers of the war, it is possible to assume that if Bulgaria had changed camps a year earlier many Bulgarian-Macedonians from Bulgarian, Serbian and Greek Macedonia would not have been in such a hurry to transform themselves into "Macedonians". The invocation of Bulgarian misrule in Serbian Macedonia and of the oppression of the Slav-Macedonians in Greek Macedonia by the Metaxas government were a pretext of the eminently opportunistic Slav-Macedonian leadership, which was always ready to shuffle off the political liabilities for its complaisant collaboration with the Axis forces.

However, the creation of the new state and of the nation that it would house was in 1944 a fact and an inescapable reality. Product of communist processes and liberal principles, the new entity that came into being on 2 August 1944 with the name "People's Republic of Macedonia" was not, of course, the fruit of a parthenogenesis, but had gestated within the Yugoslavia of the war years. Its new people, the "Makedonci", were still a potential nation: without a past, it harboured the faith in a splendid future of those who undertook to mould it. Drawing upon the historic past of Macedonia, which had already been distributed among the nations that had taken shape in the region, Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbs and Albanians, and borrowing from the languages that had evolved

among them, the nation-builders of the new state endowed it with a Slavic language as far as possible distinct from the Slavic tongues of its neighbours, and its "own" history and culture.

Bulgaria, the only country that could have stopped the establishment of the new nation and its ethnic state, given that their existence was prejudicial to vital Bulgarian interests, was absent from the process. When on 9 September 1944 Bulgaria at last capitulated and hastened to change camp, it was too late for effective intervention: the situation could no longer be turned around. Bulgaria was unfortunate in 1941, when it chose to ally itself with Germany; and it was unfortunate again in 1944, when came the hour of crisis and it was liberated by troops from the Soviet Union, which facilitated the entrenchment of a communist regime in the country.

The KKE, smallest of the three communist parties in the region that were involved in the question of the future of Macedonia after the war, found itself from the beginning in a difficult position, for the reasons already explained and for the additional reason that Greece was liberated not by the Soviet Union but by England. In October 1944, when Soviet troops were liberating Bulgaria and British troops were liberating Greece, it would have been logical for the Greek communist leadership to conclude that Greece would not become part of a communist Balkan Peninsula. On the contrary, however, many KKE cadres believed, moved by sincere passion rather than by objective analysis of the facts, that Greece would also in the end form part of a Soviet Balkans, in the framework of which the Macedonian Question would be resolved. The vague and Sibylline messages from the Soviet Union should logically have discouraged those KKE cadres who expected military support from the communist regimes in the Balkans. However, the encouraging messages from the Yugoslav communist regime seem to have had more weight in shaping the position of the KKE in the period between the Liberation and the armed confrontation with British troops and the forces at the disposal of the Greek Government that reached Greece from the Middle East. The KKE, although officially maintaining its pre-war position on the Macedonian Question with regard to the equality of all 'nationalities' of Macedonia, was not in a position to impose it on its brother communist parties in the region or indeed on many of its cadres who were active in Greek Macedonia.

Notes

1. Cf. Ioannis Koliopoulos, *Leilasia Phronematon*, [*Plundered Loyalties*], vol. I, 2nd edition, Thessaloniki 1995, p. 33 ff.
2. Koliopoulos, *Plundered Loyalties*, vol. I, p. 44 ff.
3. Cf. Spyridon Sfetas, *I diamorphosi tis slavomakedonikis taftotitas* [*The formation of Slav-Macedonian identity*], Thessaloniki 2003, p. 147 ff. Cf. also Elizabeth Barker's classic work, *Macedonia in the inter-Balkan relations and conflicts*, here cited from the translation by Anna I. Koliopoulou, Thessaloniki 1996, p. 143 ff.
4. Cf. Tassos Hatzianastasios, *Antartes kai Kapetanioi. I Ethniki Antistasi kata ti boulgariki katohi tis Anatolikis Makedonias kai tis Thrakis, 1942-1944* [*Bandits and Captains. National Resistance in Bulgarian-occupied Eastern Macedonia and Thrace*], Thessaloniki 2003.

5. A. I. Koliopoulou, *op. cit.,* vol. I, op. cit., p. 52 ff.
6. Andreas Tzimas, «Gramma sto Politico Grapheio, 22.6.1960» [Letter to the Politburo, 22.6.1960], in a collection of typewritten memoirs and letters by Tzimas selected by Alekos Papapanagiotou, who before his death entrusted them to the author of this study, 59-62 of the collection.
7. Tzimas, *op. cit.,* Replies to questions about the "National Resistance", interview accorded by Tzimas to Papapanagiotou, 22-24.6.1977, 70.
8. *Ibid*, «Replies», 77-81.
9. Sfetas, *op. cit*., p. 177 ff.
10. Yannis Ioannidis, *Anamneseis* [*Reminiscences*], edited by Alekos Papapanagiotou, Athens 1979, pp. 246-7 and 519-520 note 55.
11. A. I. Koliopoulou, *op. cit.,* vol. I, p. 114 ff., with an extensive analysis of the action of SNOF.

XV. Macedonia: between two worlds (1945–1949)

by Ioannis Koliopoulos

Professor of Modern History, Department of History and Archaeology, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece

The liberation of Macedonia, after the retreat of the Axis occupation forces, further complicated the already complex Macedonian Question; for apart from the friction associated with their old territorial claims, the three countries that had in 1913 shared the land of geographical Macedonia found themselves in 1945 in two politically and militarily opposing camps – and three years later in three. Greece, which had aligned itself with the Western Allies and was liberated with the help of British troops, found itself confronting Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, which had entered the Soviet Union's sphere of influence and with the help of Soviet troops had acquired communist regimes. Greece, after five years of civil conflict, whose final and harshest phase was played out in Greek Macedonia, had liberal constitutional and parliamentary institutions and had joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). Its membership of this alliance assured it the protection of the Western Great Powers, which took shape during the latter half of the 1940s, a testing time of severe distress and hardship in Greece.

During this period Macedonia occupied a key position not only between Greece, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, but also between two different worlds that were engaged in a harsh ideological and political war, a confrontation that could have escalated into military conflict. Greek Macedonia was the Balkan frontier between the Western and the Eastern Worlds, the place where liberal democracy and communist totalitarianism, the free market economy and state socialism, met and locked horns. In the erstwhile Serbian Macedonia and later "People's Republic of Macedonia", a new nation and its accompanying state had been forged with the communist rhetoric of the day, while in Greek Macedonia the strength of the Greek nation-state was hard put to counter the threat represented by its northern neighbours and by those within its borders who repudiated liberal democracy and the free market economy.

The civil conflict in Greece and the establishment of communist regimes in the countries across its northern borders in the framework of the incipient Cold War determined the course of events in Macedonia. In the People's Republic of Macedonia the federal government made every effort to ensure that the new political entity would have a clear and indisputable pro-Yugoslavia orientation. Pro-Bulgarian elements in the state were isolated and politically destroyed, and pillars of Yugoslavianism installed in all key positions. Even in the question of language, every effort was made to keep Bulgarian and pro-Bulgarian scholars off the special committee that was set up to formulate the rules of grammar and syntax of the Slav-Macedonian language, so that the new national tongue would bear as little resemblance as possible to Bulgarian. The new nation of the *Makedonci* was incubated in the communist cradle of its new political entity, and nurtured with all possible assistance from the federal government of communist Yugoslavia.[1]

In Greek Macedonia the national government had colossal problems to wrestle with. This province, and particularly its western part, was one of the regions of Europe most severely damaged by the ravages of World War II. Ruined villages, the life drained out of them by the war, stood like empty shells in a deserted landscape. The cities, too, had suffered heavy population losses. Thessaloniki lost an entire community: the city's Jewish population, numbering some 50,000 souls before the war, fell victim to

one of history's most abhorrent attempts to expunge one of Europe's oldest communities, a shining star in the firmament of its civilisation. Thessaloniki's ancient Jewish community never recovered its enviable position in the Macedonian capital after this blow.

The liberation of Greek Macedonia did not bring the desired security of life, honour and property guaranteed by a well-governed state that had been proclaimed by those who spoke in the name of the people and fought for its freedom. The period between the retreat of the German occupation forces in October 1944 and the spring of 1945, when the legitimate government authorities returned to the region, the interregnum during which EAM/ELAS held the reins, was a time of terrible distress and insecurity. What, in the meanwhile, were their allies and comrades-in-arms, the Slav-Macedonian separatists and their Yugoslav sponsors, doing, with their increasingly frequent, and increasingly provocative, appearances in the Slav-speaking villages of the region? The founding and maintenance of schools in Slav-speaking villages to teach the Slav-Macedonian language using the Cyrillic alphabet raised serious questions about the intentions of the Greek Communist Party cadres who permitted this activity. Even more serious questions were raised by the increasingly frequent appearances of armed Slav-Macedonian separatists in the mountain districts, particularly on the Vitsi and Kaimakchalan massifs. The KKE mouthpieces published assurances that these were resistance fighters who were being hounded by right-wing bands; but these failed to convince a large part of the rural population, who were in a position to see that the so-called resistance fighters were perpetrators rather than victims of violence and that they were openly acting as apostles and preachers of the Macedonianism of People's Republic of Macedonia. Nor were the first victims of these "persecuted" Slav-Macedonians among the representatives of the Greek government long in appearing.

The Greek authorities had similar questions about three more aspects of the intentions of the KKE and the communist regimes to the north: a) the disappearance of heavy ELAS arms after the Varkiza Treaty (12 February 1945) and the occasional discoveries by the authorities of caches of such arms, b) the systematic and mass flight of ELAS fighters, after Varkiza, to camps put at their disposal by the neighbouring communist countries, and particularly the Bulkes camp in the Yugoslav province of Vojvodina, and c) the increasing activity of armed bands in the mountains of Greek Macedonia, which KKE mouthpieces presented as persecuted resistance fighters engaged in self-defence[2].

The arms caches, the many ELAS guerrillas helped to escape to neighbouring communist countries and the armed bands of Leftists operating in the mountains of Greek Macedonia were linked to certain inescapable local realities of those first months after the defeat of ELAS in Athens and the Varkiza Treaty. One such reality was the appearance of armed bands of Rightists, who concentrated their attention on the villages of the region. Their targets and victims were former ELAS members and other Leftists, for they themselves were – or claimed to be – victims, or relatives of victims, of ELAS in the time of the Occupation and the EAM rule that followed it. These armed Rightists acted with the tacit approval of the government authorities and as their agents, sometimes constituting a surrogate authority, replacing the shadowy and impotent central administration.

The absence of any strong state authority in the region, and particularly in the countryside, favoured the action of such self-appointed upholders of justice; even in those areas where the central government was in a position to maintain strong forces, its manpower was drawn exclusively from the enemies of the Left, since Leftists were barred from government services, and first and foremost from the security police. The state authorities were forced by the new schism dividing the country to rely for the rule of

law and the maintenance of order on elements that undermined law and order and impeded the return of political normality, whose involuntary accomplices in this disabling of law and order and impediment to the return of political normality were the Leftist guerrillas supported by the KKE. The KKE, for its part, could not condemn the action of the Leftist guerrillas, for many of them had been its own wartime heroes. In short, the chaotic situation and the continuing political disorder, particularly in the countryside, were sustained by the short-term needs of both the government and the KKE. This was a dangerous political impasse, from which only a strong government could extract the country: by effectively suppressing all those who repudiated law and order and securely guarding the country's northern borders. But the government was weak, and although it had every reason to seek political normality after the collapse of the December Uprising, it was not helped by the KKE, staggering under recent military and political defeat and apparently without clear and convincing political objectives.

The Secretary-General of the KKE, Nikos Zachariadis, with the prestige and authority of the staunch and resolute communist leader who had served his time in the Dachau concentration camp, could perhaps have helped restore political order, if the KKE had been free of the attachments that had been created during the Occupation and if he himself had had clear political objectives. The KKE cadres who had run the party in his absence had bound it firmly to, primarily, the Yugoslav communists, and many of them were convinced that Greece too would follow its northern neighbours down the path they had chosen. A "Soviet" Greece in a "Soviet" Balkans under the protection of the Soviet Union was seen by many KKE cadres not as wishful thinking but as a feasible objective. As has already been said, this aspiration was encouraged by the Yugoslav communists in particular, for reasons that will become clear.

Without clear medium-term and long-term goals, the KKE seemed to be vacillating: its protestations in favour of political normality were undermined by the actions of many of those who acted as its members and spoke in its name. The Leftist heroes of the Occupation and later "avengers" who appeared as leaders of armed bands in Greek Macedonia, and their armed Slav-Macedonian comrades who used the soil of the People's Republic of Macedonia as a launching-pad for their incursions into Greece, had no thought of promoting political normality. A stronger KKE leadership, with clearly-defined political goals and independent of foreign influence, could perhaps have reined in the "heroes" and "avengers" of the Left, whose activity furnished the party's political opponents with all the arguments they needed to explain convincingly to Greek and foreign public opinion why the Government's repressive measures against the Leftists were not unjustified.

The vicious cycle of provocation and attack from both sides kept escalating the tensions and the scale of violence in the Greek countryside, especially in Macedonia. The mountain massifs on the border between Greece and the communist countries to the north – Grammos, Vitsi, Kaimakchalan and Rhodope – became Leftist guerrilla strongholds, initially impenetrable to the military forces available to the Greek Government. These strongholds of the Leftist repudiators of the legitimacy of the Greek state were the first to be created after the Liberation and the last to fall five years later.

The harsh guerrilla warfare conducted by the KKE against its political opponents, that is, against the old parties of the Centre and the Right, which has become known as the Greek Civil War, actually began in the autumn of 1943, when the KKE through ELAS attempted – with substantial success – to eliminate rival resistance organisations from the field, such as PAO in Macedonia. This enterprise took the form of a KKE bid to control the country from the time of the retreat of the German occupation forces until the defeat of ELAS in Athens and the Varkiza Treaty, then moderated until the autumn of 1946, only to take on greater dimensions and develop into a harsh ideological, politi-

cal and military confrontation that lasted until the summer of 1949 and the final defeat of the KKE. This ferocious civil conflict began when the KKE stepped into the national spotlight as a trustworthy and true-hearted patriotic political force, and ended with its political isolation and its patriotism disputed, with the further consequence that the Left in general was incapacitated as a political force for years to come and the Right correspondingly strengthened.

The civil war in Greece was linked to the then incipient Cold War, and was affected by it, but was not a consequence of it. Greek Macedonia found itself at the epicentre of that harsh conflict chiefly because Yugoslavia played such an active part in it, providing not only political support for the Macedonianism and irredentist designs of the People's Republic of Macedonia but also political support and military supplies for the KKE and its guerrilla army. First Yugoslavia's and then Bulgaria's involvement in Greece's civil war substantially affected both the form it took and the duration of its outcome.

The ideological-political and military conflict in Greek Macedonia had a serious impact on the face of the land, in that it was largely responsible for the polarisation of the refugees and the Slav-Macedonians and for the demographic decline of the latter. The refugees, who before World War II had largely supported the Venizelist Centre and the Left in general, now shifted to the Right. The Slav-Macedonians, on the other hand, shifted their allegiance to the Left during the civil war period, for two main reasons: a) because the communist guerrillas were using the Slav-Macedonian pockets in the border districts as their bases, and b) because of their proximity to the communist regime of the People's Republic of Macedonia.

These ideological-political shifts, which also included the collective shift of the bulk of the Vlach population to the Right, were coincidental and interlinked in the sense that they were to a considerable extent the result of the movement of the Slav-Macedonians towards Macedonianism and communism.

A more serious and more permanent consequence of the Civil War in the region was the demographic decline of the Slav-Macedonians. In the space of ten years, from the outbreak of World War II to the end of the Civil War, Greek Macedonia's traditional Slav-speaking pockets lost much of their population, and in some cases were even wholly deserted and abandoned. There was no basis to the accusations of the Yugoslav Government of the day that the Greek authorities pursued a systematic policy of ethnic cleansing, nor of course to later views supporting these charges. Both the charges of deliberate ethnic cleansing and the views they gave rise to were a means and a weapon in the then ideological struggle of the People's Republic of Macedonia and its successor to shape the ethnic identity and features of its people. The draining of the population from the Slav-speaking pockets of Greek Macedonia was one of the consequences of the long civil war in Greece. Greece's Slav-Macedonians were forced out of the country by the choices of their leaders, who throughout most of the Occupation identified with Bulgaria and then hastened to identify with the People's Republic of Macedonia to erase the memory of their pro-Bulgarianism.

The first mass exodus of Slav-Macedonians from Greek Macedonia to Yugoslavia took place right after the Liberation of Greece, in October 1944, when ELAS' two Slav-Macedonian divisions, on Vitsi and Kaimakchalan, disobeyed their orders to move farther into the interior and made for the People's Republic of Macedonia instead. They were followed by a stream of Slav-Macedonians over the next two years, as a result of the armed clashes between detachments of civil guards and Rightists on the one hand and Leftists on the other, and the flight of Slav-Macedonians accused of collaboration with the occupation authorities. A larger exodus of Slav-Macedonians took place during

the final phase of the Civil War, because the fighting during this period took place largely in the Slav-speaking pockets in Greek Macedonia. The Slav-Macedonians of Greece were, during this last and bloodiest phase of the civil war, the only reserves of the KKE guerrilla force, known as the Democratic Army of Greece (DAG), and thus bore the brunt of the losses in the fighting. Also, the overwhelming majority of the children abducted by order of the DAG in 1948 and sent to be raised in communist countries were Slav-Macedonians, as were the majority of the defeated DAG guerrillas who left Greece in the summer of 1949, after the defeat of the DAG in the Grammos-Vitsi massifs. The prevailing pro-Bulgarianism of the Slav-speaking areas of Greek Macedonia, which was transmuted during World War II into Macedonianism, sustained and deepened the hostility of a part of the Slav-Macedonians in Greece against the Greek state for half a century. This segment of the Slav-Macedonian population in Greece, which was never truly reconciled to the territorial situation created by the ten-year war in the Southern Balkans from 1912 to 1922, undermined the position of the entire community of Slav-Macedonians in the country, on the one hand by making its integration into Greek Macedonia more difficult, by promoting first Bulgaria and then the People's Republic of Macedonia as the real homeland of the Slav-Macedonians, and on the other by making it ethnically reprehensible in the eyes of those representatives of the Greek authorities who saw the refusal or reluctance of the Slav-Macedonians to integrate into Greece as a sure sign of a lack of loyalty to Greece. At that time – and this has to be remembered – the authorities of the nation-states in general were similarly uncomfortable with those whose actions or attitudes undermined their national homogeneity. Before the principle of respect for linguistic and religious heterogeneity had become generally accepted, assimilation of linguistic minorities was considered a desirable national goal and their complete integration an achievement of major significance. The homogeneous nation-state, indeed, was forged first in the West and later in the East, and especially in countries like Spain, England, France, Germany and the United States of America.

From the other side of the border, the communist architects of the new political entity and the nation it sheltered formed this new nation from the population surpluses of the already formed nations of the region and from elements of its history and culture, which they appropriated from their neighbours and adopted with the fanaticism of the convert. They also appropriated elements of the history and culture of the Bulgarians and the Serbs and the Greeks. This raid on the national histories of their neighbours was probably inescapable, as, similarly, was the search for glorious ancestors in the remote past, since the age of the origins of people is considered a determining element of its presence on the international scene and its pretensions. The new nation, the *Makedonci*, naturally did not break ground in any area of nation-making, but followed the paths and processes laid down by its neighbours.

Of even greater importance to the new nation, however, than a glorious past was its forthcoming – even more glorious – future. With the unwanted surpluses of neighbouring nations, the outcasts of their societies, the new nation in its splendid communist form would hasten unchecked towards prosperity and fame. The new nation and its political shape had a "mission": to unite the fragmented land of Macedonia and to "liberate" the kindred parts of the nation still "occupied" by force by Greece and Bulgaria. The *Makedonci*, the new chosen people of the southern Balkan Peninsula, needed its own unredeemed brothers awaiting the hour of their redemption. This "mission" of redemption embraced by the new political entity and its people not unexpectedly concerned Greece more than Bulgaria, which was obliged to tolerate – until 1948 and the condemnation of the "revisionist" communist Yugoslavia by the newly set-up Comin-

form, which had replaced Comintern – the expansionist twaddle of the architects of the new political entity.

From Greece's viewpoint, this "mission" was not simply the annoyance of the pillaging of the history and civilisation of the ancient Macedonians, but a threat to its territorial integrity. The People's Republic of Macedonia was the spearhead of a powerful state, Yugoslavia, which supported the irredentist objectives of the new nation and its national home; indeed, both of them were of Yugoslav / communist conception. This threat to Greece became more perceptible when Tito's Yugoslavia and Dimitrov's Bulgaria appeared in 1947 at the Bled Conference to agree on the question of the future of Macedonia: their agreement brought back to Greek memories the equally threatening alliance between Serbia and Bulgaria in 1912, before the conclusion of the Greek-Bulgarian pact of the same year.[3]

The first glimmers of the danger represented by the Yugoslav and Bulgarian communists appeared in the autumn of 1944, directly after the withdrawal of the German armies from the southern Balkans in October of that year, when the Slav-Macedonians of the People's Republic of Macedonia tried to force the annexation of Bulgarian Macedonia to that new political entity; the Bulgaro-Macdonians resisted, however, and formed their own unit, the "Macedonian Brigade" of Pirin Macedonia (that is, Bulgarian Macedonia) to forestall the plans of the Slav-Macedonians.

The Communist Party of Bulgaria and the Patriotic Front, the communist-sponsored liberation movement that seized power in Bulgaria in September 1944, were concerned about the acts and intentions of the Slav-Macedonians of the People's Republic of Macedonia, for obvious reasons. Since Tito himself appears not to have approved such hasty action, which could damage the relations and prospects of co-operation between the two communist parties, a fragile compromise was reached. The Bulgarian communists undertook to grant administrative autonomy to Pirin Macedonia, while the Slav-Macedonians promised not to force the union of Pirin Macedonia with the People's Republic of Macedonia. Bulgarian Macedonia, naturally, did not acquire this promised autonomy, which would have facilitated its loss and its annexation by the People's Republic of Macedonia.

An attempt was made to overcome the obvious difficulty of this annexation of Bulgarian Macedonia to Yugoslav Macedonia through the creation of a Bulgaro-Yugoslav federation; but this solution was not successful either, since the result would have been very lop-sided, virtually amounting to outright annexation of Bulgaria. Yugoslavia wanted to include Bulgaria as one of its constituent republics, while Bulgaria proposed a new two-part federation of equal partners, which would have preserved Bulgaria's independence and prevented it being swallowed up by a Yugoslavia that was stronger in every way. Stalin tried to mediate to bring the two sides closer together, but the talks proved fruitless. No more successful in the end were the parallel attempts to sign a treaty of alliance between the two countries, which would have facilitated their eventual confederation.

These talks were followed by the Bulgaro-Yugoslav summit conference at Bled, in August 1947, which endeavoured to resolve the question of relations between the parts of Macedonia and the two countries. The Yugoslavs demanded that the Bulgaro-Macdonians of Pirin be given the right of self-determination, and thus essentially that this Bulgarian province be given the right to join the People's Republic of Macedonia; the Bulgarians counter-proposed the formation of a Bulgaro-Yugoslav federation. The conference resolved to go ahead with the formation of the federation and the granting of cultural autonomy to the Bulgaro-Macedonians, and to follow it in November of that same year with a pact of friendship between the two countries.

Following the Bled Agreement, the Slav-Macedonians of the People's Republic of Macedonia began to engage in intense cultural and propaganda activity in Bulgarian Macedonia, provoking serious displeasure among the Bulgarians. This displeasure manifested itself most sharply after the breach between Cominform and Yugoslavia in 1948. The Bulgarian Communists, among others, accused their Yugoslav comrades of trying to annex Bulgarian Macedonia to the People's Republic of Macedonia before the federation undertaken by the Bled Agreement could be founded. Yugoslavia's expulsion from Cominform in June 1948 and the open denunciation of the Bled Agreement by the Bulgarian Communists, who hastened to declare that "the founding of a federation of the South Slavs and the final union of the region of Pirin with the People's Republic of Macedonia are only feasible in terms of a Yugoslavia faithful to the common socialist and democratic international front", also tolled the knell for the peculiar state-within-a-state of the Slav-Macedonians of the People's Republic of Macedonia in Bulgarian Macedonia and put an end to all discussion on Bulgaria's part of the subject of the "union" of Macedonia.[4]

Yugoslavia's breach with Cominform was greeted with relief by Greece, since it staved off the creation of a federation of South Slavs and prevented the annexation of Bulgarian Macedonia to the People's Republic of Macedonia. It did not, of course, put an end to the Yugoslav communist propaganda announcing the imminent "liberation" of "Aegean Macedonia" and its union with the metropolis of the "New Macedonia", the People's Republic of Macedonia, but this was no longer anything but bluster from a regime henceforth isolated from the temple of existing socialism, the Soviet Union, and under siege.

This threat to Greek Macedonia did not vanish, of course, but it did become less serious. The Slav-Macedonian nation and its instituted political entity had been a very real and serious threat from 1944 until 1948, from the establishment of the People's Republic of Macedonia to the breach between Yugoslavia and Cominform, when there was still a possibility that Yugoslavia and Bulgaria might unite in a federation of South Slavs and annex Bulgarian Macedonia to the People's Republic of Macedonia.

The breach between Yugoslavia and Cominform drastically reduced the threat to Greek Macedonia from another quarter, since it dealt a further blow to the KKE guerrilla army in Greece. It is not true, as the Greek communist leadership claimed, that the breach between Yugoslavia and Cominform and the concomitant breach between the KKE and the communist regime in Yugoslavia was the principal cause of the defeat of the Greek guerrillas in 1949: the KKE's break with Tito merely hastened that defeat. The KKE's guerrilla army, and the party itself, having first been defeated morally and politically, became increasingly isolated and in the summer of 1948 were led to an impasse from which there was no escape. Furthermore, the breach between the two communist parties did not harden the Yugoslav attitude towards the Greek guerrillas, the majority of whom from 1948 on were Slav-Macedonians from Greece.

The last act of the drama of the Greek Civil War was played out in Greek Macedonia and for the future of a portion of it. When the KKE guerrillas were forced in 1948 to limit their activities to Northern Greece, the party leadership focused on seizing and holding at least one city in the region, to serve as the seat of the Provisional Government it had formed with Markos Vafiadis as its Premier in December 1948. The goal of taking a city in the region, which had been adopted a year earlier, became an objective in 1948, when the communist guerrillas restricted their action essentially to Northern Greece. Kastoria, Florina and Edessa, strongly defended by the national army, were all targeted by the communist guerrillas; and it was in these cities that the aggres-

sive force of the guerrillas and the defensive strength of the army were most severely tested.

In this final act of the drama in Greek Macedonia the actors were joined on stage by a chorus of boys and girls in one of the saddest episodes of the Civil War, the *Paidomazoma*. Children of all ages, from toddlers to teenagers, were abducted and carried over the border by the KKE guerrillas: to save them from the hardships of war, according to the KKE; to serve as future guerrilla reserves, according to the Greek Government. Meanwhile, other children were removed from the war zone by the Greek authorities under the sponsorship of Queen Frederika and housed in special children's villages in the interior of the country, where orphans and those without guardians could be cared for, away from the hardships of war.[5]

The abduction of nearly 30,000 children from Greece, particularly from Greek Macedonia, for philanthropic and other unspoken but easily perceived reasons on the one hand further hardened the ideological-political war between the two opposing sides and on the other reinforced the inescapable thinning of Greece's Slav-Macedonian population. The transportation outside Greece and the Macedonisation of many thousands of Slav-Macedonian children dealt a serious blow to the demographic structure of the country's Slav-Macedonian population, and strengthened the irredentism of the new nation of *Makedonci* and their nation-state. The abducted Slav-Macedonian children, as will be shown in the relevant chapter, became – wherever they were tossed by the torrents of war – fanatical preachers of Macedonianism. Whether in the People's Republic of Macedonia or in the Diaspora, in the New World and in Oceania, the transported Slav-Macedonian children of 1948 have been one of the hardest cores of irredentist Macedonianism, emotionally easy prey for the leadership of the People's Republic of Macedonia and the apostles of Macedonianism. Greece, which was prevented from keeping and preserving those children in 1948, was projected as the heartless stepmother whose children later repudiated her.

The final act of folly on the part of the KKE leadership, before the military defeat of the guerrillas and their retreat from the mountain massifs of Grammos and Vitsi into – mainly – Albania, was related to the Macedonian Question. In order to satisfy the Slav-Macedonian guerrillas of the Democratic Army of Greece, the party's Central Committee adopted the proposition of its Secretary-General Nikos Zachariadis to include as one of the basic goals of the KKE the promise that the Slav-Macedonians of Greece should be guaranteed the right of self-determination – after the expected "victorious" end to the war then raging in northern Greek Macedonia. This was yet another *coup de main* on the part of the Secretary-General, who never ceased, right up to the final defeat of the communist guerrillas or afterwards, to surprise even his coterie of sycophants with this sort of timeserving tergiversation designed to keep him on the right – that is, the Soviet – side in the furious struggle that was shaking the communist camp. It was the last desperate decision of Greece's communist leaders on Greek soil before they retreated behind the curtain of existing socialism.

Notes

1. Cf. Spyridon Sfetas, *I diamorfosi tis slavomakedonikis taftotitos*, [*The* formation *of Slav-Macedonian identity*], Thessaloniki 2003. See also Barker, *Macedonia*, p. 163 ff.

2. Ioannis S. Koliopoulos, *Leilasia phronimaton* [*Plundered loyalties*], vol. II, Thessaloniki 1995, p. 67 ff.
3. Barker, *op. cit.,* p. 172 ff.
4. *Idem*, p. 174.
5. Koliopoulos, *Plundered loyalties*, vol. II, p. 213 ff.

XVI. Macedonia and the Great Powers

by Vlasis Vlasidis

Lecturer for Political Communication and Mass Media, Department for Balkan Studies, University of Western Macedonia, Greece

1. From the beginning of the 19th century to the Congress of Berlin

The creation of an independent Greek state and an autonomous Serbian one changed to a great extent the scene in the Balkans, in as much as these states replace Austria and Russia in the struggle against the Ottoman Empire. Nevertheless, the policy of the major powers, Great Britain, France and Austria, which tended to support the preservation of the hypostasis and integrity of the Ottoman Empire, delayed its dissolution for another century. It is a fact, however, that the revolutions among the Balkan peoples, the Serbs, Greeks, Montenegrins and Bulgarians rocked the equilibrium of the structure but did not demolish it.

1.1. Great Britain

The main aim of British policy in the Near East in the 19th century was to intercept Russian expansion in the direction of the Straits and the Mediterranean Sea. The purpose behind the successful implementation of this policy was to maintain the integrity of the Ottoman Empire and good relations with the Sublime Porte so as to create an obstacle to the expansive intentions of the Russians.

The foundations of this policy were laid by the Prime Minister Palmerston in the decade from 1830 to 1840, and, with minor changes, was followed strictly until the end of the 19th century, bypassing the national enlightenment of Christians and other peoples who resided within the Ottoman Empire and their demands for national liberation and the creation of nation states.

However, the continual divergence of the Ottoman Empire from the political, social and economic development of Europe threatened the whole venture undertaking. That is why, with the British Ambassador to Constantinople, Stratford Canning as spokesman, the British firmly sought the introduction of reforms in the structure and operation of the Ottoman state, so as to ensure its continued existence and enable it to respond to changing times.[1]

The outcome of this policy was the peace treaty with which they ended the Crimean War. The Sultan was forced to grant isonomy and respect all his subjects, both Muslim and Christian alike, under the Imperial decree known as “Hatt-I Humayun”. The reforms had begun but would take time and prove ineffectual.

The most significant deviation from this doctrine was the positive stand which was adopted by Great Britain after 1824 in connection with the Greek Question, which led to the proclamation of a Greek state. In fact, the transformation of the regime from an autonomous state to an independent one is the result of the initiative of the British, who used the independence to outflank the Russians, who under the treaty of Adri-

anopole in 1929 had the initiative during the negotiations over the Greek Question. At any rate, at no stage of the negotiations did Great Britain forward for discussion the question of the integration of Macedonia within the Greek state.

1.2. France

France, for its part, hoped to establish an Arab-Egyptian Empire, in which it would control the finances, as in the case of the Ottoman Empire. As France held large economic interests in the Ottoman Empire, the last thing it would want was its collapse, dissolution or impoverishment. Consequently, France was against every attempt by Russia to replace the regime in the region. Furthermore, it was cautious towards the reforms which had been proposed by the British.[2]

However, in the case of the Greek Revolution, France, after the first years, contributed jointly with Russia and Great Britain to solving the problem to the advantage of the Greeks. In the diplomatic field, France supported, in the main, the moves of the British, but sent troops to the Peloponnese in order to oust Ibrahim and implement the resolutions of the treaty of 1827. In any event, at no stage during the diplomatic discussions and meetings did France raise the subject of the annexation of Macedonia to the nascent Greek state.

For the duration of the Crimean War, France and Great Britain allied themselves with the Ottoman Empire against the Russians, in order to prevent the latter from ending Ottoman rule in Europe. Napoleon III placed himself in favour of the integrity of Turkey and, in fact, it was he who began hostilities against Russia in the Black Sea.[3] Naturally, it was the French who not only refused to help the rebels headed by Karatasos, but who dispatched a warship to Chalkidike to bombard and sink Karatasos' flotilla thereby cutting off his supply route from the sea.[4] However, the French and British consuls mediated in 1854 to secure the safe withdrawal of the Greek rebels from western Macedonia and Chalkidike.[5]

After its defeat in the Franco-German War of 1870, France interested itself more in the activities of the Germans than in the Eastern Crisis. However, before the conference of ambassadors in Constantinople, France proposed the allocation of the Ottoman Empire to Britain and indeed, the occupation of Macedonia by the British in order to check the moves being made by the Slavs against the Greek state.[6]

1.3. Austria and Germany

The policy of the two German states, Austria and Prussia, was the same. Faithful in their support of the doctrine of absolute monarchy, the maintenance of social classes and the legitimacy of "The Divine Right of Kings" which inspired Metternich, Austria and Prussia were against every revolutionary movement, whether social or national-liberation in character, and advocates of intervention in neighbouring states in order to suppress such revolutions at the time of their inception before they become a danger to autarchy. On the basis of the above, their stand towards Turkey was stable and similar to that of France.[7]

Both powers remained hostile on the question of the Greek revolution from beginning to end. During the crisis brought by the Crimean War, Austria and Prussia sided with the French and English, but initially remained neutral during hostilities. Finally, Austria turned against Russia.

The policy of Austro-Hungary, just like that of Great Britain, was aimed at keeping the Ottoman state alive. It wished for good relations with the Ottoman Empire, but it was prepared to profit and gain territorial benefits in the event of a new crisis. The opportunism of Vienna led on many occasions to changes in or amendments to its policy on the question of the hypostasis and limits of the Ottoman Empire.[8] Germany paid more attention to the activities of the French and, on the Eastern Question, usually supported Austro-Hungary.

1.4. Russia

On the contrary, Russia's firm intention was the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, the occupation of Constantinople and the securing of an outlet to the Mediterranean. However, as long as France and Great Britain supported the existing regime in the Near East, the attempt was doomed to fail.

The Greek Revolution gave Russia an opportunity to cause tremors in the alliance between the British, French and Ottomans. Initially the tsar condemned the Greek Revolution, but later in 1825, Russia engaged in intense activity in order to settle the question of the Serb and Greek revolutions. Eventually, Russia acted both on the diplomatic level, jointly with the British and the French and also on the military level separately, declaring war on the Ottoman Empire. At the beginning of the 1830s, both questions had been resolved in favour of the two Christian nations, with the creation – beginning from 1826 – of an autonomous Serbia and in 1830 with the creation of an independent Greek state.

The question of Macedonia, which was to be widely discussed fifty years later at the diplomatic level, did not concern Russian diplomacy at all. In any case, until 1870 it had not concerned the Greek nation either, since it regarded Macedonia as another Greek province, which would be annexed after Crete, Thessaly and Epirus, without any special effort and without competition from any other nation.[9]

However, despite the victory of the Russian army in the Russo-Turkish War and the concessions made by the Ottoman Empire, the proper conditions for its collapse were not created. That is the reason why Russia attempted to become reconciled with the British so as to succeed in establishing a common front against the Ottomans.[10] In fact, at the beginning of 1853, Tsar Nicholas had presented the British with a plan for the partitioning the Ottoman Empire, with Constantinople as a free city under a Russian garrison, the Straits with an Austrian garrison, and the Balkans reverting to the possession of the Balkan peoples. Greece would annex only the islands of the Aegean and would not expand northwards.[11]

Russian policy began to change and the end of the 1850s. Finally, it crystallized in a triptych: averting diplomatic isolation, controlling the Straits and supporting the national aspirations of the Bulgarians,[12] in other words, avoiding the reverses of the Crimean War. The last component was the result of the activities of pan-Slavic circles. Around that time, there was created the "Slavic Benevolent Committee", whose main work was aimed at getting Russia to turn its attention exclusively to the Slavic populations of the Balkans. This movement was strengthened significantly by the appointment in 1864 of the Panslavist, Graf Ignatiev, as Russian Ambassador to Constantinople. This move was to have serious consequences on the direction taken by Russian policy towards Greece in general and on the question of Macedonia's fortune in particular.

More specifically, Russian policy began to support Bulgarian claims in Macedonia, claims which, on a religious level, constituted 30 out of the 49 provinces of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in European Turkey, and, on a political level, involved the integration of almost the whole of Macedonia within the future Bulgarian state.[13] Russia's support of the Bulgarian requests was expressed either directly to the Sublime Porte, by Ignatiev, or to the local Ottoman authorities in Macedonia, by Russian diplomatic staff, who were serving in the Russian Consulate in Thessaloniki and the Russian Consulate in Bitola, which was established in 1861.

The Russian policy of Panslavism in Macedonia was also expressed in the attempts to Russianize Mount Athos. From the 1850s, hundreds of Russian monks began to swarm to Mount Athos to live in the depths the monasteries, sketes (dwelling places of communities of monks living in partial or complete seclusion) and cells. The correlation between the Russians and the other monks in the decade between 1860 and 1870 changed to such an extent that in 1867 a Russian was elected abbot at the monastery of Saint Panteleimon. The Russian government helped both morally and physically in the whole attempt, as it provided the necessary sums, the materials and the means of transport, for the purchase of cells, the building extension of monasteries, and the erection of the new sketes of Saint Andreas and the Prophet Ilias.

The radical change in Russia's foreign policy with regard to the Balkans is not wholly explained as being the result of the influence exercised on the Russian leadership by Panslavists. The Russians had realized, after the Crimean War, that the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire was impractical as long as the remaining European powers continued to support it and that the alliance between them and the Ottoman Empire could mean the return of the British and the French to the area of the Black Sea without there being another power capable of obstructing them. For this reason it had to create a powerful nation in the Balkans, with outlets to the Black Sea and the Aegean, which would be under its protection.[14]

During the crisis of 1870, which led to the establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate, Russian adopted an equivocal stand towards the entire issue,[15] but during the Eastern Crisis of 1875-1878, with Ignatiev playing the leading role, it implemented the plan of the Panslavists for the creation of the "Greater Bulgaria" established under the Treaty of San Stefano, a Bulgaria which would have encompassed all of Macedonia, apart from Thessaloniki and its environs, including Chalkidike. Greece's refusal to enter the war on the side of the Russians, despite the relevant invitation of Tsar Alexander II, and in view of the pressure put on it by Great Britain to remain neutral, might have played a part in Russia's decision to favour the Bulgarians exclusively at the expense of the Greeks.[16]

More specifically, in December 1876, a meeting of representatives of the Great Powers was held in Constantinople in order to resolve the problems which had been created by the Bulgarian rebellion. The representatives of Great Britain and France sought in the main to act in a deterrent way, so as to avert a Russo-Turkish war, which could have reduced the Ottoman Empire to a worse state or even led to its dissolution. Consequently, they demanded from the Sublime Porte administrative and economic reforms for the areas which had rebelled. Ignatiev opted to ally himself with the representatives of the other powers, but in a masterly way included in the areas where the Bulgarians had started rebellions – therefore areas which were included in the transformation – many provinces of Macedonia. The areas of western Macedonia, which included the provinces of Kastoria, Florina and Edessa, were included in a new self-governing villayet. The connection between these areas and the Bulgarian national issue became self-evident from that point on.[17] In the end, the plan was not implemented, as

Sultan Abdul Hamid proceeded with the granting of a constitution for the sole purpose of escaping from the difficult position in which he had become entangled.

However, the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War in April of 1877 and the advance of Russian troops, who reached as far as the suburbs of Constantinople, radically changed the correlation by dramatically reducing the resistance of the Ottomans. On the 19th of February 1878, a peace treaty was signed between the Ottomans and Russians at San Stefano, a suburb of Constantinople. During the negotiations, Ignatiev attempted to resolve the Macedonian Question once and for all, proposing the creation of a Bulgarian state which would comprise all of Macedonia as far as Kastoria, including Thessaloniki itself. In order to temper the opposition of the Greeks and the other powers, he proposed returning Thessaly, Epirus and Crete to the Greeks. The Ottoman Empire had become so weak that it was unable to bring any opposition. However, the tsar feared the reaction of the other powers and did not approve the integration of Thessaloniki within the Bulgarian state that was being planned. Finally, the Sublime Porte agreed to the establishment of a Bulgarian hegemony, which would incorporate all the lands of Macedonia within its territory, with the exception of the provinces of Kozani, Servia, Chalkidike and Thessaloniki.[18]

The Treaty of San Stefano was a diplomatic triumph for Ignatiev, a vindication of the Panslavists as well as an indication of Russia's intention to expand within the area under the Ottoman Empire in order to secure an outlet to the warm seas, a show of power and a disposition to follow – in its own way eventually – the other European powers in the competition to colonize.[19]

The other powers were not willing to ratify the Russian triumph and bury their dreams along with their aspirations. At the same time, there began in Great Britain, France and Italy a revival of a wave of Philhellenism, which turned against Panslavism and favoured Greek rule in Thessaly, Epirus and Macedonia.[20]

The coinciding of the views of Great Britain, France, Austro-Hungary and Germany led to the convening of a peace conference, which would re-examine the terms of the Treaty of San Stefano. At the Congress of Berlin, Macedonia's future changed. The "Greater Bulgaria" would remain a dream, the "Great Idea" for the Bulgarians. In its place there was created a tribute to the sultan of the Bulgarian hegemony north of Rhodope and a second, Eastern Rumelia, with the same regime, which stretched from Haimos until Rhodope. Macedonia was returned to the Ottomans, who promised to proceed with reforms.

The parties responsible for these changes were Austro-Hungary, Great Britain and France, each one for their own reasons. The first of these, Austro-Hungary, had not been involved in any struggle for colonies beyond Europe and attempted to expand towards the south and the east. It sought an outlet to the Adriatic and the Aegean. Its first aim was realized when it was given the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The second aim was expressed in its insistence on being given the sanjak of Novi Pazar, something which finally proved unfeasible. A large Bulgarian state in Macedonia would have frustrated Austrian plans for an outlet to the Aegean through the Axios River basin. That is why Austro-Hungary remained firm in wanting a revision of the Bulgaria which was anticipated by the Treaty of San Stefano. In order to avert the revival of the idea of an expanded Bulgarian state in the future as well as to reduce Serbia's objections to Austrian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, it preferred to encourage the spread of Serbian influence in Macedonia.[21] In fact, Austro-Hungary signed an official agreement with Serbia on the 16th of June 1881, under which it was obliged to support Serbian claims in Macedonia, when future developments called for such a course of action.[22]

2. From the Congress of Berlin to the First World War

From the time of the Congress of Berlin until the First World War, the Great Powers attempted to follow a steady policy towards the Ottoman Empire and a policy which brought equilibrium to the relations among themselves. Great Britain continued to follow her policy of backing and reforming the Ottoman state as a means of intercepting the Russians, but it had begun to perceive that its dissolution was not far away. The policies of Austria, Russia and Italy were similar. Only Germany considered that its interests would be successfully protected in the Near and Middle East by its support, even to extremes, of the hypostasis and integrity of the Ottoman Empire. Russian, on its part, considered that it had been humiliated at the Congress of Berlin and worked vigorously for its annulment.

The question of ownership of Macedonia and its Christian populations remained in the news regularly. This was helped by the conflicting propagandas of the Balkan states. Finding a solution for the Macedonia Question which would have satisfied all parties – the Great Powers and the Balkan states – and which would not adversely affect the hypostasis of the Ottoman Empire, proved to be a crossword puzzle for strong solvers

2.1. Austro-Hungary

More specifically, Austro-Hungary stepped up its influence in the Balkans since, with the renewal of the alliance of the Three Empires on 18th June 1881, it had gained the right to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina but also the obligation not to oppose the unification of Eastern Rumelia with Bulgaria.[23] The ulterior motive behind its policy was to gain an outlet to the Aegean in the vicinity of Thessaloniki, via the Axios River valley. With this aim in mind, Austro-Hungary sought the weakening of the Ottoman Empire in combination with the strengthening of Bulgaria. This policy worked against the integration of Macedonia within the Bulgarian state, as a powerful Slavic hegemony would have thwarted Austrian plans.[24] During the crisis of 1897, the Austrians collaborated with the Russians in order to avoid any change in the territorial status quo of the Ottoman Empire and especially Macedonia.[25]

The scheme of reforms which was jointly presented by the Austrians and Russians to the Sublime Porte in 1903, in order to appease the spirits in Macedonia after the Ilinden Uprising, was in essence designed to weaken the Ottoman Empire and create the most suitable conditions for securing an outlet for Austro-Hungary to the Aegean through the Axios River valley. More specifically, they had proposed the establishing of the office of Governor General for the vilayets of Skopje, Bitola and Thessaloniki and the appointment of two advisors, one Russian and one Austrian, as well as the reorganization of the gendarmerie by European officers.[26] There was a clear intention to reduce the influence of the Sultan in Macedonia and bring about Macedonia's internationalization by having two foreign advisors assist in its administration.

The Young Turk Revolt of 1908 and the laying of a constitution was apparently an undesirable development for the Austrian aims since it invalidated the programme of reforms under Mürzteg and showed that the new leaders had changed their stance towards Vienna. At any rate, Austro-Hungary exploited the incident by annexing Bosnia and Herzegovina and expelling a large number of Muslims, who sought refuge in Macedonia. Furthermore, it found an opportunity to disengage itself from accountability for the successful course of the program of reform in Macedonia, for which both the Sublime Porte and the general consensus of opinion considered it the inspirer and,

consequently, the one responsible for the course the program would take, be it successful or otherwise.[27]

Austrian annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908 after the Young Turk Revolt. It sided with Italy against the advance of the Serbian army towards the Adriatic and Albania and forced the Serbs to move southwards, for the duration of the First Balkan War, in violation of the Serbo-Bulgarian agreements concluded on the eve of the war.[28]

In the interim between the two Balkan wars, Austro-Hungary developed intense diplomatic activity. Encouraged by the ease with which it annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, it attempted on the eve of the London Peace Conference, to obtain the largest benefit for itself by asking for the establishment of an independent Albania, the prohibition of an outlet to the Adriatic for the Serbs, the transformation of Thessaloniki into a free port and the right to enjoy free trade in all the former Ottoman provinces.[29] Nevertheless, these demands, and its general stance at the London Peace Conference, brought objections even from Germany, which realized that the Austrian intransigence was capable of precipitating a war among the Great Powers under adverse conditions for the Central Empires, since, in such an event, the Balkan states as a whole would side with the powers of the Entente.[30]

2.2. Great Britain

Great Britain, for its part, considered that Russia's triumph in the Treaty of San Stefano constituted a serious threat to its own policy in the region, since the establishment of a powerful Bulgarian state under the protection of Russia would virtually encircle Constantinople and, in effect, hold the Sultan hostage.[31] That is why it made vigorous efforts to have the Treaty of San Stefano annulled and the power of the future Bulgarian state reduced.

Following the Congress of Berlin, the policy of Great Britain continued to be one of maintaining the integrity of the Ottoman Empire as the only way to prevent the occupation of the Straits and Constantinople by some other power, a development which would have brought an obstacle to Great Britain's control of the sea and land routes between East and West.[32]

It held a cautious stand towards Bulgaria. In 1880, Gladstone's Liberal Party, which inherited George Canning's policy towards the Bulgarian people, came to power. In addition, the occupation of Cyprus in 1878, followed by that of Egypt in 1882, and the control of the Suez Canal reduced for the British the importance of protecting the Ottoman Empire. A fairly strong Bulgarian state, which would not be under Russian protection, was considered by the British a satisfactory development.[33] Consequently, without any particular reservations, the British chose to support the Bulgarian demands in an attempt to wrest Bulgaria from Russian protection or create unfavourable feelings towards the Russians on the part of Bulgaria. This policy was manifested in the crisis of 1885.

Furthermore, there were many trade unions and personalities in Great Britain who, in a totally romantic way, viewed the atrocities committed by bands of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO), as heroic acts of the oppressed Christians against their oppressors. Public opinion in England reacted with great displeasure to the severity which the Ottomans showed in repressing the Ilinden Uprising, with the result that a wave of support for the Bulgarians was created. In fact, a revolutionary committee, the Balkan Committee was created with the purpose of helping the refugees and demanding the establishment of a Macedonia which would be autonomous.[34]

However, the rapprochement between the Bulgarians and the Russians and the strengthening of Bulgaria at the expense of the neighbouring peoples changed the priorities of British policy. Great Britain did not wish for a powerful Bulgaria that would include Macedonia and be created under Russian protection. Additionally, Britain began to be troubled towards the end of the 19th century by the violence with which the Ottomans usually dealt with insurrections begun by the Christian peoples within the lands of the Ottoman Empire. Consequently, it began to be oriented towards a policy that was more critical of the Sultan, which did not exclude a change even in the regime in Macedonia, where there was continued peremptoriness on the part of the state authorities and Muslim insurgents at the expense of Christians.[35] A solution in this direction was the position taken by Gladstone in 1897, for the right to self-determination of the peoples who resided in Macedonia.[36]

Britain continued to regard the creation of an autonomous hegemony in Macedonia with a Christian governor as a possible solution, and at the beginning of the 20th century, as a reaction to the reforms proposed by Vienna and Mürzteg, but eventually gave way, in order not to create problems in the implementation of the reforms.[37] Having seen, however, that the planned reforms were limited to certain areas of Macedonia and were not effective, it asked, at the beginning of 1905, for the extension of the reforms to cover particular kazades in the villayet of Adrianople, for the assigning of further duties to the Governor General (Vali) of Macedonia and the appointment of a commission, consisting of representatives from the six European powers, in order to work out a plan for control of finances and the conferring of justice in the three villayets of Macedonia.[38] In the summer of 1907, it brought up once again the request for self-government for Macedonia with a Christian governor. However, the other powers, and especially Austria, refused to back the British proposals, since they regarded the work on reforms which had been done until then as having been satisfactory.[39]

Even more important was the rapprochement between Great Britain and Russia in the summer of 1907. London, which watched with uneasiness as Germany's influence upon the Ottoman Empire grew worryingly stronger at a time when its own had begun to wane, preferred to work together with Russia in order to protect its interests in the Far East from Russian competition in exchange for an agreement to change the regime in the Balkans.[40]

In March of 1908, Britain once again presented its proposal for self-rule for Macedonia under the aegis of the Great Powers; however, the plan was not acceptable either to Austria or Russia.[41] In any case, Britain continued negotiations with Russia that would end in an attempt at reform. This, however, did not succeed since, in the summer of 1908, the Young Turk Revolt which erupted in Macedonia resulted in the granting of a constitution.

The new situation which was created changed things for the time being. The course being taken by reforms in Macedonia was halted, since, with the constitution, much greater freedom was given to the peoples and promises were made for extensive changes in the organization and functioning of the Ottoman state.

The British government was from the start in favour of the Young Turk Revolt. Moreover, it had more reason than the other powers to desire such a development. The complete overturn of the political balance in Constantinople created more possibilities for a rapprochement between the Turks and the British and indeed the Young Turks initially moved in this direction. Besides, the British programme of reforms for Macedonia, which was clearly more advanced compared with that of Mürzteg, had more chances of progressing under the announced constitution of the New Turks.[42] The various liberal circles in Britain, such as the Balkan Committee, were, albeit with reser-

vations, in favour of the new situation, since they did not trust the Ottomans; however, they could not deny that the developments following the Rebellion of 1908 were moving in the right direction. At any rate, both the British government and British public opinion were at that time ready to change their stand towards the New Turks in the event of their being made aware of any violations of the commitments and renewed oppression of Christian populations.[43] When after 1910 the Young Turks proceeded to revoke the rights of the Christians and began to exercise a harsh nationalistic policy, the British government, the press and the various liberal organizations completely changed their policy towards Ottoman rule.[44]

The creation of an alliance of Balkan states was not unheard of in Great Britain, but the secret protocols which defined the claims and provisions of Russia's mediation were revealed after the outbreak of the First Balkan War. Britain did not attempt to avert the outbreak of the Balkan Wars since it judged that they were unavoidable. It hosted the London Peace Conference in the hope of playing a role similar to that of Germany in ending the crisis of 1875-1877, but was finally unwilling or unable to play a leading role. At any rate, while there was a lot of diplomatic activity in connection with all the other issues (Albania, the islands of the Aegean, an outlet for Serbia to the Adriatic), the question of Macedonia was not widely discussed. Neither Great Britain nor the other powers – with the exception of Austria, which attempted to internationalize Thessaloniki – submitted an integrated plan for Macedonia.

2.3. Russia

In the period which followed the Congress of Berlin until the end of the 19th century, Russia continued to support the claims of Bulgaria in Macedonia and Thrace even when power in Bulgaria was held by parties which were more sympathetic towards the Austrians and the Germans instead of the Russians. In the period from 1878-1885, Russia had made an attempt to reconcile the Greeks and Bulgarians in connection with the future of Macedonia, but both the former and the latter remained adamant in the stands they took and the Russian initiative was left without support.

The arbitrary action of Bulgaria in annexing Eastern Rumelia in September of 1885 met with opposition from the Russians, who were afraid that such a move would provoke a reaction from the Austrians and claims from the Serbs and Greeks in return. In fact Russia together with Austro-Hungary and Germany refused to accept the accomplished fact and demanded the reinstatement of the previous regime. The Ottoman Empire, encouraged by the stand taken by the three empires, threatened to intervene militarily but met with opposition from Great Britain, which posed the possibility of a military imbroglio involving the Serbs and Greeks against the Ottomans without the British being able to support them.[45]

The support of the Bulgarian claims became even more obvious after the Serbo-Bulgarian War of 1885-1886 and the victory of the Bulgarians. Russian diplomatic staff in Macedonia advanced or supported all the requests of the Bulgarians for the erecting of new churches and schools. Indeed at this time the prestige of Bulgaria was so great that its requests won the support even of Great Britain, which believed that with such a policy it would be able to wrest Bulgaria from Russian influence.[46]

The opposition of the other powers to the change in Balkan borders and the actions of the Bulgarian-Macedonian Revolutionary Committee, which was demanding the creation of a united and autonomous Macedonia, began to be accepted, with the passage of time, as a possible solution to counter the ploys of Russian diplomacy. Consequently, when in December of 1902, the Foreign Ministers of Russia and Austro-

Hungary, Lambsdorff and Goluchevski respectively, met in Vienna, the former proposed as a solution, self-rule for Macedonia with a Christian governor.[47] After opposition from Austro-Hungary, Russian eventually agreed to accept the reforms of Mürzteg.

The outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War in 1904 limited Russia's interest in Balkan matters for a time. The unfavourable outcome of the war, however, turned Russia's attention once again towards the Near East and the search for an ally, which, in the summer of 1907, it found in Great Britain, with the intention of bringing about a complete change of the regime in the Balkans and the eastern Mediterranean. The Young Turk Revolt did not bring changes in the Russian stand towards the Sublime Porte, since the Russians judged that the movement was doomed to fail.[48] After 1909, the change in the policy of the Young Turks towards the Christian peoples who lived within the Ottoman Empire, vindicated the opinion of the Russians. Furthermore, the Austrian move in annexing Bosnia-Herzegovina, led them to encourage the idea of an independent Bulgaria and adopt a more aggressive policy towards the Ottoman Empire, one which, however, was not adopted by the British and French.

This policy manifested itself in the encouragement given to Serbia and Bulgaria to collaborate militarily against Ottoman rule in the Balkans. The foundations of this collaboration were put forward by Hartwig, the Russian Ambassador in Belgrade from 1909 and ardent supporter of the Panslavists. The approach became feasible only in 1911, as a result of the reservations which were held by King Ferdinand of Bulgaria.[49] The final agreement anticipated that if both sides did not agree to have the land between the River Strymon and the Shar mountain range, that is to say Macedonia, become a united self-ruling province, then it would be divided into two zones, from Golem Korab until Lake Ochrid. The southern zone would revert to Bulgaria and the northern to Serbia. More mportant for Russia was the fact that if differences arose between the two states, then they would turn to Russia for arbitration.[50]

However, Russia finally found itself unable to control the situation since it might have agreed to the concluding of an agreement between Bulgaria and Greece, but its opposition to the participation of Montenegro was ignored. What were also ignored were Russia's exhortations for a postponement of military operations, seeing that in mid-September 1912 Bulgaria informed Russia that the Balkan states had decided to declare war against the Ottoman Empire.[51]

2.4. Germany

The unification of German states in the mid 19th century and Germany's supremacy in the Franco-German War of 1870 made Germany into yet another European power. In turn, it also followed a policy of supporting the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, perhaps more dutifully than France and Great Britain.

The reason behind this policy was mainly the search for markets for German industrial products and raw materials for German factories.[52] In practice, this policy was seen in Austrian support of the Ottoman Empire, to the disadvantage of Russian aspirations. This support did not stem from a common descent but was based on purely economic criteria. Germany viewed the region from the River Elba in Central Europe to the Euphrates in Mesopotamia as a unified economic zone, in which it would enjoy a preferential position together with its ally Austro-Hungary. The building by Germany of a railway line from Konya as far as Baghdad and the permission which Austria was granted for the linking of the Austrian and Ottoman railway lines at Mitrovitsa, put the German plan into operation and simultaneously alarmed Great Britain and Russia, both

of whom began to move towards an overall solution to the Eastern Question which had as its basis the disruption of the Ottoman Empire.[53]

The Germans did not possess any particular policy in connection with Macedonia. In the context of maintaining the existing regime, they supported the efforts of Austro-Hungary and Russia to reach a settlement of the problems which resulted from poor administration and nationalistic antagonisms. Naturally, every move against the Sultan or the local authorities brought anger and opposition from German policy.[54]

The Young Turk Revolt of 1908 brought about a temporary cooling in the relations between the Ottoman Empire and Germany, since Germany was the supporter of the corrupt regime of Abdul Hamid. It was logical, therefore, for the Young Turks to treat the Germans with coldness and turn initially towards the British and French. This coldness had unfortunate consequences for the Ottomans, as the Germans supported, albeit with reservations, the arbitrary annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Austro-Hungary and did not oppose the expansionist policy of Italy in the direction of the African provinces of the Ottoman Empire.[55] However, from 1911 onwards, the Young Turks began once again to show a preference for the Germans. This was helped by the appointment of the pro-German Sefket Pasha to the position of War Minister, the refusal of Great Britain to supply the Sublime Porte directly with warships and the policy adopted by Great Britain on the Cretan Question.[56]

2.5. France

The French presence in Macedonia and the rest of the Balkans continued to identify the region with the French capital which controlled important sectors of the economy such as banks, industries, transportation and other services. France desired a regime of peace, order and security, in other words, the conditions which were essential for the growth of the economy. However, its policy differed from that of Germany since it had not reached the point of turning a blind eye to the important changes which were taking place in the region or the weaknesses and atrocities of the Ottomans.

However, it agreed with Great Britain that the Ottoman Empire needed extensive changes if it were to survive, and supported every related attempt at reform, displaying particular sensitivity on the question of protecting Christian populations from the peremptoriness of local authorities and the violence perpetrated by the Muslim rabble, the army and irregulars.[57] It is characteristic that after the quelling of the Ilinden Uprising, the greater part of humanitarian aid that was distributed to victims of the uprising was of French origin, and French authorities collaborated with Catholic organizations in its distribution.[58]

In the period from 1902 to 1908, the French consuls in Macedonia held a cautious stance towards all the efforts to bring reforms to the region. They were of the opinion that the situation could change for the better with an improvement in public administration and that the entire system that had been implemented under the Mürzteg programme was ineffective and bureaucratic. At any rate, it supported the policy for reform because it had as a priority the maintenance of the existing regime.[59]

2.6. Italy

Italy was included among the new European powers since came into existence from the unification of the Italian states in the mid-19th century. The main aim of its foreign policy immediately after its unification was the establishment of *mare nostrum*, in

other words, expansion throughout the entire Mediterranean basin. The annexation of the eastern coast of the Adriatic was put forward as a first step in the accomplishment of this aim, something that brought it into open confrontation with Austro-Hungary. At the Congress of Berlin, the Italians did not make any particular claims for territorial concessions; however, in the years that followed they made vigorous moves in this direction.[60]

Until the beginning of the 20th century, Italy appeared as a guarantor of the continued territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire, having signed the treaty of 1887, but its policy arose out of the fact that it felt incapable of matching Austria and Germany in a crisis which would lead to a change in the regime. The diplomatic activity which was observed at the beginning of the 20th century, as a result of the situation in Macedonia, gave Italy the pretext to revise her policy. Consequently, at the beginning of 1903, it supported, as did Great Britain, the creation of a unified, self-governing Macedonia with a Christian governor. This was not a strategic option but was more of an expression of discontent at having been excluded from the Mürzteg Conference. At any rate, as soon as it was determined that the head of the International gendarmerie would be an Italian, it withdrew its reservations.[61]

The opportunism of Italy was revealed after 1908, when it exploited the change in diplomatic equilibrium, the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Austro-Hungary and the favourable stance of Russia, in combination with the intransigence of the new Ottoman rule, and declared war against the Ottoman Empire, with the intention of obtaining land in the eastern Mediterranean.

3. The First World War

The Treaty of Bucharest might have made radical changes to the regime in Macedonia, which, with minor modifications, is what exists until today, but at that time few considered it as a final text which was to endure. First among them were the Ottoman Turks, who, as losers under the terms of the treaty, had lost in the space of two years all their possessions in Europe, and the Bulgarians, who had been defeated in the Second Balkan War. The First World War was for the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria an opportunity to reverse in their favour the regime in Macedonia which had been implemented by the Treaty of Bucharest in 1913.

The same were the intentions of all the other Great Powers. Both the Central Empires and the Entente Cordiale (Entente) attempted to win over Bulgaria, by offering it a part of the territory in Macedonia which had become entangeld between the Serbs and Greeks in the Balkan Wars.

3.1. Germany and Austro-Hungary

The Central Empires promised Bulgaria a complete change in the status quo in Macedonia and virtually allowed it to annex all of Macedonia and not only that.[62]

At the beginning of 1915, when it appeared that Greece would enter the war against Turkey, Germany, in an attempt to strengthen its position with King Constantine, offered guarantees for the security of the region around Thessaloniki and small concessions on the Serbo-Bulgarian border at Gevgelija –Doiran as well as territorial concessions in Albania. However, when in August of the same year, critical talks began between Germany and Bulgaria, the only thing the Germans had to offer Greece was south Albania and the islands of the Aegean.[63] Finally, Bulgaria signed a military pact with Germany in exchange for all the areas east of the River Morava and all of Serbian

Macedonia. It also acquired the right to annex all the areas which Greece had been gained under the Treaty of Bucharest.[64]

Germany fully supported Bulgarian ambitions for the duration of the military campaigns and used the Bulgarian forces to impose its influence on the defeated Serbia. The Germans also displayed a special interest in IMRO, to the point where in middle of 1915 it became a channel for information and communication which existed between the German services and the central committee of IMRO. A year later, during the meeting between Emperor William II and the Bulgarian King Ferdinand on the 18th of January 1916, the two leaders of IMRO, Todor Alexandrov and Alexander Protogerov, were present.[65]

3.2. Great Britain

The powers of the Entente on their part, considered that Bulgaria was extremely important on the chessboard of the war in the Balkans. Bulgaria had either to remain neutral or enter the war on the side of the Entente. In either case, the powers of the Entente attempted to obtain from Serbia and Greece territorial concessions for Bulgaria within Macedonia.

Great Britain often offered the area of Kavala to Bulgaria and on a few occasions the areas around Drama and Serres and also agreed to changes in Serbian Macedonia.[66] This policy did not change even after Great Britain declared war against Bulgaria. In the summer of 1916, the British were certain that the Bulgarian army would advance towards Thessaloniki and in order to avert such a development, they proposed the surrender of eastern Macedonia to Bulgaria.[67] In fact, at the end of 1917, they sought to secure the neutrality of Bulgaria by signing a separate peace treaty and that is why they were willing to make territorial concessions in the region of Macedonia, but were not prepared to accept Bulgarian demands for the reinstatement of the Bulgaria foreseen under the Treaty of San Stefano. A few months later, at the beginning of 1918, encouraged by members of the Balkan Committee, Buxton and Boucher, work was carried out together with the Americans on a plan for self-rule in Macedonia.[68]

3.3. Russia

Russia was excessive in concessions offered to the Bulgarians, seeing that in turn it proposed giving Bulgaria a zone from Doiran until Kastoria or Florina and a corresponding zone towards the north from the new Serbian areas.[69] At any rate, Russia's ulterior motive was to turn the Serbs towards the Adriatic, the Greeks towards Epirus, the islands of the Aegean and Asia Minor, and to give the Bulgarians Bitola or changes in the borders in the region of Edessa.[70]

After the defeats in Galicia in 1915, Russia forced the British and French to offer large territorial concessions to Bulgaria from parts of Serbian and Greek Macedonia in order to have it enter the war on the side of the Entente and participate in a flank attack against the Ottoman forces in Thrace. In any case, the Russians did not wish for Greek involvement in the campaign in Gallipoli, as they saw Greece as a powerful contender for Constantinople and the Straits.[71]

3.4. France

France, which maintained an extensive economic influence and substantial capital in the Near East, desired to retain this influence in the Balkans and simultaneously to prevent an increase in Russian presence in the same region. That is why, at the end of 1914, it put forward the idea of creating an additional front in the southern Balkans.[72] One year later, the French government, and in particular Briand, envisioned Thessaloniki as a base for the spread of French influence in the Balkans after the end of the war.

For the implementation of this plan, France opted to use Serbia. In 1915, Serbia had been defeated and the Serb army, led by the King of Serbia, withdrew via Albania and took refuge in Corfu. The French thought of establishing a base in Macedonia which would be controlled either by them or by the exiled Serb forces. This plan was implemented with the return of the Serb forces to Macedonian soil. In this way, the French and Serb armies jointly advanced in western Macedonia. By 1916 a large part of western Macedonia, from Korytsa in the west to Bitola and Kaimakchalan in the north and Giannitsa in the east was in French hands. Serb authorities were appointed to settle in the lands under occupation by the French and Serbs. In fact, in the summer of 1916, and more specifically on the 18th of August, they took advantage of the unstable political situation and succeeded in forcing the evacuation of all Greek troops from Thessaloniki, with the intention of using the city as the headquarters of the King of Serbia.[73]

The Greek authorities frequently protested about the actions of the French and the peremptoriness of the Serbs. However, the French not only rejected the Greek protests but also offered their support of any peremptory behaviour displayed by the Serb authorities or army in western Macedonia. The main reason for this stance was the pro-German neutrality which had been adopted by King Constantine.[74]

The strong military presence and the occupation of a large part of western Macedonia as well as the heated opposition to the policy of King Constantine were leading for a time towards the establishment of a scenario which even included the creation of a autonomous Macedonia under French occupation or influence. In fact, in a report to the French Foreign Ministry, Jules Lecoq, the leader of the French political delegation to Thessaloniki, proposed the creation of a self-ruling Macedonia, which would be made up of six cantons: the cantons of Skopje, Veles, Bitola, which would be under the control of the Serbs, the cantons of Serres and Chalkidike under the control of the Greeks and the canton of Drama under Turkish control. Thessaloniki and its environs would constitute a free federal city. The autonomous Macedonia would be under the influence of France, which would of course represent it in its international relations.[75] This plan was not put into effect since Greece entered the war on the side of the Entente and a powerful Serbia was created after the end of the war.

3.5. Italy

Italy did not show any particular interest in Macedonia during the First World War. Its prime aims were to secure strong footholds in Albania, and after 1917 to place under its control as much Albanian soil as possible so as to be able to create a Greater Albania, which would prevent the Serbs from gaining an outlet to the Adriatic.[76] Italy's interest in the developments in Macedonia was limited. Of greater interest to them was the ambition of Venizelos to expand Greece in the region of Asia Minor, a move which would create difficulties for their own expansionist policy in the same region. The same

opposition forced them to cultivate good relations with the Jewish community of Thessaloniki. The Jews saw the Italians as a strong voice of protest and an obstacle to the various actions of the caretaker government of Venizelos. [77]

3.6. The USA

Finally, the USA's interest in Macedonia was exceptionally small and late in being expressed. Colonel House was sent at the beginning of 1918 for the purpose of forming an opinion in connection with the events in the region. The American officer toured the region and had many meetings with representatives of the other allied forces as well as with American missionaries who had been active in the region from the 19th century, exclusively with the Slavic element of Macedonia. In his findings, House proposed a solution to the Macedonian Question which took a different approach from that suggested by the other powers of the Entente. More specifically, it pre-determined self-rule for Macedonia and an outlet to the Aegean for Serbia in the region of Thessaloniki.[78]

4. The Interwar Years

The victory of the powers of the Entente in the First World War led to the ratification of the Treaty of Bucharest. Simply, the area of Stromnitsa passed into the control of the Serbs and western Thrace was given to Greece. During the interwar years, the Macedonian Question lost the importance which it had acquired in previous years as it was disconnected from concerns connected with the maintenance or dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and control of the Straits. The policy of the major European powers was determined by their general stance towards the existing regime in Europe. Great Britain and France were in favour of having it maintained, whereas Italy, German and the Soviet Union made efforts to have it revised. In this way, European diplomacy around the Macedonia Question was directly connected with the maintenance of or change in the wider regime in the Balkans.

4.1. Great Britain

The basic concept of the policy of Great Britain was the maintenance of the regime which had been created under the peace treaty that ended the First World War. Occupied with matters in the Middle East, the British were not interested in playing a leading role in the region. They preferred to assume the role of observer and equilibrist in the oppositions of the French and Italians. In order to achieve their goal, it was necessary to reduce the rivalry among the Balkan states. In the case of Macedonia, the tension was created by the activities of IMRO in Yugoslavian and Bulgarian Macedonia. In fact, the British believed that collaboration between IMRO and fascist Italy was capable of bringing changes to the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia, and that in turn could lead to more extensive changes to the regime which had been implemented under the peace treaties which ended the First World War. In the period from 1927 to 1930, the British exercised strong pressure on the Bulgarian government to take stringent measures against IMRO.[79]

Of course, in Britain, influence continued to be exercised by traditional pro-Bulgarians such the Balkan Committee and Noel Buxton, an influential member of the Labour Party, and whoever was attempting to make British policy on the Macedonian Question more pro-Bulgarian and pro-IMRO. However, when the Labour Party was in

power, between the 23rd of January and the 4th of November 1924, and two pro-Bulgarian politicians, Buxton and Thomson were part of the government, the internal conflicts within IMRO and the question of its participation in a movement together with the Bulgarian Communist Party did not allow them to formulate a policy which differed from that which Britain had followed until then and would be exercised from that point on by the British Foreign Ministry. The greatest gain for Bulgaria, albeit a short-lived one, proved to be the signing of the Politis-Kalfov Agreement.[80]

4.2. France

France was mainly interested in the maintenance of the postwar regime of territorial domination and stability in Europe, in the configuration which it had suggested and guaranteed. For the implementation of this plan, France sought the creation and maintenance of an alliance of states, which would have been negative if not even hostile towards the Soviet Union and Germany. In northeast Europe this particular policy was manifested in the support of Yugoslavia, Romania and Czechoslovakia. In fact the aggressiveness of Italy towards Yugoslavia increased French interest in Yugoslavia. The French arrived at the conclusion, as did the British, that Italian influence and aggressiveness could be reduced if Bulgaria and Yugoslavia arrived at some level of agreement. A thorn in the relations between them was the regime in Macedonia and mainly the activities of IMRO. That is why during the period from 1927 to 1934, in collaboration with Britain, as well as on its own, it repeatedly put pressure on the Bulgarian government to take such steps so as to prevent IMRO from operating in the southern part of Yugoslavia.[81]

4.3. Italy

The keystone of the policy of fascist Italy in the Mediterranean was the expansion of the country, an expansionist policy which was economic and demographic, in the Adriatic, in North Africa and in the Eastern Mediterranean. A strong Yugoslavia, a state created by the peace treaties which ended the First World War, hindered to a great extent the fulfillment of this policy. At first, Mussolini tried to reach a reconciliation with Belgrade by concluding the Treaty of Rome on the 27th of January 1924, according to which he supported the Serbian desire for an outlet to the Aegean Sea and especially Thessaloniki, in return for the expansion of Italian influence in Rijeka.[82]

The Yugoslavian-French alliance of 1926 displeased Mussolini very much since he saw it as limiting his power not only in the Adriatic but more generally in Europe. That is why he initially proposed the creation of a quadripartite alliance with the participation of Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria. Realizing that his plans for achieving supremacy in the Adriatic and for expansion within the Balkans could not be implemented without the weakening of Yugoslavia, he followed the policy of accerchiamento (encirclement) of Yugoslavia. In order to succeed in this policy, Mussolini sought parallel action from Albania, Hungary, Bulgaria as well as IMRO, the Kosovar Albanians and the Croatian secessionists.[83]

Within the above framework, Bulgaria and IMRO had to assume very serious roles. The former had to repulse every "approach of friendship" from Belgrade, all pressure from the other powers which aimed at getting it to collaborate with Yugoslavia and to allow IMRO to operate unobstructed on Bulgarian soil. This policy was accepted by Bulgaria until 1934 and its main advocate was General Volkov, a member of all the Bulgarian governments over that period. The latter was to play an equally important

role in seeing that it was the only organization which had at its disposal forces powerful enough to destabilize Yugoslavia. Consequently, Italy supplied IMRO with guns and money, offering it diplomatic support and bases within Albania to operate from.

Italy did not show any particular interest in relation to the future of Macedonia. In meetings with members of IMRO, Italy proposed an independent Macedonia under Italian protection, something which would not be easily accepted by IMRO or Bulgaria. Other proposals for the creation of a federation which would include Macedonia, Albania and Montenegro or Macedonia, Kossovo and Croatia, did not proceed further seeing that their implementation proved to be clearly unattainable. In reality, Mussolini was not really interested in Macedonia; accordingly, he did not have any reason to discuss the eventual regime that would exist. On the contrary, he was mainly interested in weakening Yugoslavia using every possible means.[84]

4.4. Germany

Germany, the big defeated power of the First World War, was not able to continue exercising a policy of intervention in the Balkans as it had been doing at the beginning of the 19th century. Its weakness was reflected even in the policy it adopted in the Macedonian Question. In the interwar years, the picture that the Germans had of Bulgaro-Macedonians was one of the supercilious popular rebels, whereas IMRO appeared as a national liberation organization and its leader, Ivan Mihailov, as a hero. All of the parties, from the Communists – with reservations – to the extreme right, cultivated relations with and supported IMRO's struggle, but Germany as a state could not exercise an active policy or affect conditions.[85] Until 1929, it tried to cultivate friendly relations and collaboration at an economic level with Bulgaria and Yugoslavia simultaneously, despite being aware that the Macedonian Question could spark off war between the two countries.[86] After 1929, its policy towards the Balkans became clearly more active and aimed primarily at annulling the small Entente which France had promoted.[87]

4.5. The Soviet Union

The policy which the Soviet Union adopted on the Macedonian Question had its roots in the ideas of Lenin on peoples' right to self-determination and their incorporation within Socialist Federations as well as in the connection between the Labour movement and the national liberation movements of colonies.[88] Thus, the Communist International, an organization under the complete control of the Soviet Union and which all communist parties belonged to, estimated that the existing situation in the Balkans in 1922 could lead to the dominance of Communism in Bulgaria. However, the defeat of the Bulgarian Communist Party in 1923 showed that it could not fulfill its mission without external help. That is why the Communist International called on all the Balkan Communist parties to support the Bulgarian Communist Party to enable it to assume power. The Bulgarian Communist leader, Vasil Kolarov, representative of the Communist International and head of the Balkan Communist Federation, judged that the issue which all the combat forces in Bulgaria could rally around, in order to offer their brotherly support to other communist parties, was the Macedonian Question. And as a solution it was necessary for the creation of an independent Macedonia – and an independent Thrace – with a Labour-Agrarian government. This development would lead to domination by the communists in Bulgaria and, thereafter, in the other countries, so as to eventually create an honorary Union of Independent Balkan Democracies.[89] The curious thing is that in later texts (the documents of Vienna), the creation of a unified,

independent Macedonia, which in fact would have extended their geographical limits, was considered a requirement for the creation of a Balkan Federation. It is worth mentioning that all the related texts refer to a "Macedonian people" [makedonski narod] not a "Macedonia nation", and in fact named the nationalities which lived on Macedonia soil and constituted the Macedonian people.[90]

However, the hasty publication of the texts of the agreement between the communist parties and the Bulgaro-Macedonian rebels of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO) and with other smaller groups, on the one hand, turned IMRO against them and resulted in IMRO's murdering most of the leaders of the related movements, and on the other, caused IMRO to expel all the communist parties from the peoples they were supposedly representing, since they were either outlawed , or on the margin of political developments.[91] Despite this, the Soviet representatives persevered and forced the communist parties to support the slogan of a unified and independent Macedonia and Thrace, even though at the end of 1920s this had been left muted on the margins.[92]

The spread of Fascism throughout Europe at the beginning of the 1930s brought changes in the policies of the Soviet Union and the Communist International. Issues such as self-determination for minority groups, the creation of federations and the Macedonian Question in particular became of marginal interest, since what took priority was the repulsing of the danger posed by Fascism. This policy began to be implemented at the beginning of 1934 and appeared as a doctrine the following year. In accordance with the decisions taken during the 7th Congress of the Communist International (July-August 1935), the communist parties had to collaborate with other related parties and political and social groups to create a popular front so as to be able to counterbalance ideologically and politically the storm of Fascism.[93] The ethnic minorities, whose rights the Communist parties ought to protect, had to fight together in this struggle.

In the framework of this policy, the "people of Macedonia" were christened the "Macedonian nation", so as to be in agreement with the party line. The Communist parties conceded ground on the policy of a "unified and independent Macedonia and Thrace", but were forced to recognize "Macedonian" minorities. In the same year, the Macedonian Communist Party was founded.[94] At its 6th Congress, the Greek Communist Party recognized two ethnic minorities in Greek Macedonia, the Jewish and the "Macedonian", whose rights it began to demand protection for.[95]

Just as the Bulgarian communists had attempted in 1923 to exploit the line taken by the Soviet Union in order to achieve their goals, so too at the end of the 1930s did the Yugoslavian communists make use of their new position in the Communist International in order to serve their purposes. Namely, they maintained the separate "Macedonian" nationality, adapting the idea of a Balkan Communist Federation to the existing conditions in Yugoslavia. Thus, in October of 1940, the Yugoslavian Communist Party called on the "Macedonian people" to struggle against the Serbs, Bulgarians and Greeks.[96]

These decisions, which passed unobserved during preparations for the Second World War, later proved to be decisive, as in 1942 the Yugoslavian Communist Party undertook, with the support of the Soviet Union, to include in its programme the creation of a new Yugoslavia and the settlement of the districts of Kossovo and Macedonia.[97] In 1943, during the second session of AVNOJ, they put forward the foundations for the future Yugoslavian Federation, which would comprise six states, one of which would be Macedonia. In fact, at the second session of AVNOJ, they elected representatives of Greek and Bulgarian Macedonia, who, however, were not present during the business of the session.[98]

5. The Second World War – Civil War

5.1. The Axis Powers

The capitulation of Greece to Germany on the 23rd of April 1941 resulted in the division of Macedonia into three occupied zones: the German zone, which covered the area between the Aliakmon and Strymon rivers, with Thessaloniki as the headquarters of the Thessaloniki- Aegean Military Command. The Italian occupied zone included western Macedonia, which, together with Albania and Epirus, constituted a unified area under Italian administration, while the Bulgarian zone included the part of Macedonia east of the River Strymon and all of western Thrace. In addition, the Bulgarians had been given the greater part of Yugoslavian Macedonia, with the exception of the area around Tetovo, which was annexed along with Kossovo to the Italian held Albania. The Germans saw Macedonia as a centre of German occupation in the Balkans and Thessaloniki as the hub of communications for the Axis powers from Germany to North Africa.[99]

The Bulgarians regarded the occupation as a complete reversal of the decisions made during the Treaty of Bucharest and the Treaty of Neuilly and the implementation of the Bulgaria which was anticipated by the Treaty of San Stefano. That is why they proceeded with the immediate expulsion of the Greek authorities and their replacement by Bulgarians, in order to fully incorporate the abovementioned areas within the Bulgarian state.[100] In fact, on the 14th of May 1941, Bulgaria annexed these lands with an official act, which Germany refused to acknowledge.

At the same time, it took steps to make its presence felt in central and eastern Macedonia, with the appointment of Bulgarian liaison officers in the Italian and German garrisons and the introduction of "Liberation Committees" in certain Slavophone villages. The "Bulgarian Club" aspired to become the centre of Bulgarian propaganda in Thessaloniki.[101] In fact, in 1943, Bulgaria tried to extend its dominance throughout the whole of Macedonia. On the 8th of July 1943, the Germans initially agreed to extend the area under Bulgarian occupation to include the area from the Strymon River to the Axios River, since it was striving to release military forces from Macedonia in order to dispatch them towards the eastern front. However, the reaction of the Greeks, both the simple people and the official representatives, discouraged the extension of Bulgarian occupied land in central and western Macedonia after the capitulation of Italy in September 1943. Only in 1944, when there was from then on a shortage of men in the German army on the different fronts, did the Germans allow the Bulgarians to assume control of the area east of the Axios River. Similarly, on the 5th of September of the same year, they allowed the creation of a –stillborn– independent Macedonian state, headed by the leader of IMRO and favourite of Hitler, Ivan Mihailov.[102]

5.2. France

Despite the fact that during this time intense activity developed in connection with the Macedonian Question, France had no part in the developments of the time. It was more concerned with Greece's position at the beginning of the war and in the postwar period of equilibrium, rather than the events in Macedonia and in the diplomatic field.

Around the beginning of the Second World War, the French proposed a revision to the Balkan front of the First World War with the fortification of Thessaloniki, which would function as a base for the surge towards the Romanian oil fields which Germany

was using to replenish its supplies. Greece was prepared to discuss this plan, but the French had limited forces at their disposal for its implementation.[103] On the other and, the British proposed the creation of a coalition of neutral states in the Balkans, and that is why the French idea was soon abandoned.

After the end of the First World War, France sided with Great Britain and the USA in the discussions related to Greece which took place within the framework of the United Nations. In particular, it voted down together with the remaining powers – with the exception of the Soviet Union and Poland – the Ukrainian appeal against the invasion of Albania by Greek forces and supported the corresponding Greek appeal to the Security Council of the United Nations against the assistance which was being given by the neighbouring Communist states to the rebels of the Democratic Army and their interference in Greek affairs. More specifically, it supported the American proposal for the formation of a commission which would work to improve the relations among the Balkan states (UNSCOB) as well as the findings and the work of UNSCOB, in addition the proposals of Great Britain and the USA to stop Albania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria from supplying the rebels of the Greek Democratic Army.[104]

5.3. Great Britain

The present day regime which exists in the Macedonia with the maintenance of the frontier line determined under the Treaty of Bucharest is largely the result of the efforts of Great Britain in 1944. The leaders of Great Britain, including the Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, and the Foreign Minister, Anthony Eden, not only stood without reservation in favour of a return to the pre-war regime for Macedonia but also fought to achieve it. Naturally, on their part, the British were worried by the advance of the Soviet army in Romania and the possibility of their reaching as far as the shores of the Aegean.

More specifically, in September 1944, the collapse of the Axis alliance and the advance of the Soviet army in Romania created new conditions. On the 2nd of September, the president of the Agrarian Party in Bulgaria, Konstantin Mouraviev, became Prime Minister of a new government, which was subsequently toppled on 9th September, when the Soviet army entered the country. The Patriotic Front took over the governing of the country, with Kimon Georgiev as Prime Minister. These governments maintained the Bulgarian occupation forces in eastern Macedonia, aiming at territorial gains in the region. In fact Georgiev placed the Bulgarian army units at the disposal of the Russian Field Marshall Tolbuhin.[105]

From as early as May 1944, Churchill had already sent a plan to Stalin in which he proposed the free movement of the Soviets in Romania with a corresponding arrangement for Great Britain in Greece; this plan had been accepted by the Soviet leader.[106] Furthermore, Eden, in a telegraph to Churchill on the 6th of September 1944, observed bluntly that "if we had to choose between two countries (Bulgaria and Greece) it is obvious that Greece comes first, because it is an ally of ours and struggled in the war and, on the other hand, because as far as our postwar position in the eastern Mediterranean is concerned, Greece is of more interest to us than Bulgaria".[107] On the 21st of September, Churchill once again informed the Soviets that British troops were being sent to Greece and requested that the Soviet Army not enter Greece without first obtaining his consent.[108]

The final adjustments to the borders of Macedonia appear to have been decided on at the meeting between Stalin and Churchill, which took place in Moscow on the 9th of October 1944. There, Greece passed into the British sphere of influence seeing that

Churchill proposed 90% Soviet influence in Romania, 75% in Bulgaria, 90% British influence in Greece and 50-50% influence of both powers in Yugoslavia, something which Stalin agreed to.[109]

The Soviets honored the agreements with the British as the Soviet army under Tolbuhin stopped at the Greek-Bulgarian frontier line in September 1944, refusing to cross the border in order to end the German occupation of Macedonia or to help its new "ally", the Bulgarain army, in eastern Macedonia. Indeed, on the 11th of October, just two days after the agreements between Stalin and Churchill, the Bulgarian army was ordered to vacate Greek soil within fifteen days, something which it did by the deadline.[110] At the Yalta Conference, Stalin assured Churchill once again that he would not interfere in Greece.[111]

The collaboration between the Soviets and the British gave the latter the ability to request that Tito refrain from all activities against Greek Macedonia. On the 9th of December in particular, the head of the British mission, Maclean, asked for an explanation from Tito in connection with the assembling of the "Macedonian Brigade" warning him not to proceed to take any kind of action against Greece. Tito gave his word that he would not proceed to engage in aggressive activities against Greece.[112] Consequently, during the December clashes, the request for reinforcements which Tito received from the Greek Communist Party was ignored and the units under Gotsev were ordered by Tito to move further north in pursuit of the German forces and the Albanian nationalists in Kossovo instead of crossing the Greek-Yugoslavian border. A similar request made by the Greek Communist Party to Georgi Dimitrov, the leader of the Bulgarian Communist Party, met with a negative response.[113]

But even more generally, the British tried to discourage the stirring up of the Macedonian Question. Consequently, at the beginning of 1945, it took a stand against the unification of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria into a Federal state as well as against Yugoslavia's territorial claims.[114] However, even on the question of the creation of a single "united and independent Macedonia", which had been put forward by Tito and the heads of the recently formed confederate states, British policy was negative, as it considered that in such a case it would mean Slavs and Greeks having to co-exist in the same state, where there would be continual tension and that would revive the ethnic rivalries, creating the same problems which existed at the beginning of the 20th century.[115]

In the spring of 1945, a significant change in Yugoslavian policy towards Greece was observed, as Tito proceeded with a plethora of statements that he would accept unification between Slavo-Macedonians in the Greek provinces and Yugoslavia, at the same time condemning Greece for systematically oppressing them. The British, as well as the Americans, suspected that this aggressiveness on the part of Tito was a consequence of a change in the position of the Soviet Union. They advised Greece to keep a low tone, but rejected the charges made against Greece in all cases even during the related discussion during a meeting of the UN Security Council in February 1946.[116]

At the peace conference which began on the 25th of April 1946, Great Britain supported Greece every time the Soviet Union or the representatives of other countries which had Communist regimes formulated charges against Greece but it did not offer, in the same way as the Americans did, any help to Greece for the realization of its territorial claims, which included the secession of northern Epirus from Albania and its incorporation within Greece as well as the advancing of the Greek border in the direction of Bulgaria to a depth of 36 miles. They considered that the Greek claims did not offer any improvement in the defence capability of the country, while at the same time they would trigger off a reaction from the Soviets. Together with the Americans, they suggested that Greece seek its security within the framework of the recently formed

United Nations (UN). Despite all this, the British representative presented to the Council of Foreign Ministers in New York, in November 1946, the changes in the Greek-Bulgarian frontier which Greece had requested, but did not show any will to discuss the matter further when the American representative refused to support them.[117]

The British, together with the Americans, continued to support the territorial integrity of Greece in the following years from 1947-1949 and to remonstrate acrimoniously to the Bulgarians and the Yugoslavians over their statements and activities concerned with the accession of parts of Greek, Bulgarian and Yugoslavian Macedonia to a south-Slav federation.[118]

5.4. The USA

The United States, for their part, were opposed throughout 1944 to the creation of spheres of influence within Europe and preferred to handle the whole issue with discussions among the Allies.[119] They did not have either adequate information from their sources on events in Greece or a clear position on the future situation in the Balkans in general. They believed that everything could be determined at the Yalta Conference in February 1945. Public opinion in America reacted negatively towards the action taken by the British during the December clashes, but Roosevelt gave his consent for the British action.[120] However, generally until the summer of 1945, the USA was not active in any particular way. The situation changed in the summer of 1945, when the USA announced that it was sending a delegation to Greece in order to ensure the freedom of expression of the Greek people in the Bulgarian elections.[121]

The USA had a clear position especially on the Macedonian Question. The frontier line Greece-Bulgaria-Yugoslavia which existed before the war had to remain as it was without any changes, unless that was what the populations of the countries desired. The Greek sector of Macedonia was inhabited by Greeks who had no desire for changes in the frontiers or to participate in the creation of a “Macedonian” state. Indeed, for the Americans neither a “Macedonian” nation nor a “Macedonian national consciousness” existed. Accordingly, every attempt to bring changes in Macedonia would find the Americans diametrically opposed.[122]

The Americans took the initiative in supporting Greece at the peace conference and at the UN during 1946, but they refused, in the same way as the British, to support the claims for annexation of land to the Greek state. The American representatives rejected with vigour and candour the charges leveled against Greece by the Soviets and other Communist powers, while they refused to discuss the eventual detachment of land from Greece for the benefit of neighbouring states and confronted the Soviet aggressiveness towards Greece by strengthening their ties with the country, even despatching a strong force of warships on a visit to the port of Piraeus.[123] However, the real strengthening of Greek-American relations took place with the announcement of the Truman Doctrine, on the 12th of March 1947, for the support of Greece and Turkey against the imposition of Communist influence and the approval of a loan amounting to 400,000,000 USD as aid to these two countries.[124]

As far as the Macedonian Question is concerned, the USA continued to guarantee the territorial integrity of Greece and strongly opposed every attempt to create a separate “Macedonian” state, which would include Greek land. But, unlike the British, the Americans considered that the Communist countries of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria could settle the Macedonian Question as they wished, either with their consent or with their opposition, but they could not agree to the detachment of Greek land which would be annexed to that new state.[125] Consequently, the Americans reacted strongly from time to

time to every action by Yugoslavia and Bulgaria which appeared to challenge the integrity of Greece, the most important among them being the issue of their recognition of the Provisional Democratic Government in 1948 and the creation of an independent Macedonia, announced by the Greek Communist Party and based on a decision reached during the Fifth Plenum of 1949.[126]

From the moment the defeat of the Democratic Army solved the problem of the national security and integrity of Greece, the Americans urged the country to improve its relations with Yugoslavia. The USA considered it propitious that Yugoslavia had been expelled from the Cominform. However, the first attempt to improve Greek-Yugoslavian relations following the appointment of Plastiras as Prime Minister in 1950, stumbled as a result of Tito's demand for the granting of minority rights to the "Macedonians" in Greece. The talks were halted and later resumed only after pressure was put on Tito by the Americans and British to stop meddling in minority matters of other countries.[127] Tito replied with a clarifying statement that the progress of the bipartite relations did not depend on the position of the Slavo-Macedonians in Greek society, a statement which led to an improvement in the relations between the two countries. The fact that Tito had not retracted his statements about the "Macedonian" minority in Greece, did not bother the Americans since the main problem for them was the territorial integrity of Greece and from then on Tito's expulsion from the Communist bloc.

The problem of the security of the Greek border, especially to the north, was virtually solved with the accession of Greece to the Atlantic Alliance (NATO) on the 22nd of October 1951, since the security of the country was placed at a different level, that of the relations between two rival coalitions. Accordingly, every attack against Greek Macedonia would be repulsed by NATO forces. With the encouragement of the Americans, Turkey, Yugoslavia and Greece signed a tripartite treaty of friendship and cooperation on the 28th of February 1953, which determined that the three states had an obligation to support each other's independence and territorial integrity if threatened by any other power.[128]

5.5. The Soviet Union

After the end of the Second World War, the Soviet Union viewed the Macedonian Question not as a separate issue to be dealt with, but as a piece on the diplomatic chessboard with the British and the Americans. As the Axis powers had capitulated in 1945, the Soviet Union turned its attention to the incorporation of Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria within the Communist bloc and to the promotion of its influence in Greece, with the backing of the Greek Communist Party and the Communist parties of the neighbouring states, and with the increase in its occupation troops in Iran. According to George Kennan, the US Charge d' Affairs in Moscow at the time, the activities were conducted either directly by the Soviet government through formal diplomatic channels, or through pressure which was exercised by local Communist parties, whose actions, it claimed, it was not responsible for. In this way, if the activities of the Soviet Union met with opposition from the other powers, then the pressure was continued with the activities of the Communists at local level.[129]

The Greek Civil War, which was begun by the Greek Communist Party in 1946 with an attack on Litochoro on the day the Bulgarian elections were being conducted, showed the abovementioned characteristics of Soviet policy. The Soviet Union authorized the Greek Communist Party to begin the armed struggle, which if it had succeeded would have led to the Sovietization of Greece, and if it had failed, the defeat would have burdened the Greek Communist Party and not the Soviet Union itself.[130]

At the peace conference, the Soviets adopted a tough line against Greece, as it encouraged and supported the territorial claims of the neighbouring states which had been defeated in the war and which had Communists regimes that opposed the victorious Greece. More specifically, the Ukrainian Foreign Minister, Dimitri Manuilsky supported Bulgaria's demand for an outlet to the Aegean and the annexation of western Thrace to Bulgaria, and the same support was expressed by the Yugoslavian representative, Mose Pijade.[131] Naturally, the Soviet Union refused to discuss, either at the peace conference or at the Council of Foreign Ministers, the Greek territorial claims which were potentially to the disadvantage of its allies, Albania and Bulgaria.[132] On the other hand, the Ukraine, a member of the Soviet Union and a permanent member of the UN Security Council, appealed against Greece on the 24th of August 1946 because Greece was oppressing the minorities in Macedonia and Thrace and because it had demanded the detachment of northern Epirus from Albania. The purpose of the appeal by the Ukraine was to block future discussion of the Greek territorial claims at the expense of neighbouring Communist states.[133]

The Soviet Union continued to assist the Greek Communist Party in its efforts to seize power as well as Yugoslavia in its attempt to unite with Bulgaria in the form of a Federation. However, when Stalin realized that Tito was working towards establishing cooperation with the other Communist states, which could either oppose his own policy or determine its own policy, he proceeded to have Yugoslavia expelled from the Cominform and Tito accused, before the entire Communist world of that time, of revisionism.

The case for the creation of a separate "Macedonian" state, which had been promoted by Tito until then, was not forgotten; it was just that the Soviets tried to put it into effect in opposition to Tito by calling the population of the People's Republic of Macedonia (Yugoslavian Federate State) to self-determination with the help of the Bulgarians and the Greek Communist Party, so as to create an "independent Macedonia" within the framework of a Balkan Communist Federation.[134]

However, when the Soviets discovered at the beginning of 1949 that the Greek Communist Party had lost the struggle and the Greek army was once again in fighting condition so as to constitute a threat to the other Communist countries, the Foreign Minister, Gromyko, asked for a cessation of fighting in Greece. During the talks, he denied any responsibility on the part of the Soviet Union in connection with the case for creating an independent Macedonia.[135]

The statements by Gromyko did not mean that the activities of the Soviet Union in connection with Macedonia would stop thereafter. On the contrary, in the following years, an organized propaganda campaign issuing from Bulgaria was developed with the encouragement or the tolerance of the Soviets, who called on all the "Macedonians" in Yugoslavia and Greece to unite with their brothers in Bulgaria.[136] These activities aimed to create the proper conditions for the overthrow of Tito. However, after the death of Stalin, the Macedonian Question ceased to be an issue of high-powered politics for the Soviet Union.

5.6. The Last period

The accession of Greece to NATO virtually brought the disengagement of the Macedonian Question from the questions of changes in the frontier lines and dominance in the region of Greek Macedonia. Eventually, it evolved into the question of whether or not "Macedonians" existed, into their national identity and into the claims for a historical past and cultural heritage for Macedonia.

From time to time, tension was provoked between Athens and Belgrade, as the former considered and still considers that a “Macedonian minority” and a “Macedonian race” do not exist, while Belgrade has been asking it to accept the reality, as it has interpreted. However, the main point of tension exits in the relations between Belgrade and Sofia, as Belgrade recognized and still recognizes the “Macedonians” as a separate race and Sofia either accepted the arguments of Belgrade – when relations between Belgrade and Moscow were good – or considered them a part of the “Bulgarian race”, when Moscow accused Tito of “revisionism”.

The Soviet Union itself, while it usually nurtured hostile intentions towards Belgrade, nevertheless did not ever accept the position of the Bulgarian Communist Party on the Bulgarianism of the Macedonians, seeing that from 1934 it had recognized the “Macedonian” nationality and demanded its right to self-determination. It is just that during the time when the relations with Yugoslavia were strained, it was suppressing the issue completely, but when times were favourable, it proceeded with actions which expressed either directly or indirectly its support for Skopje and Belgrade.[137]

Besides, the leaders of the Greek Communist Party, who were in exile and were under the complete control of the Soviets, supported the same position as Yugoslavia, that is, the existence and suppression of Slavo-Macedonians in Greece, regardless of the continued and malicious attacks against the Yugoslavian Communists.[138]

The position of the USA in the new phase of the Macedonian Question was determined mainly by the need to support Yugoslavia and have it maintain constant bad relations with Moscow and good relations with the neighbouring states. Consequently, in the Greek-Yugoslavian crisis of 1962, which was precipitated by statements made by Yugoslavian officials to the effect that there were “Macedonians” in the Greek state and the resultant postponement by Greece of the implementation of the 1959 agreement on border communications, certain American officials, according to the Greek press, urged Athens to “give way” or to recognize the minority, and others advised both sides to show some reserve.[139] Naturally the question of the territorial integrity of Greece was a completely different matter and the firm opinion of the Americans was that every threat to the territorial integrity of the **country** would be seen as a threat to the USA.[140]

The verbal agreement relating mainly to the Macedonian Question, concluded in Athens on the 2nd of December 1962 between the Greek Foreign Minister Averoff and his Yugoslavian counterpart, Popovits, virtually downgraded the Macedonian Question until the imposition of a dictatorship in Greece.

Notes

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XVII. Population Shifts in Contemporary Greek Macedonia

by Iakovos D. Michailidis

Assistant Professor in Contemporary and Modern History, Department of History and Archaeology, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece

The liberation of Macedonia in the period of the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) constituted the culmination and the recompense of Greek irredentist activity in the region. For decades both its own Greek-speaking inhabitants and their brothers in the free Kingdom of the Hellenes had increasingly longed for the union of the two territories. Their triumphal welcoming of the lands acquired under the terms of the Treaty of Bucharest was therefore perfectly natural. But once the victory celebrations were over, the Greek administration found itself facing the accumulation of serious problems that had built up in the region as a result of the chronic Ottoman negligence and incompetence in conjunction with the multilevel internal ethnic diversity.

According to the available statistics, on the eve of the Liberation Macedonia had a population of approximately 1,205,000, of whom just 370,000 (31%) were Greek-speakers, 260,000 (21.5%) were Slav-speakers (Patriarchists and Exarchists) and 475,000 (39.5%) were Muslims, with Jews and other groups making up the remaining 98,000 (8%).

The ethnic fragmentation of Macedonia and the universally admitted numerical inferiority of its Greek-speaking inhabitants, especially in the continuing climate of uncertainty caused by the war, were indisputably major headaches for the Greek administration.

1. The war decade (1912–1920)

The conversion of Macedonia into a theatre of war for an entire decade (1910-1920) naturally resulted in extensive demographic changes. Alexandros Pallis, who was responsible for refugee relief in Macedonia, counted a total of 12 mass movements of Greek-speaking, Turkish-speaking and Slavic-speaking populations into and out of the Macedonian hinterland during that period.[1]

Those leaving Macedonia were in the main Slavic-speakers or members of the Muslim minority. There was a mass exodus of Slavic-speakers from Macedonia to Bulgaria as the Greek army advanced during the Second Balkan War. This wave of emigration came mainly from Eastern and Central Macedonia, with only a relatively limited number of Slavic-speakers leaving Western Macedonia. The next few years saw only sporadic shifts of Slavic-speaking populations. In the summer of 1916, the Bulgarian forces that invaded Eastern Macedonia were followed by a significant number of Slavic-speakers.[2] In the end, however, these latter did not remain long on Greek soil, since in the autumn of 1918, they once again headed into exile in front of the advancing allied forces. According to the statistics, some 40,000 Slavic-speakers left Greece during the period of the Balkan Wars. It is worth stressing that the bulk of the Slavophone emigration during this period came from Central and Eastern Macedonia, while after 1914 it came mainly from Western Macedonia.[3] This is not difficult to explain, given

that during the Balkan Wars both Central and Eastern Macedonia were arenas of fierce fighting between the Greek and Bulgarian armies. It was, therefore, natural that a substantial proportion of the local Slavic-speaking population should abandon the region with the retreat of the defeated Bulgarian troops. Western Macedonia, by contrast, was not a battleground at this time, having the previous year (1912) passed relatively easily from Ottoman hands to Greek. The establishment of a Greek administration after the end of the Balkan Wars, however, decided many of the Slavic-speakers who refused to accept it to leave Greek Macedonia. It is fair to assume that the majority of them came from Western Macedonia, on the one hand because the rest of Macedonia had already been emptied of most of its pro-Bulgarian inhabitants and on the other because the bulk of the Slavic-speakers lived in the administrative districts of Florina, Kozani and Kastoria. The Russian Consul in Thessaloniki, in fact, arranged for the majority of the emigrants from Western Macedonia to be directed to Western Thrace, which the Treaty of Bucharest had ceded to Bulgaria.[4]

A detailed breakdown of the figure of 40,000 Slavic-speakers who left Macedonia in the period 1912-1919 is given below.

1.1. Western Macedonia

Figures forwarded in May 1922 from the Governor-General of Kozani-Florina to the Ministry of the Interior show that a total of 1604 people had emigrated from the region since the beginning of the 20th century, as set out below:[5]

Village	Number of individuals
Sub-district of Kaïlaria	
Emporio	77
Palaiohori	19
Drossero	6
Olympiada	15
Anarrahi	4
Perdikkas	1
Asvestopetra	
Sub-Total	**125**
Sub-district of Florina	
Aetos	5
Meliti	4
Papayiannis	2
Mesohori	6
Neohoraki	1
Ahlada	3
Perikopi	20
Flambouro	1
Pedino	2
Akritas	7
Agios Panteleimonas	27

Village	Number of individuals
Xyno Nero	70
Vrontero	4
Pyxos	5
Florina	67
Alona	6
Skopia	5
Armenohori	1
Perasma	37
Ammohori	65
Sfika	57
Oxya	7
Kranies	1
Mikrolimni	3
Karyes	1
Agios Yermanos	11
Psarades	1
Dasseri	1
Amyntaion	9
Kelli	13
Triantafilia	16
Atrapos	4
Leptokaryes	2
Ydroissa	16
Trivouno	23
Polypotamos	15
Trigono	1
Kotas	2
Koryfi	7
Sklithro	9
Asproyia	16
Sitaria	7
Kleidi	2
Vevi	14
Sub-Total	**576**
Sub-district of Kastoria	
Prassino	6
Melas	9
Makrohori	32
Vatohori	9
Moschohori	50
Krystallopigi	82
Aposkepos	15
Mavrokampos	2
Kraniona	15

Village	Number of individuals
Halara	14
Gavros	9
Pimeniko	13
Korissos	11
Agios Nikolaos	4
Lithia	11
Vasiliada	92
Melissotopos	1
Stavropotamos	1
Mavrohori	2
Kladorrahi	1
Antartiko	21
Variko	9
Oxyes-Oxya	35
Polykerassos	29
Siderohori	14
Vyssinia	14
Ieropigi	58
Agios Dimitrios	28
Argos Orestikon	6
Spilaia	50
Lakkomata	47
Zevgostasi	6
Kastanofito	43
Ano Perivoli	7
Ano Nestorio	28
Kato Nestorio	35
Dendrohori	35
Ano Lefki	41
Sub-Total	**885**
TOTAL	**1586**

These figures show that:

a) The sub-district of Kaïlaria lost the fewest people: just 125. All of them, moreover, came from just seven villages and, according to the records, left in 1913. It is worth noting, further, that these were the only Slavophone villages in the district of Kozani, and that only a very small percentage of their total population was affected, since out of a total of 1524 households (7500-8000 people) those emigrating represented approximately 8%.

b) The number of Slavic-speakers who left the sub-district of Florina (the administrative district of the inter-war period, corresponding to the present-day prefecture but with somewhat different geographical boundaries) was significantly larger than the corresponding figure for Kozani; they also came from more villages and left not only

during the Balkan Wars but across the whole decade 1910-20. More specifically, this district lost a total of 576 people, from 42 villages as well as from the cities of Florina and Amyntaion. However, the percentage of emigrants in relation to the total population of the district was minimal: no more than 2% (the total number of households in these villages – excluding the city of Florina – was 7286, or 36-37,000 people). It is worth noting that the few Slavic-speakers who emigrated in the period of the Balkan Wars came primarily from the villages of Mesohori, Sitaria, Kleidi and Vevi, plus a few from the villages of Meliti, Perikopi, Akritas, Alona, Ydroissa, Trivouno and Polypotamos. Those who left in 1914 came mainly from the villages of Ahlada and Flambouro and secondarily from Meliti and Perikopi, villages that had traditionally been centres of IMRO activity during the Macedonian Struggle. In 1915 people were leaving the villages of Oxya, Trigono, Kotas and Koryfi, while in 1916 a sharply increased flow of emigration affected primarily the villages of Aetos, Neohoraki, Pedino, Vrontero, Pyxos, Sfika, Mikrolimni, Karyes, Psarades, Dasseri and Atrapos. After that, however, the flood dwindled to a trickle: in 1917 the only emigration was from Leptokaryes and in 1920 from Asproyia.

c) The sub-district of Kastoria saw a total of 885 people leave the district over the period 1913-1920. They came from a total of 38 villages and represented about 3% of the population of those villages (5749 households, or 28-29,000 people).

1.2. Central Macedonia

The region of Kilkis was the scene of savage fighting during the Second Balkan War. As the Greek army advanced many villages were wholly destroyed, while others suffered extensive damage. Our information about the refugees who fled to Bulgaria is drawn from the database at the Research Centre for Macedonian History and Documentation (KEMIT) in Thessaloniki.

The statistics existing for this region show that 24 villages and the city of Kilkis were destroyed, while their Slavic-speaking inhabitants left the country.

The following table lists the villages that were totally destroyed by the Greek army during the Second Balkan War:

Old Name	**New Name**	**Kantcheff**		**Hilmi Pasha**	
		Bulgarians	**Turks**	**Bulgarians**	**Turks**
Arvet-Hisar	Neo Yinaikokastro	200	45	217	35
Ambar-koy	Mandres	300	66	195	0
Ghiol ombasi	Pikrolimni	100	0	138	0
Kazanovo	Kotyli	200	0	162	0
Mihalovo	Mihalitsi	150	0	98	0
Salamanli	Gallikos	150	0	0	0
Sekerli	Zaharato	65	0	52	0
Haïdarli	Vaptistis	80	0	80	0
Apostolar	Apostoli	240	0	240	0
Vladanga	Akritas	150	0	270	0
Dourbali	Synoro	166	0	124	0

Kirets	Horygi	500	0	0	0
Gherbassel	Kastanies	150	0	0	0
Yiantzilar	Xylokeratea	470	50	340	125
Yeni koy	Eleftherohori	121	0	92	0
Dimoutsa	Agios Haralambos	70	0	58	18
Tsomleketsi	Dipotamos	160	0	200	0
Irakli	Herakleia	290	100	0	0
Beylerli	Xerolakkos	125	0	0	0
Dreveno	Pyli	125	0	0	0
Hersovo	Herso	360	0	0	0
Seremetli	Fanari	40	0	0	110
Kotza Omerli	Hersotopi	260	0	0	240
Daoutli	Ambelohori	90	0	65	0
		4562	261	2331	528
	***Kaza* of Kilkis**	**7000**	**750**	**4500**	**1120**

The same archives record that the following villages in the region of Kilkis were severely damaged:

Old Name	**New Name**	**Kantcheff**		**Hilmi Pasha**	
		Bulgarians	**Turks**	**Bulgarians**	**Turks**
Altsak	Hamilo	24	0	0	11
Seslovo	Sevasto	200	0	176	0
Strezovo	Argyroupoli	135	0	88	0
Alexia	Alexia	0	0	315	0
Rossilovo	Xanthoyia	250	0	0	0
Planitsa	Fiska	500	250	490	330
Yiannes	Metalliko	320	0	290	0
Gavalandzi	Valtoudi	164	0	0	0
Kalinovo	Soultoyanneïka	320	45	425	0
Tsigounda	Megali Sterna	0	0	0	0
Gola	Koryfi	0	0	120	0
Akitzali	Mouries	0	205	460	205
Sourlovo	Amaranda	260	200	256	230
Popovo	Myriofito	360	40	256	80
Bress	Akrolimni	60	40	0	0
Moutoulovo	Metaxohori	850	0	616	0
Dragomiri	Vafiohori	480	0	438	0
Rayian	Vathy	180	380	0	800
Ali Hotzalar	Mikrokampos	320	0	270	0
Karatzakadi	Kampani	200	0	0	0
Potaros	Drossato	0	200	0	195
Moraftsa	Antigoneia	660	0	500	0

Sneftsa	Kentriko	0	0	240	440
		5283	**1360**	**4940**	**2291**

The above tables of ruined villages show that:

a) In Central Macedonia the loss of Slavic-speaking population was limited chiefly to the region of Kilkis.

b) 24 villages and the city of Kilkis were destroyed completely, while another 23 villages suffered extensive damage.

c) The number of Slavic-speaking refugees from the wholly destroyed villages was about 8-9000; while as for the partially destroyed villages, the number of Slavic-speaking refugees is put by Kantcheff at 5283 and by Hilmi Pasha at 4940. In other words, it is fair to conclude that the number of Slavic-speakers who left the region of Kilkis during the Second Balkan War was in the neighbourhood of 13-14,000.

1.3. Eastern Macedonia

For the region of Eastern Macedonia, the figures come from the Greek Army General Staff.[6]

Prefecture of Serres	Number of individuals
Sub-district of Serres	
Ano Vrontou	3700
Provatas	25
Pontismeno	160
Karperi	100
Hionohori	20
Palaiokastro	100
Kala Dendra	74
Lakkos	225
Monoklissia	82
Elaionas	450
Marmaras	395
Herakleia	135
Anagenissi	102
Christos	50
Moukliani	200
Simvoli	500
Sub-Total	**6318**
Sub-district of Zichna	
Agriani	95
Kryopigi	14
Kallithea	45
Skopia	1465

Prefecture of Serres	**Number of individuals**
Mikropoli	240
Panorama	1167
Sub-Total	**3026**
Sub-district of Nigrita	
Ravna	456
Sub-district of Siderokastro	
Siderokastro	80
Vamvakofito	80
Yefiroudi	30
Ammoudia	30
Valtero	20
Kimissi	100
Strymonohori	10
Haropo	3
Thermopigi	60
Schistolithos	350
Faia Petra	30
Tsirovista	10
Karydohori	300
Topolnitsa	160
Neos Skopos	140
Vyroneia	450
Akritohori	60
Tzaferli	40
Theodoritsi	45
Filia	150
Ano Poroya	1.500
Kato Poroya	450
Makrynitsa	120
Platanakia	100
Agia Paraskevi	50
Siderohori	100
Monastiraki	30
Stavrodromi	30
Kerkini	15
Livadia	105
Kalamies	30
Megalohori	50
Agriolefki	100
Gonimo	15
Manitari	10
Limnohori	120

Prefecture of Serres	**Number of individuals**
Krassohori	350
Singeli	35
Ano Karydia	30
Kato Karydia	25
Damaskino	30
Kapnotopos	309
Promahonas	150
Kleidi	50
Sub-Total	**5952**
Sub-district of Drama	
Drama	220
Exohi	85
Xiropotamos	10
Volakas	100
Pirgi	50
Gavrovo	1.450
Yeni koy	1.431
Granitis	25
Kato Nevrokopi	200
Katafito	100
Dassoto	75
Kokkinoyia	30
Livadaki	50
Ohyro	200
Lefkoyia	40
Kritharas	50
Petroussa	25
Prosotsani	95
Perithori	50
Vathytopos	150
Pagoneri	150
Sub-Total	**4586**
Sub-district of Kavala	
Chryssoupoli	120
TOTAL	**20,458**

These figures show that:

a) The districts chiefly affected by the emigration of Slavic-speakers were Drama and Serres; that of Kavala, on the other hand, with its very small Slavic-speaking population, lost proportionally few people – just 120 from Chryssoupoli.

b) The Slavic-speaking refugees (a total of 20,458 persons) represented just 6.8% of the population of the sub-districts (according to the census records of the Greek Army General Staff, the total population of the sub-districts of Serres, Zichna, Nigrita, Siderokastro, Drama and Chryssoupoli on the eve of the Balkan Wars was 295,060).

c) The largest shifts occurred in six villages in the sub-district of Zichna, which lost a total of 6605 Slavic-speakers (45.8% of their population), while in the sub-district of Serres the emigrants represented 36.2% of the total population of their villages, in that of Siderokastro 18.5% and in that of Drama 11.5%.

These Slavic-speakers, however, were not the only population group to leave Macedonia in this period: in the two years following the end of the Balkan Wars (1913-1914) a large number of its Muslim inhabitants also departed. The contemporary Turkish press accused the Greek authorities of being responsible for the mass exodus of ethnic Turks, and cited specific incidents, such as the burning – by Greeks – of a mosque in Zichna and the desecration of Muslim shrines and cemeteries in the region of Serres. Such incidents, reported the Turkish newspapers, in conjunction with atrocities perpetrated by Greek-speakers against Muslims, mainly in relation to property disputes, forced many of the members of Macedonia's Muslim community to flee helter-skelter, seeking refuge in Turkish-occupied areas. The Turkish accusations appear, in general, to have been true. Similar incidents were stigmatised in a long report from the Governor General of Macedonia in August of 1914. The main culprits in these episodes seem to have been Greek refugees who had settled in Muslim villages, seizing houses, property and even Muslim schools.[7] The clashes with the Greek refugees seem to have been just one of the causes of the mass emigration of these Muslim populations. It should be noted that during the Balkan Wars more than 10,000 Muslims had fled from Northern and Western Macedonia into the city of Thessaloniki, and that their number was further swelled immediately after the signing of the Treaty of Bucharest, which caused the mass influx into the city of Muslims from the Bulgarian- and Serbian-occupied regions. It has been calculated that some 4000 Muslims fled to Thessaloniki in the summer of 1913 from just eight villages in the region of Stromnitsa, while in the same period about 20,000 Muslims from Bulgarian Thrace moved into the area around Drama. In the end these refugees, although they received help from the Greek authorities, preferred to move on to Turkey. This perturbed the Greek administration, which blamed the mass emigration of Muslim populations from Macedonia on the propaganda of the Young Turks, who were eager to exploit the situation and expel the Greek populations from Turkey. "What is going on?" asked the author of a report from the Governor General of Macedonia; "Why are these people leaving when there is no reason for them to do so? The Authorities have acted so paternally as to arouse on many occasions the resentment of the Greek refugees, who see more and better succour offered to the Muslims than to the Greeks. Where have the lower officials, or even the Gendarmerie, distressed or oppressed the Muslims, that they are reported to have suffered pressures? What specific incident has been reported and there has not been the appropriate caution or punishment? … We believe that serious steps must be taken against this covert instigation and emigration of Muslims, for the prejudice is twofold: the land of Macedonia will remain uncultivated, and our fellow-Greeks in Turkey will be ruined by the resettlement of these Muslims, who leave here with all their property and their purses full of money, while our brothers there are sent away naked and destitute".[8]

According to statistics kept by the Governor General of Macedonia, around 76,000 Muslims embarked from the port of Thessaloniki in the period 1913-1914. This number breaks down as follows:

Period	Number of persons
August-December 1913	14,478
January-February 1914	26,648
March 1914	32,405
Total	**73,531**

The specific figure of 73,531 Muslims includes only those who left the country officially, that is, presenting passports. To these must be added several thousand more, who left privately. Thus, the total number of Muslim refugees from Macedonia in the period 1913-1914 must have been nearly 100,000.[9]

This departure from Macedonia of about 140,000 Slavic-speakers and Muslims in the period 1912-1919 was paralleled by a similar mass influx of Greek refugees from various regions. Pallis estimated the number of Greek incomers into Macedonia in 1913-1914 at 155,000, of whom 80,000 came from Eastern Thrace, 40,000 from Western Thrace and 20,000 from Asia Minor, with a further 5000 Greek refugees coming from Serbia and as many again from the Caucasus. A summary report states that by 12 July 1914 a total of 28,529 households numbering 108,601 people had arrived as refugees in Greece, as shown on the table below:

Region of origin	Households	Persons	Villages (number)
Thrace (Eastern and Western)	14,552	54,292	232
Asia Minor	6,817	24,771	276
Bulgaria-Serbia	6,127	24,954	76
Northern Epirus	180	827	12
Caucasus	853	3,757	-
Total	**28,529**	**108,601**	**596**

By August 19 of that year (1914) this Greek refugee population had risen to 117,090: in other words, out of the total of 155,000 Greek refugees reported by Pallis as having entered Macedonia in 1914, 117,000 had arrived by mid-August. The general details of their resettlement are tabulated below:[10]

	Number of Refugees		Resettlement by occupation		
District	**House holds**	**Persons**	**Farmers**	**Other occu-pations**	**No Occu-pation**
Anaselitsa	230	942		13	929
Veroia	212	862	269	9	584
Edessa	413	1,648	681	82	885
Yannitsa	682	2,841	794	142	1,905
Grevena	64	300			300
Siderokastro	1,331	5,482	1,204	80	4,198

	Number of Refugees		**Resettlement by occupation**		
District	**House holds**	**Persons**	**Farmers**	**Other occu-pations**	**No Occu-pation**
Drama	3,197	12,907	1,602	152	11,153
Elassona	43	178			178
Zichna	1,281	5,180	1,009	25	4,146
Thasos	216	848			848
Thessaloniki	9,197	36,578	3,980	1,330	31,268
Kavala	1,379	5,857	427	140	5,290
Kaïlaria	321	1,275	419	5	851
Astoria	25	88			88
Katerini	908	3,626	1,623	65	1,938
Kilkis	3,301	13,788	6,080	16	7,692
Langada	1,994	8,104	2,851	291	4,962
Nigrita	905	3,639			
Eleftheroupoli	610	2,766	868	26	1,872
Sari Saban	597	2,663	874	120	1,669
Servia	165	684	382		302
Serres	611	2,265	4,202	23	6,419
Jumaya	1,190	4,710			
Florina	31	126			126
Chalkidike	17	97			97
	28,920	**117,454**	**27,265**	**2,519**	**87,700**

The Greek refugees of this period arrived in the Greek provinces in a wretched state. According to a report from the Sanitary Service of Thessaloniki, dated 24 July 1914, most of the new arrivals were injured and ill. The refugees from Bulgaria had been forcibly deported from the region of Agathoupoli and the villages of Providon, Kosti and Vasilikon, and were sent by sea via Istanbul to the Macedonian capital. A special relief service was set up in Thessaloniki to provide medical and other assistance and help resettle them.

The sum of the demographic changes that occurred during the period 1912-1920 transformed the ethnological face of Greek Macedonia. According to the census of that year, Macedonia in 1920 had a population of 1,078,748. The fact that the official census did not record details of the ethnic composition of this population, however, casts some doubt upon its reliability. A more accurate picture of Greek Macedonia may perhaps be found in the unofficial and confidential statistics gathered by the Governor General of Macedonia early in 1923.[11] Governor General Achilleas Lambros noted that the figures for his census, which was confined to Western and Central Macedonia, came from three sources: a) the ethnological statistics compiled in 1920 by the Foreign Ministry for a report on the possibility of implementing a system of self-government in Greek Macedonia,[12] b) the official 1920 census and c) information from the various administrative sub-districts. These sources, according to the Governor General, enabled the 1923 statistics to depict "*the real ethnological composition and situation of the population... also approximating the numerical reality*".

His views are fully confirmed by a comparison of two sets of statistics, the official census of 1920 and the ethnological report on Central Macedonia of 1923, although these do not take into account the refugees from Asia Minor and the Caucasus. In most instances the total population of the various sub-districts is about the same in both sets of statistics, and in several cases identical. More specifically, the total number of inhabitants given for the sub-districts of Katerini, Langada, Chalkidike and Edessa is the same in both sets of statistics (31,696, 42,544, 49,444 and 24,218 respectively), while the differences for the sub-districts of Ptolemaïda and Notia are minimal (32,299 in the 1920 census compared to 32,560 in the 1923 statistics for the sub-district of Notia, and 40,343 and 42,438 respectively for the sub-district of Ptolemaïda).[13]

The Governor General's use of statistics compiled by the various sub-districts is borne out by various documents from the local sub-districts, whose census details were used in the compilation of the general statistics.[14]

The 1923 census figures are tabulated below:

Sub-district	**Slavic-speakers**		
	Former Patriarchists	**Former Schismatics**	**Total**
Kastoria	7,519	22,079	68,340
Florina	9,027	48,443	82,408
Notia	0	9,710	40,617
Pella	3,000	15,886	29,218
Yannitsa	0	13,366	22,915
Goumenissa	0	16,155	23,361
Kilkis	0	2,255	32,245
Langada	5,000	0	55,896
Thessaloniki	4,000	0	289,985
Chalkidike	0	0	51,114
Katerini	150	0	35,169
Veroia	1,927	0	54,255
Anaselitsa	1,794	0	40,092
Ptolemaïda	4,578	3,008	53,329
Kozani	0	0	61,882
Grevena	0	0	46,898
Total	**36,995**	**130,902**	**987,724**

This set of statistics, however, was limited to Western and Central Macedonia, which made it necessary to search for statistics for the region of Eastern Macedonia. Unfortunately, the matching survey that was presumably carried out for Eastern Macedonia was not found in the Historical Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, so that the information had to be drawn from other reliable sources, but which are not from the same year (1920).

With regard to the district of Serres, the figures come from the statistics compiled by the Army General Staff in August 1915.[15] The date of the census is particularly interesting and more or less ensures the accuracy of the published figures because: a) it follows the great exodus of Slavic-speakers from Eastern Macedonia at the time of the Balkan Wars and b) between 1915 and 1924 there were very few significant changes in

the composition of the population of the region, with the exception of the departure of a fair number of Slavic-speakers, the overwhelming majority of whom, however, returned once the Bulgarian army had withdrawn after the end of World War I. The findings of this census, which distinguishes between "Slavic-speaking Greeks" and "Bulgarians", are tabulated below:

Sub-district	Slavic-speaking Greeks	Bulgarians	Total population
Serres	4,283	6,445	51,190
Zichna	3,466	1,623	31,406
Nigrita	964	258	27,515
Siderokastro	4,010	11,648	35,629
Total	**12,723**	**19,974**	**145,740**

With regard to the remaining districts of Eastern Macedonia, namely Drama and Kavala, the figures were drawn from the statistics compiled in 1924 by the Governor General of Thrace, to which the two districts then belonged.[16] This census may be considered reasonably reliable, although carried out in 1924, because the mass shifts of Slavic-speaking populations based on the provisions of the Treaty of Neuilly had not yet begun. The 1924 census yields the following figures:

Sub-district	Slavic-speaking Greeks	Bulgarians	Total population
Drama	4,905	929	93,748
Nevrokopi	2,736	6,403	15,352
Kavala	0	0	49,553
Nestos	0	0	15,628
Eleftheroupoli	0	0	19,607
Thasos	0	0	16,294
Total	**7,641**	**7,332**	**210,182**

	Slavic-speaking former Patriarchists	Slavic-speaking former Exarchists	Total population
Total Greek Macedonia	**57,359**	**158,208**	**1,343,646**

2. Exchanges of populations (1920-1930)

The 1910s, however, was not the only decade in which divers ethnological changes occurred. The 1920s, too, were marked by major population shifts, the result of wars and resettlements. Moving crowds of refugees and emigrants packed the ports, border crossings and quarantine stations, victims of political and diplomatic backstage negotiations. Serving primarily political expediencies, namely the celebrated need to assure "ethnic homogeneity", two exchanges of populations took place in this period. The first, de-

cided by the Treaty of Neuilly in 1919, was voluntary and concerned the reciprocal migration of "racial, religious or linguistic" minorities between Greece and Bulgaria. The second was decided at Lausanne in January 1923, was compulsory, and called for the removal of the Orthodox Christians from Turkey and the Muslims from Greece, with the exception of the Christians of Istanbul and the islands of Imbros and Tenedos and the Muslims of Western Thrace. Both exchanges of populations were carried out during the 1920s under the eye of the League of Nations, which set up two mixed commissions – of Greek-Bulgarian and Greek-Turkish Emigration respectively – to oversee the process. About 56,000 Bulgarians from Greece and 30,000 Greeks from Bulgaria, and 190,000 Christians from Turkey and 350,000 Muslims from Greece, took advantage of these provisions, liquidated their property and emigrated. Hundreds of League of Nations staff, assisted by local officials, directed for an entire decade the labyrinthine machinery for their relocation. Their task, colossal and exceptionally difficult, was crowned with success and must be accounted to the credit side of that organisation's ledger.

2.1. Treaty of Neuilly

Although the Treaty of Neuilly on the voluntary emigration of minorities in Greece and Bulgaria was signed in November 1919, it was not fully implemented until three years later, towards the end of 1922.[17] The intervening period was used in the setting up of the Mixed Commissions and local sub-commissions and in arranging matters of procedure.

The process of collecting applications for emigration began in November 1922. The response among the Slavic-speaking inhabitants of Macedonia, however, was initially small. Thus, between November 1922 and 1 July 1923 only 166 applications for emigration were submitted.[18]

The situation changed radically, however, in the middle of 1923. The Asia Minor disaster and the subsequent influx of thousands of refugees into continental Greece, particularly Macedonia and Thrace, spectacularly changed the position of the Slavic-speaking population. Thus, the initial disinclination to accept the expediency and necessity of the Treaty of Neuilly changed rapidly into forced acceptance, with the result that in July and August alone of that year 288 and 349 applications for emigration, respectively, were submitted.[19]

In the second half of 1923 and the first months of 1924 the desire to leave increased. Thus, by the end of June 1924 3997 applications for emigration had been submitted, representing a total of 10,756 people, of whom 7983 had already left Greece.[20] By the end of October of that same year the number of applications had more than doubled. Specifically, 9013 applications concerning a total of 22,816 people had been submitted, distributed geographically as follows:[21]

Region	Applications	People
Thessaloniki	926	2,206
Veroia	25	99
Yannitsa	1,865	5,275
Goumenissa	1,203	3,526
Kilkis	929	2,432
Edessa	214	466
Florina – Astoria	388	826

Siderokastro	1,723	5,025
Drama – Kavala	821	2,200
Serres	286	761
Total	**8,380**	**22,816**

The above table suggests that the Slavic-speaking inhabitants of Central and Eastern Macedonia, and particularly those living in the districts of Yannitsa, Goumenissa and Siderokastro, were from the beginning more eager to emigrate than those living in Western Macedonia, who were perhaps under less pressure from the Greek authorities since that region bordered on the still allied Yugoslavia and not on the revisionist Bulgaria.

The signing of the Politis-Kalfov Protocol in September 1924 stemmed the flood of emigration from Greek Macedonia to Bulgaria to a remarkable degree. Between September 1924 and February 1925, when the Greek Parliament refused to ratify the related agreement, the number of applications submitted was very modest. Thus, in January 1925 embarkation papers were issued for just 160 people, for 570 in February and for 627 in March. The rejection of the protocol and the frustration of the Slavophone population's expectations of remaining in Greece under a minority regime gave new impetus to the flow of emigration to Bulgaria. In April 1925 alone papers were issued for 2639 people, another 5637 in May and 936 in June.[22] In total, by the end of 1925 some 30,000 "Bulgarians" from Macedonia had applied to emigrate, and the overwhelming majority of them had already left Greece.

After that, however, the numbers of applications decreased and the flow eventually dried up. Thus, while by the end of February 1926 a total of 33,674 people from Macedonia had applied to emigrate and 32,620 of them had already been given their papers on their departure for Bulgaria,[23] they were followed by very few more over the next months. By the end of 1926 the number of those having applied to emigrate stood at 33,677, with 32,778 of them having already left,[24] while at the end of March 1927 these figures had crept up respectively to 33,685 and 32,827.[25]

In total, about 34,000 new Slavophone emigrants left Macedonia after the signing of the Treaty of Neuilly. Apart from those who applied after the signing of that Treaty, declarations of emigration could, as has already been noted, also be submitted by those who had left at any time after 18 December 1900. In its final report, published in 1932, the Mixed Commission stated that a total of 66,260 people – new and old emigrants from Macedonia – had filed such applications. The table below shows the geographical distribution of these emigrants:[26]

Region	Number of people
Florina	1,290
Astoria	4,090
Ptolemaïda	600
Edessa	1,800
Notia	106
Yannitsa	6,670
Veroia	30
Goumenissa	7,500

Region	Number of people
Kilkis	5,000
Thessaloniki	2,590
Siderokastro	9,640
Serres	10,400
Zichna	175
Eleftheroupoli	20
Drama	16,050
Kavala – Nestos	165
Total	**66,126**

These numbers permit the following conclusions:

a) The majority of the emigrants came from Eastern and Central Macedonia. More precisely, 36,450 applications, representing 55% of the total, came from Eastern Macedonia, 23,696 (35.8%) from Central Macedonia and 5980 (9%) from Western Macedonia.

b) Most of the emigrants were from the districts of Drama, Serres, Siderokastro, Goumenissa and Kilkis (48,590 people, or 73.5%).

c) No emigration is recorded from the districts of Grevena, Katerini or Chalkidike, and very little from Kavala, Eleftheroupoli, Zichna, Veroia, Notia and Ptolemaïda.

Unfortunately, no detailed information about the number of emigrants per village has survived. There are only fragmentary data for certain regions, such as the following villages in the district of Drama:[27]

	1923		**1924**		**1925**		**Total Pers.**
	Appli Cations	**Pers.**	**Appli cations**	**Pers.**	**Appli cations**	**Pers.**	
Katafito	5	7	334	962	81	222	1,191
Exohi			138	435	29	80	515
Granitis			68	119	64	180	299
Kato Nevrokopi			45	119	92	324	443
Kato Vrontou			65	168	210	578	746
Vathytopos	9	17	64	187	225	601	805
Panorama			4	9	27	47	56
Volakas			4	8			8
Kavala			2	2	1	1	3
Drama			3	3			3
Ohyro			1	4	32	66	70
Pagoneri			11	31	118	282	313
Alistrati			3	7	22	57	64
Dassoto			45	124	115	355	479
Prosotsani			5	14	1	5	19
Lefkoyia			2	3	401	1,159	1,162

	1923		1924		1925		Total Pers.
	Appli Cations	Pers.	Appli cations	Pers.	Appli cations	Pers.	
Akrino			340	1,060			1,060
Livadaki			113	279			279
Kritharas			51	160	20	55	215
Perithori			47	119	158	446	565
Psathohori	2	2	12	30	2	9	41
Kali Vryssi			8	20			20
Therma			3	3			3
Petroissa			3	3	1	1	4
Krassohori	1	2					2
Total		**28**		**3,869**		**4,468**	**8,365**

Fragmentary information also exists for some of the villages in the districts of Florina, Kastoria, Pella and Kilkis. According to these figures, by 1925 a total of nine households had emigrated to Bulgaria under the terms of the Treaty of Neuilly from Pefkoto (Pella), while from the districts of Florina and Kastoria 22 households had emigrated from Xyno Nero, 52 from Krystallopigi, 40 from Ieropigi, 20 from Dendrohori, 26 from Vatohori, 37 from Moschohori, seven from Pimeniko, six from the village of Melas and 48 from Makrohori.[28] As for the district of Kilkis, 125 households emigrated to Bulgaria from Goumenissa, 17 from Griva, 11 from Kastaneri and one from Gorgopi.[29]

There were two sides to the Treaty of Neuilly, however: the right of those who considered themselves to be Bulgarians to emigrate from Greece was paralleled by the matching right enjoyed by the Greeks living in Bulgarian territories. The majority of these Greeks lived in Eastern Rumelia. According to official Bulgarian statistics, which had every reason to underestimate the size of the Greek minority, in 1900 the total number of Greeks was 70,887, or 1.89% of the population, while twenty years later it had dropped to 48,507. The Greek statistics record a larger minority population. According to the Greek Consul in Philippopolis, the Greek community Bulgaria in 1903 numbered 81,923. League of Nations statistics record a total of 33,977 Greeks leaving Bulgaria for Greece in the 1920s, and a total of 62,109 emigrants and refugees since the turn of the century. One final point worth noting is that, in contrast to the Slavic-speakers in Greece, the overwhelming majority of the Greeks had emigrated by 1926: while this is certainly a sign of their desire to move to Greece it is also an indication of the unbearable pressure they were under from the machinery of the Bulgarian state – official and unofficial.[30]

2.2. Lausanne Convention

The Lausanne Convention, which was signed on 30 January 1923, instituted the compulsory exchange of the Christian populations of Turkey and the Muslim populations of Greece, save for the Greeks of the region of Constantinople and the Muslims of Western Thrace. Article 8 of the Convention provided that the emigrants could take all their movable property with them, while whatever was left behind would be administered by the state. There is no doubt that the Christian populations were in a manifestly more difficult position with regard to the manner and conditions of the exchange. Of the 1,221,849 refugees, only 139,000 emigrated after the signature of the Convention, thus benefiting from its provisions and departing with some degree of dignity. Most of the

Greek refugees, by contrast, fled directly after the Asia Minor disaster and arrived in Greece in a state of total destitution and despair. Summarising the situation of the Greek refugees, Henry Morgenthau, president of the Commission for the Establishment of Refugees, noted that: "Their wounds were not merely physical and victims not just a few individuals. This was the dissolution of a civilized people, the destruction of family life, the desolation of towns and villages and the expulsion of the survivors in utter confusion to new places of residence. These people lost all their property, their civic leaders, their traditions, their families and all the things that make up the life of civic society".[31]

Roughly speaking, the number of refugees who fled Asia Minor for Greece was:

Period	Number of Refugees	Manner of Departure
1912-1920	435,000	Uprooted
To the end of 1922	900,000	Uprooted
To March 1923	1,150,000	Uprooted
To September 1924	214,000	75,000 uprooted 139,000 by the exchange

The available statistics indicate that in the 1920s alone a total of 428,353 refugees (115,728 households) settled in Macedonia, in 1385 locations (towns and villages: 942 unmixed and 443 mixed). The refugees who came to Macedonia in 1922 were resettled as shown below:[32]

Sub-district	Number of locations	Households	Persons
Anaselitsa	34	1,465	5,291
Veroia	58	3,917	14,680
Goumenissa	27	2,793	10,000
Grevena	34	1,961	6,589
Yannitsa	39	6,713	26,549
Drama	160	12,592	46,736
Edessa	35	1,940	7,129
Notia	43	5,026	18,548
Zyrnovo	34	2,361	7,952
Zichna	38	3,309	12,901
Thessaloniki	80	9,412	35,886
Thasos	2	275	1,155
Kavala	24	2,787	10,148
Kaïlaria	38	6,697	26,257
Kastoria	32	1,944	7,120
Katerini	24	3,066	12,014
Kilkis	159	11,325	38,496
Kozani	63	4,595	17,088
Liaringovi	19	1,857	6,641

Sub-district	Number of locations	Households	Persons
Langada	80	5,685	21,059
Nigrita	39	1,727	6,429
Nestos	56	4,282	15,390
Pravi	40	3,620	13,703
Serres	53	5,070	19,295
Siderokastro	74	5,254	17,956
Florina	33	1,864	7,016
Chalkidike	43	4,540	16,692
Total	**1,361**	**116,077**	**428,720**

According to the 1928 census, the aggregate of all the refugees who had settled in Macedonia since the time of the Balkan Wars was 638,253.[33]

REGIONS	Number of Refugees	% of refugee population
Central Greece – Euboia	306,193	25.60
Thessaly	34,659	2.84
Ionian Islands	3,309	0.27
Cyclades	4,782	0.39
Peloponnese	28,362	2.32
Macedonia	638,253	52.24
Epirus	8,179	0.67
Aegean Islands	56,613	4.63
Crete	33,000	2.77
Western Thrace	107,607	8.81
Total	**1,220,957**	**100**

On the other side of the coin, a total of 329,098 Muslims left Macedonia under the terms of the compulsory exchange; this number must be added to the 130,000 who had emigrated earlier but came under the provisions of the Convention. However, despite the fact that the date fixed for the beginning of the exchange was 1 May 1924, about 85,278 Muslims left Greek territory before then. Most of these emigrants came from Eastern Macedonia.[34] The table below charts the departures of Muslims from Macedonia at this time, according to Emigration Sub-commission statistics:[35]

Sub-commission	1923	1924	1925	Total
Thessaloniki	18,044	91,533		109,577
Drama	69	75,978		76,047
Kavala	2,184	43,343		45,527
Kozani	13	26,610		26,623
Kaïlaria	10	30,770		30,780
Kozani & Kaïlaria		34,653		34,653

Total	20,320	302,887		323,207

By the time the exchanges of populations in the period 1912-1930 were complete and the waves of refugee movements had subsided, the ethnological face of Macedonia had been transformed. According to the 1928 census, a total of 1,221,849 refugees had come into Greece during the course of those two decades. The table below gives a breakdown of this number by region of origin:

Region of Origin	Number of Refugees	% of refugee population
Asia Minor	626,954	51.31
Eastern Thrace	256,635	21.00
Pontus	182,169	14.91
Bulgaria	49,027	4.01
Caucasus	47,091	3.85
Istanbul	38,458	3.15
Russia	11,435	0.94
Serbia	6,057	0.50
Albania	2,498	0.20
Dodecanese	738	0.06
Romania	722	0.06
Cyprus	57	0.01
Egypt	8	-
Total	**1,221,849**	**100**

The last of the population shifts that took place in Macedonia in the 1920s involved the emigration, for economic reasons, of some 7000 people from, chiefly, the Florina-Kastoria district. The relevant figures are given in the table below:[36]

Destination	1926	1927	1928	1929
Bulgaria	67	68	158	179
Canada	62	186	368	347
Australia	401	554	183	21
North America	73	110	74	102
Other countries	1,701	1,028	813	927
Total	**2,304**	**1,946**	**1,596**	**1,676**

Detailed figures for this inter-war emigration from Western Macedonia exist only for the region of Kastoria. The total of 967 emigrants from the Kastoria region in that period breaks down as follows:[37]

	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	Total

Kastoria	32	47	43	30	7	106	44	55	25	**389**
Dendrohori	14	12	4	11	10	26	17	6	2	**102**
Gavros	8	12	13	6	13	16	10	8	1	**87**
Kraniona	2	11	6	5	5	21	13	6	4	**73**
Halara	2	0	4	10	4	27	9	2	5	**63**
Vyssinia	4	5	12	12	6	12	5	5	0	**61**
Argos Orestikon	9	4	4	6	6	6	6	8	3	**52**
Vasiliada	6	2	7	4	1	11	6	5	1	**43**
Ieropigi	7	3	5	5	1	7	2	2	1	**33**
Vogatsiko	5	9	1	5	4	2	4	0	2	**32**
Nestorio	0	7	0	6	7	6	3	3	0	**32**
Total	**89**	**112**	**99**	**100**	**64**	**240**	**119**	**100**	**44**	**967**

The majority of the emigrants from Kastoria chose to go to the USA or Canada, probably because communities of Western Macedonians had already been established in those countries since the end of the 19th century.[38]

	USA	**Canada**	**Mexico**	**Cuba**	**South America**
Kastoria	383	5	1	0	0
Dendrohori	50	39	13	0	0
Gavros	19	59	7	2	0
Kraniona	24	39	0	10	0
Halara	20	43	0	0	0
Vyssinia	48	9	0	0	4
Argos Orestikon	51	1	0	0	0
Vasiliada	6	35	0	2	0
Ieropigi	26	6	0	0	0
Vogatsiko	20	12	0	0	0
Nestorio	24	0	0	3	3
Total	**671**	**248**	**21**	**17**	**7**

The ethnological outcome of these exchanges of populations was a largely homogenous Greek Macedonia. The 1928 census counted 1,237,000 “Greeks” in Macedonia (88.1%), 80.789 “Slavophones” (5.8%) and 93,000 “Others” (6.1%). A comparative picture of the ethnological composition of Greek Macedonia, by district, at the beginning and end of this period is given below:[39]

District	**1912**		**1928**	
	Greeks %	**Others %**	**Greeks %**	**Others %**
Pieria	80	20	100	-
Kozani	71	29	98	2
Kastoria	56	44	78	22
Florina	32	68	61	39
Eordaia	20	80	93	7
Imathia	55	45	89	11

Pella	56	44	96	4
Almopia	18	82	74	26
Kilkis	2	98	97	3
Thessaloniki	33	67	90	10
Chalkidike	86	14	97	3
Sintiki	19	81	84	16
Serres	47	53	94	6
Drama	15	85	97	3
Kavala	49	51	99	1

This ethnological picture, with the Greek element strengthened and the others reduced, is fully reflected in contemporary diplomatic reports, as is the beneficial impact of the refugee component on region's social, cultural and economic life. In May 1929 the then vice-president of the Commission for the Rehabilitation of Refugees, John Campbell, described in a report the work that had been accomplished: "It is no exaggeration to say that when one visits the refugee settlements in the cities of Macedonia and Thrace one has the impression that Greece has with one bound leapt from the 17th to the 20th century … The face of the country is profoundly changed. Everywhere one sees the joy in the faces of the refugees … the evidence of progress is obvious everywhere. New buildings erected by the refugees themselves, increased flocks and herds, better quality wheat in the fields, use of modern farming methods. Fine schools and churches are being built everywhere … I am certain that the refugees will become a force for progress in Greece". In the same vein, a League of Nations report noted that "the ethnic character of the region has been radically changed with its permanent and definitive Hellenisation".[40] Finally, the American diplomat Henry Morgenthau observed that "the refugees have proven to be a blessing for Greece… the Geeks live in a unified region in the body of the Balkan Peninsula and in the islands of the Aegean, which they inhabited in the earliest historical periods. Not only have the Greeks gathered themselves into the region that naturally belongs to them, but essentially all the foreign incomers have left it".[41]

The first quarter of the 20th century was indisputably a period of cosmogonic upheaval for the Greek – and in general for the Southern Balkan – Peninsula, a time of immense demographic, social, political, economic and cultural change. The 1930s, the first interval of peace after a succession of wars, provided a breathing space in which the new actuality could be assessed. Although many felt that the world had finally returned to the *Belle Époque* of the turn of the century, the dramatic events of the 1940s would prove that few had come to their senses or learned anything at all from those heaps of dead and streams of refugees.

Notes

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2. J. Ivanoff, *La Region de Cavalla*, Bern 1918, p. 56.
3. Public Record Office/Foreign Office (hereafter PRO/FO)/286/580, Morgan to Malet, Thessalonica, 1 April 1914.
4. The British Consul reported that by the end of March 1914 1800 Slavic-speakers had left for Alexandroupoli, but this number must be well short of the reality. Cf. PRO/FO/286/580, Morgan to Malet, Thessaloniki, 1 April 1914.

5. IAYE/1923/B/59,7, Governor General of Kozani-Florina to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kozani 26 May 1922, no. 3482.
6. General Army Staff, *Στατιστικοί πίνακες του πληθυσμού κατ' εθνικότητας των νομών Σερρών και Δράμας* [*Statistical tables of the population of the prefectures of Serres and Drama, by ethnicity*], Athens 1919.
7. Stathis Pelagidis, *Prosphygike Ellada (1913-1930). O ponos kai i doxa*, [*The Greece of the Refugees (1913-1930). The pain and the glory*], Thessaloniki 1997, pp. 113-118.
8. Archives of the Government General of Macedonia (hereafter AGDM)/file 76, Report on Muslim Emigration.
9. Pelagidis, *Greece,* p. 129. According to figures from the Turkish Ministry of Refugees, the number of Muslim refugees from Greece, or *muhajirs*, was 143,189. Cf. A. A. Pallis, «*Phyletikes Metanastefsis sta Valkania kai diogmi tou Ellinismou* (1912-1924)», *Bulletin of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies*, ["Racial Migrations in the Balkans and persecution of the Greeks"] (1977), 86.
10. Pelagidis, *Greece,* p. 130.
11. IAYE/1923/B,37,1, Minorities in Greece, Governor General of Macedonia Achilleas Lambros to the Foreign Ministry, Thessaloniki, 31 May 1923, no. Emb. 542.
12. IAYE/1923/B/59,9, "Domestic Propaganda", Report filed by Petros Lekkos, envoy of the Foreign Ministry, to the Governor General of Macedonia Achilleas Lambros, Thessaloniki, 31 March 1923 under cover of a dispatch from the Governor General of Macedonia to the Foreign Ministry, Thessaloniki, 4 April 1923, no. emb. 994.
13. For the population data of the official 1920 census, see the Ministry of National Economy/National Statistics Service, *Genikai plerophoriai epi tou plethismou tis Ellados kata tin apographin tou 1920*, [*General information on the population of Greece from the 1920 census*], Athens 1923, pp. 82-83. For the 1923 statistics, see IAYE/1923/B/37,1, Governor General of Macedonia Achilleas Lambros to the Foreign Ministry, Thessaloniki, 31 May 1923, no. emb. 542.
14. IAYE/1923/B/45, "Foreign Minorities in Macedonia. Education of Slavophones, Romanisers, Jews. Statistics. Attempts to assimilate foreign minorities", Reports form the Governor General of Kozani-Florina to the Foreign Ministry, Kozani, 27 September 1922, no. emb. 7088, 22 September 1922, no. emb. 6839 and 3 November 1922, no. emb. 7574.
15. General Army Staff, *Statistical tables*.
16. IAYE/1925/B/40,2, "Statistics on Minorities. Ethnological - Other" "Table showing the ethnological composition of the population of Eastern Macedonia by prefecture and sub-district", Komotini, 10 November 1924.
17. Stephen P. Ladas, *The Exchange of Minorities. Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey*, New York 1932, pp. 62-64.
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19. ASN, C.129, No 1, Korff and de Rouvères, «Constatations des membres», 10.
20. IAYE/1924/A/5XX,3, «Rapport statistique au 30 Juin 1924», attached to a dispatch from Greek Representative on the Mixed Commission Metaxas to Foreign Minister G. Roussos, 18 September 1924, no. 902.
21. IAYE/1924/A/5XII,3, «List of applications for emigration from Bulgarian emigrants at end October 1924», attached to a dispatch from Section B Political to Section A Political, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Athens, 23 December 1924, no. 48292.
22. AGDM/file69, urgent telegram from Diamandopoulos to Minister Plenipotentiary Papas, Thessaloniki, 8 September 1925, no. 345.
23. IAYE/1926/B/45, «Rapport statistique provisoire des travaux des Sous-Commissions au 28 Février 1926», attached to a dispatch from the Greek Representative on the Mixed Commission to the Foreign Ministry, Athens, 10 May 1926, no. 437.

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28. AGDM/file108, “Reports of the 3rd Army Corps”, 11th Division Western Macedonia, “Study of the ethnological composition of the region of the Division and the possibility of resettling Refugees in it”, Veroia, 9 April 1925.
29. AGDM/file108, 11th Division, “Reports on the resettlement of Refugees in the region of the Division”, Thessaloniki, 9 April 1925.
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34. Ladas, *op. cit.*, p. 430.
35. Ladas, *op. cit.,* pp. 438-439.
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38. Mandatzis, *op.cit.,* 109.
39. George Zotiades, *The Macedonian Controversy*, Thessaloniki 1961, pp. 42-43.
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XIV. Emigration From Macedonia

by Christos Mandatzis

A crossroads, a hub, a meeting-point, a place of confluence and commerce and co-existence of the Balkan peoples over the centuries, Macedonia has always been one of the most dynamic regions in this corner of the world, a place in which many of the social and economic activities of neighbouring nations developed and flourished. A battlefield and an apple of discord, sought after by all its neighbours through military and diplomatic means, it was also a region of major population movements, permanent or casual, from the countries upon which it bordered.

The pages that follow illuminate aspects of this emigrational phenomenon in Macedonia, primarily from the end of the 19th to the latter part of the 20th century. The economic, political and social causes that sparked this emigration and determined its pattern on each occasion, which are directly related to the history of the region and are analysed in detail elsewhere, will be touched on only very briefly.

This study focuses primarily on the movements of emigrants from Macedonia to foreign countries, usually in search of better prospects for themselves and their families. We are not concerned here with other mass movements of population (either voluntary relocation or deportation), like those that followed political developments or border changes in the Balkans in the 20th century and were usually consequent upon armed conflict and bi- or multi-lateral agreements such as, for example, the more than seventeen population shifts (essentially movements of refugees) that took place in Macedonia between 1912 and 1924 or the departure of some 56,000 persons to the countries of the then Eastern Bloc after the end of the Greek Civil War.

Historically, recent Macedonian emigrational history falls into six basic periods (a pattern which, in fact, parallels that of contemporary Greece): the 19th century, 1890-1920, 1920-1940, 1941-1954, 1955-1977 and 1977-1984[1].

1. Macedonia's emigrational past

As early as the 16th century, the need for farm labour in the moderately fertile lowlands of Macedonia (and on the agricultural estates of the Thessalian plain) stimulated the first significant population shifts within these regions. Later (late 17th, 18th and early 19th century, as the great landed estates were formed), the feudal turbulence associated with the occupation and control of non-arable public land caused widespread emigration from Macedonia to Bulgaria.

A combination of poverty and the unbearable yoke of servitude increased the flow of emigrants from Macedonia to lands elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire, the greater Balkan region and the rest of Europe, where political and economic conditions were better. The reasons for this early emigration (from the fall of Constantinople to the 18th century) were the incapacity of the remote, mountainous and heavily forested regions of Macedonia to support the population that had fled there seeking refuge from the oppression of the Ottoman Turks, the general absence of security in the northern Greek territories after the 17th century, the resumption of economic contacts between East and West, which had been interrupted by the conquest of the Byzantine capital, and the decrease of population in the neighbouring Hungarian provinces of the Hapsburg Empire.

The readiness of the Macedonians to emigrate, particularly from Western Macedonia, was facilitated by the proximity of their cities, towns and villages to Italy and

Venice and, through the valleys of the Aliakmon, the Axios, the Morava and the Danube rivers, to the northern Balkan states and Central Europe.

After 1600 the flow of emigration from Macedonia to Serbia, Romania and mainly Austria-Hungary increased considerably. Caravans from Siatista and Kastoria, from Kozani and Grevena, set out for Belgrade, Semlin, Vienna and Budapest. Other routes led from Thessaloniki to Sofia and Vidin and from there to Vienna or Wallachia and Moldavia. By the 18th century Macedonian emigrants from Kozani, Siatista, Naoussa, Selitsa, as well as Veria, Kastoria, Vogatsiko, Doirani, Servia, Moschopolis, Serres, Thessaloniki, Monastir and Gavrovo had created communities of merchants and craftsmen, as well as great trading and banking houses, in Austria and Hungary.

These emigrants remained abroad for varying periods of time. Labourers seeking seasonal employment would be gone for months; skilled craftsmen – stonemasons, carpenters, coppersmiths, masters and apprentices – and merchants, whose primary purpose was to amass wealth, might be gone for anywhere from five to twenty years. During this early period there was very little family emigration. More commonly the head of the household would leave, perhaps eventually summoning one or more of his sons to join him, but rarely his wife. Such sojourns occasionally became permanent.

The next wave of emigration, which began in 1804 and peaked in 1830, was sparked primarily by the economic opportunities offered by the then semi-autonomous state of Serbia and the failure of the 1821-22 revolutionary movement in Macedonia. The massacres and the plundering that followed the suppression of the insurrection drove many Macedonians from Kleisoura, Siatista, Pisoderi, Selitsa, Serres, Katranitsa (Pyrgoi) Eordaias, Thessaloniki, Vlatsi and Melenikon to abandon their birthplaces for Nis, Kragujevac, Belgrade, Semlin, Novisad, Zagreb and other cities, large and small. They were primarily merchants and traders, but many were engaged in such related occupations as banking, postal services, transport and communications. Careful study of this period shows that these Greeks settled in regions that were suitable and propitious for commercial and economic advancement and business growth, exactly as they would later in Canada, the USA and Australia[2].

2. The period 1890 - 1920

Emigration from European Turkey and Turkish-occupied Macedonia to the Americas began during the last decade of the 19th century (more or less paralleling the general wave of Greek emigration to the USA). By this time the policy of assimilation practised by the nation-states of the Northern Balkans and Central and Western Europe at the expense of the Macedonians and other Greek immigrants, in terms of the gradual adoption of measures restricting their economic and other activities, was already well entrenched.

Moreover, emigration elsewhere within the Ottoman Empire or to the Balkans no longer sufficed as a solution to Macedonia's political and economic problems. The Macedonian emigrant who had tried the rest of the countries in the Balkan Peninsula (Bulgaria, Romania, Serbia), had established communities in various countries in Central Europe to serve his commercial activities, had tried Egypt and other parts of the Dark Continent, now contemplated emigrating to America, sometimes following upon journeys he had already made. Some of these countries (Egypt is one example) were often merely an intermediate stop on the emigrant's way to one of the new continents. Emigration overseas thus became part of his migratory cycle, initially around the Mediterranean basin, later to Europe and finally to other lands on other continents.

Until about 1903 emigration to America was limited, and affected mainly Western Macedonia: records show that between 1895 and 1901 some 500 men from the Florina

region left for America. All this changed when the situation that developed in Macedonian following the Ilinden Uprising (1903) and its brutal suppression by the Ottoman Army rendered emigration, and particularly emigration beyond the Balkans, an urgent necessity. In the six years before 1908 the flow of emigration to the USA swelled substantially. Although it is difficult to calculate the exact number of emigrants, mainly because of the lack of reliable data, it is estimated that some 30,000 people left Macedonia for the USA between 1903 and 1908. It is also estimated that as many as 80% of them came from the regions of Florina-Kastoria and Monastir. In the maelstrom of the Macedonian Struggle (1904-1908) and the clashes between rival armed bands, emigration to America spread from these districts to the vilayets of Kossovo and Thessaloniki. Over the same six-year period about 4,000 of these emigrants returned to the three vilayets of Macedonia, some 2,200-2,300 of them in the winter of 1907-1908 alone. The Turkish authorities tried to stem the flow of emigration by refusing to issue the necessary passports; but, despite all restrictions, Western Macedonians were leaving for America in increasing numbers from the spring of 1905 on, mainly via Austro-Hungary and other neighbouring countries[3].

According to the "Statistics showing the estimated number of emigrants living in America and originating from the sanjaks of Monastir, Florina, Kastoria, Korytsa, Prespa, Resna, Ochrid, Krusovo, Prilep and other parts", drawn up in January 1910 for Lambros Koromilas by brothers Antonios and Nikolaos Tachiaos of the firm "G. Tachiaos & Sons", representatives of the steamship companies "Oceanic Steam Navigation Co. Ltd" (White Star Line) and "American Line" for all of European Turkey, approximately 5,500 of the total of 20,306 emigrants recorded came from the sanjak of Florina[4].

It was also immediately after the Ilinden Uprising that the first Macedonian emigrants went to Canada. These were most probably people from the villages of Zhelovo (Antartiko Florinis) and Osima (Trigono Florinis), who arrived in Toronto in about 1903 and 1904 respectively. It is estimated that in 1909 there were between 1,000 and 2,000 immigrants from Macedonia in Toronto, of whom about 500 came from the region of Kastoria. Some estimates cite a figure of 6,000 before the Great War. As in the case of those who went to the USA, the initial intention of these emigrants to Canada seems, following Macedonian tradition, to have been to remain for just long enough to make some money and return home as soon as possible. This they did, only to discover that the money they had brought back with them did not last very long, compelling them to repeat the cycle for as long as the door remained open, without at this stage appearing to consider settling there permanently[5].

The restrictions imposed by the American immigration authorities on the entry of subjects of the Ottoman Empire in the early part of the 20th century, in response to the flood of immigrants, particularly from the European part of the Empire, contributed to the development of a network of profiteers who exploited them, a network that originated in the source country but that expanded, despite all the controls, to the intermediate European ports of Marseilles and Liverpool and from there into the USA and Canada. Since Greek passports and certificates of Greek citizenship were repeatedly found in the hands of Serb, Bulgarian, Albanian and Turkish nationals, the controls were tightened in the ports of Volos, Patra and Piraeus, from where many emigrants from Macedonia and Thessaly embarked, as well as in the European ports of Italy, France, Great Britain and Germany[6].

Illegal emigration using false travelling documents had been common, and particularly widespread in the region of Western Macedonia, since the Ottoman period. For example, since in the first decade of the 20th century Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Empire were forbidden entry into the USA, on account of Islam's tolerance of polyg-

amy, Albanians wishing to emigrate simply purchased passports displaying Christian names. This had to be done in great secrecy, since the Sublime Porte also forbade the emigration of Ottoman citizens. Christians, on the other hand, were encouraged to emigrate, since they tended to come back richer than when they left and, having paid all their taxes, either opened shops or bought land.

The pattern of overseas emigration from Macedonia to (primarily) America in the period up to the end of the Great War, which would change very little over the next thirty years, was fairly constant. Those who left were young men (aged 18-35), the overwhelming majority of them (about 3/4) Slavic-speakers, 90% of them, smallholders, tenant farmers or farm labourers, from small rural communities. Gradually they were joined by skilled tradesmen and shopkeepers. Continuing the tradition of seasonal migration they followed the established cycle as temporary emigrants absent for a longer or a shorter period (emigration – return – short stay in their home country– new departure). They returned home at regular intervals (on average up to three years – the time varied depending on their ties with their birthplace, their occupation in America and the money they managed to set aside while they were there), usually in groups of 30-50 men to avoid being set upon by bands of armed – Bulgarian – bandits, and spent their savings settling the debts accumulated in the interim by their families who had stayed behind in the village, buying (mainly imported) consumer goods, buying land, renovating the house or building a new one, enlarging their flocks or buying new domestic animals. From time to time they would contribute to the building or maintenance of a church or school; and they talked endlessly about their experiences and their professional success in those faraway countries. The influx of large sums of money from these sources brought about social and cultural changes that were revolutionary in these small traditional rural communities. New customs, new mores perhaps, other clothes and manners, a new everyday vocabulary arrived in these small societies along with their returning sons. Not infrequently, their return would overthrow the traditional class (and sometimes ethnic) structure of their rural societies – and the rich Greek professional man or merchant was no longer the undisputed leader of the community. Then they would leave again, this time taking others with them (relatives, friends, fellow-villagers) in this endless chain of emigration.

The underlying causes of emigration from Macedonia in the early part of the 20th century included the long tradition of seasonal emigration, the prevailing political insecurity and the armed clashes between conflicting rival guerrilla bands (since the region was claimed by all the neighbouring Balkan countries), the political and economic oppression and transgressions of every nature on the part of the Ottoman administration and its representatives, the obligation of military service in the Ottoman army or a heavy fee for exemption, the drop in agricultural production (beginning before the end of the 19th century), the wretched conditions in the countryside and the interference with farm work, the difficulties in adapting to a market economy, and the enticement of improving their economic circumstances, according to the visions created by the remittances regularly sent back to their families by emigrants living in America. The network of emigration agents and the representatives of the steamship companies facilitated the departure not only of surplus labour but also the mass exodus of smallholders and tenant farmers[7] Studies of Bulgarian and Macedonian immigrants in Chicago in 1909 show that as many as 77% had been incited to emigrate to North America by agents of the steamship companies. 63% declared that the primary reason for their emigration was these agents' guarantee that they would find well-paid work immediately. Just 12% came because of friends or relatives living there, and 11% on their own initiative[8].

Carl Chaleff, one of the founders of the *Macedonian Tribune*, who was born in Xino Nero in 1891, recounts that his mother urged him to emigrate when he was 14, for fear of the armed guerrilla bands then active all over Macedonia. He was too young to be accepted as an immigrant then, however, and so he went to work with his uncle in Constanta (Romania). In 1909 he did manage to emigrate to the USA, and settled in Indianapolis[9].

By the end of the 19th century, Greek emigration from Macedonia, whether to the liberated regions of Greece (Thessaly) or elsewhere (USA), had become a matter of considerable concern to the Greek government. By reducing the size of the region's Greek population, the abandonment of Macedonia was jeopardising Greek aspirations there.

Prior to the incorporation of Macedonia into the Greek State, the attitude of the Greek government to the phenomenon of the emigration of Macedonians to the Americas was governed by two parameters: anxiety over their emigration from the Ottoman Empire and the endeavour to retain them. Another cause of concern was the need to strengthen their attachment to Greece (especially in the case of the Slavic-speakers), both during their sojourn in America and later, when they returned home to a land still under Ottoman rule. Greek emigrants from liberated Greece, who were Greek citizens, were prejudiced against the Slavophone emigrants, and emigrants from Macedonia in general, who were subjects of the Sultan, an attitude that tended to reinforce the likelihood of their de-Hellenisation. The danger that these Macedonian emigrants (and particularly the Slavic-speakers among them) would be lost to the ethnic Greek community was continually stressed by the Greek consular authorities, from at least 1904, and formed a recurring subject in the reports drawn up by various government officials in Greece or paying visits to the USA to form an image of the Hellenic community abroad. This prejudice and the risk of their detachment from the Greek community were strengthened by at least two elements: the fact that emigrants in this category did not enjoy the protection of the Greek consular authorities in their new country and the fact of Bulgarian propaganda activity in America among the non-organised Macedonian emigrants.

In those early years of the 20th century, the Balkan emigrants to the Americas had transplanted their nationalist differences to those distant shores, and consular reports from America told of intensive Albanian and Bulgaro-Macedonian propaganda, among other things[10]. Bulgarian propaganda in the USA, indeed, worked systematically and effectively not only to win the adherence of Macedonian emigrants but also to generate financial support for Bulgaria's armed struggle in Ottoman Macedonia.

Under the weight of threats against their families back home based on the manner of their leaving Macedonia (usually not entirely legal), the emigrants from Macedonia in the USA were forced to sustain the network of labour bosses and the instruments of Bulgarian propaganda that exploited their labour and their earnings, paying into the fund for the Bulgarian armed struggle in Ottoman Macedonia or taking part in demonstrations calling for an autonomous Macedonia. Or financing the missions of Bulgarian *komitadji* agents in their own towns and villages in Macedonia to preach insurrection in support of Bulgarian activity. In mid-November 1906, for example, it was revealed that Bulgarian *komitadji* had blackmailed Macedonian emigrants in the state of Indiana for money, with threats against the lives of their parents and other relatives in Greek Macedonia. The blackmailers were discovered, arrested by the American police, tried in March 1907 and sentenced. The victims received help from the Greek consular authorities in the USA and from other immigrants, as well as from the Macedonian Association of New York[11].

Once the new national frontiers had been traced through Macedonia, the flow of emigration became more general, on both sides of the border. In August 1913 the Prefecture of Florina asked for instructions as to whether it should issue travelling documents/embarkation papers to peasants from the Serbian part of Macedonia who were travelling to Thessaloniki to take ship for America. This, for example, was how Christo N. Nizamoff, later one of the leading Bulgarian-Macedonians in the USA, emigrated to America with a group of friends and compatriots: from Serbia through Florina, thanks to the circuits operating on both sides of the border under the blind eye of the authorities[12]. The General Government of Macedonia approved the issue of the desired permits in such circumstances[13] Many peasants followed the same path from the Greek border regions in Western Macedonia, whole groups of who would appear in Thessaloniki seeking to emigrate to America and pretending to be natives of regions now on the Serbian side of the border[14]. This perturbed the Greek authorities, who saw that neighbouring nation becoming a haven for deserters and defectors.

The authorities in Florina also reported that people from the Florina area were leaving for America via Thessaloniki through Trieste and Piraeus, claiming to the authorities that they were travelling to jobs. Many of them were helped to leave by a specific emigration agent (probably from Thessaloniki)[15]. In the first ten days of November 1913 alone, fifty young men left the village of Konoblati (Makrochori Kastorias)[16] Problems of recruitment and fears of an excessive population drain from the younger generation compelled the Greek government to order local authorities to monitor emigration to America, particularly among men of military age[17].

Very soon a current of emigration began to appear among the Muslim populations of Macedonia, this time in the direction of (European and Asian) Turkey[18] The General Government of Macedonia therefore asked the authorities in the region of Florina for information as to whether the emigrants were Ottomans or Christians, Schismatics or Patriarchists[19] The local authorities were instructed to find out in each instance whether the emigrants were farmers and what was happening to the property they were leaving behind, and to try to persuade these people to remain on their land[20].

In the spring of 1916, seven boys, all of about the same age, left their village of Vyssani (Vyssinia) Kastorias to emigrate to America. Among them was Vasil Spasoff, then aged 16. Spasoff and the other members of his group were leaving in search of a better life, seeing that "*the doors to life in their country were few and too heavy for them to open*" Spasoff was going to join his three brothers in the USA. Some in his group were avoiding the draft, and others were seeking adventure, their imaginations kindled by the stories they had heard[21] Even as late as 1919, a group of four Greek emigrants from Western Macedonia were discovered aboard the steamship "Hispania", two of them from Mokraini (Variko Florinis) and one each from Nalbankoy (Perdikkas Kozanis) and Nereti (Polypotamos Florinis), the first two with Greek passports and the others with Serbian passports, acquired illegally at the last moment for $45 each.

In 1919 the Greek state, evidently re-assessing its legislation in this domain, perhaps also on account of the obligations it had assumed with regard to emigration at the League of Nation conferences in Paris, decided to take a greater interest in emigration. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent Professor A. Andreades to America to study the Greek community and the Greek diplomatic service there. The results of his visit were condensed into three or four memoranda on the situation of the Greeks in America, on the need for and the ways of redeployment of Greek propaganda, on errors in the selection of those representing Greek interests in America, etc.

In his report on propaganda, Andreades pointed out that the Bulgarians had acted much more intelligently in this domain, beginning as early as 1902 to work through

Americans rather than through Bulgarians to promote their national interests. Greece ought to be doing something similar, Andreades advised, sending out not proselytisers but diplomatic experts. He admitted that the extremely important work achieved by Koromilas during his ambassadorship in America had not been followed up, on account of poor choices among the Greek community and of unsuccessful diplomatic appointments[22].

Towards the end of 1921, as the Slavophone émigrés from the district of Kailaria intensified their activity in America, agitating for an autonomous Macedonia or its annexation to Bulgaria, the gendarmerie post in Kailaria drew up a "*list of inhabitants of the district resident in America, Bulgaria and Constantinople*", asking them to confirm their exact address through the consular authorities, so that it could develop a programme to regain their allegiance.

According to the 1920 census, the district of Kailaria had a population of 43,767: 7,845 Slavic-speakers, 30,169 Muslims, 4,855 Greeks and refugees, 885 with Romanian sympathies and 13 Jews. Of these, 535 Slavic-speakers had emigrated, 141 of them to Bulgaria (including 46 from one family), 79 to Constantinople and 309 to America. Among them were six deserters from the Greek armed forces: four from the army in Thrace and two from Thessaloniki. Many of them had gone to America or Bulgaria in 1913. Of those who emigrated to America, most were shop-keepers or hotel-keepers, and virtually all of them had changed their names[23].

In the early 1920s the Ministry of Foreign Affairs decided to take a census of all Greeks living outside Greece. Reasons of national interest made necessary, according to the Ministry, a clear and detailed picture of the number and identity of overseas Greeks in all parts of the world. Thus the process of drawing up detailed statistics was set in motion. Among the information sought (organisational framework of the Greek communities abroad, personal, family, social, economic, religious and educational data: in other words, the general overall situation of the Greeks living abroad), the very first questions concerned the number of Greeks in the districts where there were Greek diplomatic missions, the number of "Bulgarophones" (sic), "Bulgarians", "Muslims", etc.[24]

It is highly doubtful whether this census was ever completed, since very early on there arose technical and substantive problems in the conducting of the survey: local reaction, personal disaffections and rivalries over matters of petty interests and ambitions, suspiciousness about the purpose of the records, exacerbation of political passions among the Greek emigrants, deficiencies of material/technical infrastructure, lack of funds, unwillingness to work on the part of individuals, community representatives and paid or unpaid consular authorities, lack of collaboration and reciprocity of information between diplomatic agents, not to mention the fact that the Greek emigrants were scattered all across a vast continent.

3. The period 1920/22-1940[25]

In the early years of the 1920s, the American authorities instituted strict measures to limit the flow of immigration. The gradual adoption of a quota system required a quantitative and qualitative control of the intake of new immigrants into the USA. The immigration law of 1924, which was to remain in force until 1952, fixed an annual quota of 2% of the number of immigrants from each ethnic group in 1890; the quota for Greeks was 308. This and other reasons stemmed the flow of Greek overseas emigration during the inter-war period to about one fourth of what it had been in the previous period.

Despite all the restrictions and the quotas, a total of about 2,000 Greeks a year managed to reach America during this period, most of them illegally[26] The primary sources of emigrants in this inter-war period were the greater Athens area, the islands of the Aegean (especially Chios and the Cyclades), the Ionian islands and, mainly, Western Macedonia, particularly the Florina region[27] In the period after 1923 this overseas emigration continued to be directed primarily towards the United States (>65%), the next most popular destinations being Canada, Australia and countries of Central and South America, although in many cases the other countries in the Americas were for these Macedonian emigrants merely first steps on their way to entering – legally or illegally – the USA.

It is indicative that the flow of emigrants from Western Macedonia to Canada increased precisely in the period between 1924, when the American government imposed its quota system, and 1928, when the Canadian authorities adopted restrictions designed to protect their own labour force.

Moreover, most of the first Macedonians who emigrated to Australia[28] were former emigrants to America who had returned to Greece to fight in the Balkan Wars, had remained in Greece throughout the war years and then, when they later wished to return to the USA, had found the doors closed. They emigrated to Australia for economic reasons, and occasionally for political ones, in two great waves: 1924-1928 and 1935-1939. In 1921 there were fifty emigrants from Macedonia to the great island continent. The emigrants from Kozani who were among the 250 or so Western Macedonians in that first wave of emigration in 1924 and who came mainly from Vytho, Pentalofo and Agia Sotira, settled in Melbourne and Victoria; while most of the forty or so youths from the Florina district settled in Western Australia. It was not until after 1928-29 that some of them made their way to Victoria and Melbourne, usually via Western Australia, driven by the recession and the lack of work.

By 1924, moreover, the Greek consular authorities in Australia were asking that no passports be delivered for Australia, since there were few jobs available, especially for those who, like the Greek emigrants, did not know the language and had no technical, commercial or agricultural skills[29].

After 1935 the Macedonian emigrants to Australia began to call in members of their families (wives and children) to join them. As was the case in America, this sponsorship depended on the occupation of the emigrant and the need for unpaid labour. Although the outbreak of war stopped the flow of emigration until the next post-war period, estimates indicate that by 1940 a total of 1,290 Macedonian men had emigrated to Australia, of whom 52% (670) came from the Florina region and another 29% (370) from that of Kastoria. Nearly all of them were from rural areas. By 1947 the number of Macedonians in Australia had reached 1,900.

In this phase, too, overseas emigration primarily involved those of working age, and especially those at the younger end of this bracket: more than 65% of these emigrants were between the ages of 15 and 40. Metropolitan Chrysostomos of Florina wrote in 1931:

> *"The state must turn its attention to damming up this stream of emigration. It is fortunate that the American government erected such a barrier, for otherwise Western Macedonia would by now have been stripped of its active male population and left with only women and the elderly. I myself have seen on my journeyings that from every village, numbering on average 100-200 families, at least 50 youths or married men are away in America or Australia, abandoning their families to their fate. And it is my understand-*

ing that those remaining are awaiting the lifting of the restrictions to emigrate to America themselves..."[30]

Among those emigrants, and particularly in the younger age group (under 35 years of age), were a fair number of women and children, family members of earlier emigrants to overseas countries, particularly the USA, who tried to exploit the provisions of American immigration law assuring preferential treatment for wives and other relatives of already established immigrants in the matter of granting entry permits. Most emigrants to Australia, however, were young – and usually married – men, very few of whom took their wives with them.

The flow of emigration from Macedonia remained strong throughout the post-1923 period. In the six months from January to June 1927 alone, the Prefecture of Florina issued around 1,000 passports, half for America and Australia and half for Serbia and Bulgaria, with 70% of the latter group re-emigrating from there overseas. The emigrants in this last category generally made false claims – health reasons, visits to relatives – in order to secure their passports. The consular section in the Embassy in Sofia knew that many of them eventually emigrated to the USA and Canada in this way, sometimes to work for the Bulgarian-Macedonian Committee and its organisations in pursuit of an autonomous Macedonia[31].

Statistics from the Prefecture of Florina show that 159 people (151 males and 8 females) left the district in January 1929[32], 150 (122 males and 28 females) in April 1929[33], and another 78 (59 males and 19 females) in September of that year[34] For the first quarter of 1929 the prefectural police drew up and submitted on 6 April 1929 three lists, evidently including virtually all the males to whom passports had been issued by the Prefecture of Florina for specific destinations during that period. The "*List of names of those emigrating to Canada via Bulgaria in the first quarter of 1929*" included 24 male emigrants. The second "*List of names of those emigrating directly to Canada from the district of Florina in the first quarter of 1929*" showed 92 male emigrants from various villages in the region of Florina, and the third "*List of names of those departing for Romania from the region of Florina*" listed 9 males[35].

That the desire of the people of Western Macedonia to emigrate remained strong is shown by the number of passport applications and the efforts to obtain visas, particularly for the USA. And since a legislative decree issued in October 1925 and ratified in 1927 provided that the passports issued by the prefectures were valid only for a single journey within one year of the date of issue (with very few exceptions for merchants and those who travelled repeatedly), the Western Macedonians sometimes asked that the stated destination be altered, in order to enable them to emigrate. Such changes, which usually indicated how easy or difficult it was to obtain a visa for one of the recipient countries, are not unconnected with the activity of the emigration agents, who directed the flows of emigrants to specific countries depending on the existing conjuncture, nor with the general emigration trends that from time to time prevailed in their birthplaces. Between 1922 and 1930, for example, emigrants from the city of Kastoria preferred to go to the USA, as did many of those emigrating from Argos Orestikon, Vyssinia, Nestorio, Mavrochori and Trilofo Kastorias. By contrast, the overwhelming majority of people from Dendrochori, Vasiliada, Gavro, Kraniona and Halara (all villages of the then district of Kastoria in the prefecture of Florina) wanted to go to Canada. Emigrants from Antartiko Florinis tended to congregate in Toronto, while most of the Macedonians in South Australia came from Kotori (Ydroussa Florinis) and Vysseni (Vyssinia Kastorias)[36].

The principal ports of departure from the country remained, as in the beginning of the century, Piraeus and Patra. Those emigrants who did not sail directly via one of the

steamship companies operating between Greece and America continued to travel by sea to Marseilles and from there by rail to the Atlantic ports of Northern France, there boarding one of the regular liners, which would eventually disembark them in New York, the main port of entry for the USA, or farther north at one of the ports on Canada's eastern seaboard. Those living in Northern Greece could, alternatively, go by rail to (usually) one of the French ports and take ship from there.

According to an article published in the local newspaper *Kastoria*, the process of emigration was anything but simple, at least in the Kastoria district. The insurmountable, in the words of the writer, procedural difficulties and the concomitant trials and tribulations endured by those seeking a passport were probably due to strict observance of the letter of the law by the competent services in the district of Kastoria rather than to any other reason. The editor of the newspaper indignantly compared the situation to that prevailing on the district of Florina (although both districts were in the same prefecture) and came to the conclusion that "*...other laws govern our district and other laws that of Florina. This translates as a State within a State*"[37]. Attempts to normalise the passport and departure procedures by revising the emigration law do not appear to have improved the situation in the district.

In those years the economic position of the farmers of Macedonia, particularly those of Western Macedonia, improved very little, and the economy continued to be based on rudimentary agricultural production. The model of rural life in the Florina region would remain unchanged until World War II. A Macedonian emigrant who had earlier gone to the USA and after 1924 travelled for the first time to Australia confessed that "*if Greece could feed us, I would not have left*"[38]. A succession of bad harvests in Western Macedonia in the second decade of the 20th century made emigration and a search for new opportunities in another land during the inter-war period perhaps the only way for its people to survive.

In 1931 Metropolitan Chrysostomos of Florina observed that the peasants of his diocese were emigrating to America and Australia at such a rate that Western Macedonia was in danger of being stripped of its male work force and remaining a place of women and the elderly. The peasants themselves confessed that it was impossible for them to live on their native soil, since Western Macedonia could not support farming and had neither industry nor state support for agricultural production. Those remaining on the land were just barely able to scrape a living[39].

Representatives of the local authorities repeatedly reported that the poverty and stagnation of the region and the wretched circumstances of its inhabitants forced them to emigrate to foreign countries, and mainly to the USA and Canada, in search of a better life. An officer of the Florina Gendarmerie Headquarters wrote in 1934 of the emigrants from his district that:

> *"The Prefecture of Florina has, as everyone knows, no industry worth speaking of and its soil cannot feed the population of its rural districts. Because of their desperate economic situation the peasants are compelled to emigrate to foreign countries and particularly to the United States of America and to Canada, to improve their economic situation, on account of the currency difference"*[40].

And the Prefect of Florina, Ioannis Tsaktsiras, admitted in 1936 that his prefecture was mountainous and barren, and that its inhabitants were therefore departing for foreign parts (America, Canada, Australia), where they remained for periods of upwards of twenty years working to amass a certain fortune. All those who abandoned their land and their families in this way had the intention of returning when they had done so. Thanks to the remittances sent back by their emigrants the recession of 1929 did not af-

fect the villages in the Florina region until after 1932, when the inflow of currency was reduced, either because some of the emigrants had lost their jobs or because they had returned home on account of the increasing unemployment[41].

In its issue of 30 September 1929 the Sofia daily *Macedonia* published a report from its correspondent in Florina entitled "*Welcome and send-off for Greek ministers in the region of Florina*", in which among other things it accused the Greek administration of a great many things in relation to the situation in the Florina region, and observed that the euphemistically labelled "*fertile*" soil of the region could scarcely provide the farmer with seed for the following year, which meant that he, no longer as a farmer but as a *"poverty-stricken wretch"*, was forced to emigrate, sometimes taking his whole family, with no thought of returning to his native land[42].

Some time later the same Bulgarian newspaper[43] wrote that the "*Bulgarian*" population of Greek Macedonia was being persecuted by the Greek administration. In Kastoria the authorities were implementing a series of measures to ruin the population economically and force the people to leave their lands. The refugees from Anatolia who had settled in the Prefecture of Kastoria, continued *Macedonia*, were encouraged to seize the harvests of the native-born farmers, who, moreover, were granted no financial aid or credit but rather were punished with fines and taxes.

It is true that the arrival and settlement of refugees in Macedonia caused, albeit temporarily, considerable pressures on the native Macedonian population, since between 1920 and 1928 the population of the region increased by 30.7% (and 24.8% between 1928 and 1940), or 275,355 people, and its density rose from 22.8% to 30.9% in 1920, 41.5% in 1928 and 51.6% in 1940[44]. Seven of its prefectures figured among the ten in the country that had the largest demographic increase.

By 1932 the population of the prefecture of Florina was judged to be "*excessive*", since the impossibility of emigration during the years of the recession and the lack of emigrant remittances had created an explosive demographic situation in Western Macedonia. Consequently the population of the region had to be allowed to leave in order to survive[45]. Later still, in August 1936, Florina Prefect Ioannis Tsaktsiras argued that a "*thinning out of overcrowded villages*" was the *"sine qua non*" for improving the dire economic straits of the villages in his region[46].

The natives of the region, however, already had a significant tradition of overseas emigration, a tradition not shared by the refugees. The natives already had relatives settled abroad, who served as bridges facilitating their departure; there was an established pattern of leaving for overseas countries; they were generally better prepared psychologically to emigrate, even setting aside the existence of a human bridge. The refugees, on the other hand, so recently uprooted and still experiencing the shock of resettlement, were far less willing to move on.

The suspiciousness of the authorities towards the local population further complicated matters. Every move made by the population or its elected representatives was judged and interpreted as a challenge to the Greek presence, as an undermining of the "national" interest or as an "anti-national" action. The disenchantment of the (Slavic-speaking) inhabitants caused by the arrogance and suspiciousness of many of the agents of the public administration in Macedonia and reinforced by other social and political conditions turned emigration into an escape from an environment in which what was one's own and familiar had become other and alien.

Similar difficulties, combined with the restrictive immigration policies implemented by recipient countries, led many would-be emigrants from Macedonia into the paths of illegal emigration. The whole process of illegal departure for foreign shores

represented, first and foremost, a substantial drain on their already lean personal or family purses, to meet the demands of shipping agents and purveyors of false papers. There was also the constant risk of being deported, as illegal aliens, by the immigration authorities of the chosen country. And even if they got past that hurdle, they were still open to blackmail, for considerable sums, under threat of being denounced to the authorities. Reports to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs noted that members of the Bulgarian-Macedonian associations on the American continent commonly practised this type of activity. It was, of course, doubly profitable: they roped in new members for the organisations while at the same time assuring a flow of funds into their coffers (as well as their own pockets).

This phenomenon apparently reached such proportions in the latter part of the 1920s in Western Macedonia that it became a matter of serious concern to the Greek political, diplomatic and administrative authorities. The international dimensions of the illegal emigration rings, the problems caused to Greece's relations with intake countries when illegal emigrants were discovered, the violations of Greek legislation and the implications for legitimate emigration compelled the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs to take a hand in the matter and work seriously to find ways and means of resolving the problem and curtailing the phenomenon. The Ministry even asked the competent police and judicial authorities to intensify their investigations and bring the guilty to trial as fast as possible[47]. They also warned the public against falling victim to this sort of fraud[48].

The first step was to break up the network of illegal activity inside the country. Thorough investigation on the part of the police authorities in Florina uncovered the agents who were working with others in Canada, Serbia and Bulgaria to smuggle emigrants into Canada and the USA for high fees. Agents abroad bought the invitations/entry permits that immigrants already settled in the USA, Canada and Australia could acquire for relatives back home, often in the name of non-existent parents or siblings, for $70, and sent them to Greece, Bulgaria or Serbia. The agents there sold them, for $200-300, to people who wanted to emigrate. Prices could be as high as $600-750 if the agents looked after the whole procedure (passport, tickets and certificates, genuine or – more likely – false or altered)[49]. As a result, emigration agents from the Florina region who were involved in illegal emigration operations were brought to court and many of them sentenced to a variety of penalties[50].

The next step was to uncover and break up the illegal emigration network and its ramifications abroad. The dispatch to Paris (seat of the Canadian commission that screened immigrants on the basis of the entry permits and lists of names drawn up by the Canadian government) of sub-lieutenant (gendarmerie) Georgios Xypolytas caused considerable consternation among the Bulgarian Committee. The Bulgarian embassy in Athens complained bitterly about this Greek move, but to no avail[51] Sub-lieutenant Xypolytas came back with important evidence about the ring, which confirmed or supplemented much of what had been uncovered by the first investigation conducted by the police authorities in Florina.

The Xypolytas report left some, albeit veiled, suspicions that Foreign Ministry staff might be implicated in the network, and it proposed that key embarkation points in particular, such as Thessaloniki and Piraeus, be manned by tried and experienced officers and severe penalties be imposed on accessories to falsification and their accomplices, so that the Greek state would stop being exposed and emigrants reduced to this wretched position if their documents were found to be false. Perhaps the fear of sanctions and the stringent controls would curtail if not eliminate the propaganda being spread among Macedonian emigrants, although it could be assumed that Bulgaria, the Committee and Canadian officials would continue to act as before[52].

Indeed, despite the relatively successful results achieved by the investigating authorities, emigration agents continued to tour the region telling the peasants that they could help them emigrate, and they, of course, were in no position to know that real permits for emigration to the Americas had become far too rare a commodity to be circulating freely around the Florina region, nor did they have the means of discerning that the twenty permits for Canada advertised by these agents were counterfeit, being printed on smaller sheets of thinner – and unwatermarked – paper than the real ones, with poorly forged signatures, and had probably come from a gang of counterfeiters in Athens, who would have sold them to agents in Florina for $140-170 apiece[53].

In addition to police measures, the Greek authorities took administrative steps to reverse the situation. By the end of 1928, for example, the Prefecture of Thessaloniki had stopped issuing passports to applicants from Florina and other districts unless they were permanent residents of Thessaloniki, and would no longer make any change to the particulars recorded in passports. This meant that any alterations (of personal or family details or country of destination) found in passports issued by the Prefecture of Florina had been made by the holders or by persons engaged in this sort of activity[54]. Passports would only be issued by the Prefect of Florina and the police exit visa required for emigrants could only be delivered by the Gendarmerie Headquarters in Florina. The only exit points were the ports of Patra, Piraeus and Thessaloniki and the border crossing posts of Idomeni, Pythion and Florina, where the police authorities had to make sure that emigrants' travelling documents were genuine. Emigrants carrying passports issued for intermediary European countries, such as Serbia, Bulgaria and France, had to have them visaed by the local Greek consular authorities before they could proceed to embark for the USA, Canada or elsewhere, and then only if they met the above conditions. The consular authorities were required to inspect their travelling documents and make a report to the Central Aliens Service, which would in turn inform the Canadian immigration commission in Paris[55].

The third cause of particular concern to the Greek state, after the violation of Greek emigration legislation and the activities of the Bulgarian-Macedonian Committee at the expense of Greek citizens, was the international dimension of these illegal operations. The frequent discoveries of forged passports and entry permits in foreign countries constituted a real slur against the Greek state and its ability to police its borders. Things were even worse when the illegal emigrants were citizens of other states (Yugoslavia, Bulgaria), who were arrested with false Greek passports and other documents. Apart from Greece's national security concerns, the network of forgers was exploiting citizens of neighbouring states and infringing the laws of the intake countries, whose governments asked Greece to help them deal with the phenomenon. This was the case, for example, when in August 1930 a group of labourers from Monastir left for Canada with Greek passports issued by agents in Florina, for which they charged $600-700 apiece, or $800 for a whole package (passports, visas, tickets, entry permits, etc.)[56]

In May 1934 the American Consulate in Thessaloniki took certain steps in the matter of the illegal emigration of Greek citizens to the USA. A Greek employee at the Consulate visited Florina to conduct an on-the-spot investigation into the illegal entry into America of emigrants from that region carrying false passports, which was a matter of some concern to the American authorities at that time, following the arrest of a number of illegal emigrants who declared themselves to be Greek citizens of Bulgarian racial origin[57].

The view of the police in Florina was that those who left the region in this way, whether through Bulgaria, Serbia or Romania, were interested primarily in getting to their destination in the USA or Canada and did not care what sort of passport they car-

ried. In order to emigrate they altered their nationality and their religion; and if in certain cases that argued a rather fluid national allegiance, it did not mean that in their destination country they would all, without exception, work for the Committee and its local organisations, even out of fear or precaution for their relatives back home in Greece, or out of need or in the hope that one day they might return to their villages. Many of the emigrants from the villages of Trigono, Antartiko, Alona, Armenohori and Gavros who were accused of being members of the Committee in Toronto had emigrated before 1912, when the action of the Committee and its impact on the loyalties of the inhabitants of that district was still very weak.

The authorities themselves agreed that the accusations that the emigration agents in the Florina region were in league with the Committee in Sofia and in Canada in trying to promote Macedonian independence or the Bulgarisation of "*Greek Macedonia*" were probably untrue. Their collaboration with agents in Bulgaria and Serbia was based principally on their shared descent from villages in the Florina region; it assured a supply of entry permits or the smuggling of emigrants into Canada and was aimed at mutual profit.

> *">From all the above the Section concludes that in this matter there was nothing more serious than the issuing of a false passport, which has become a common occurrence in those parts of Macedonia on account of the many Satanic schemes used by various emigration agents and of the unabashed use of currency to achieve their delivery...",*

was the finding of the police department in Florina[58].

The Prefecture of Florina also argued that emigrating to America via Bulgaria was not prima facie evidence of national loyalties but simply a means to an end, since Bulgaria had a higher annual immigration quota than Greece. Moreover (in the view of the Prefecture of Florina), in Canada and the USA, where Greek Macedonian organisations, on the model of the Committee at least, did not exist, it was easy to nudge people into becoming agents of Bulgarian-Macedonian propaganda[59].

Since early in 1927 various Greek administrative agencies (the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of the Interior, Police Departments and local Gendarmerie divisions, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Military Affairs and the General Army Staff, the Prefecture of Florina) had been in agreement that there was absolutely no reason to block the emigration of Slavophone inhabitants of Western Macedonia, as long as this was carried out legally and with Greek passports. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs advocated adherence to this practice of not preventing Slavophones of the Florina distinct from departing for America and Australia, even via Bulgaria, coupled with careful and selective application of the provisions relating to loss of Greek citizenship, elimination from the country's registers and prohibition of re-entry[60].

However, the consular authorities outside Greece reported that many of the Slavic-speaking emigrants to the USA and Canada from the Florina region would, having overcome their initial hesitations and fears of reprisals, sanctions, refusal of admittance to Greece, where they still had relatives, land and other property, especially when they were naturalised American citizens long settled in America, become fanatically pro-Bulgarian and would work through societies and organisations in America for Macedonian autonomy, including spending heavily in that cause. Even

> *"emigrants whose loyalties are certainly Greek are forced, upon debarking in Canada, to pretend to be pro-Bulgarian in order to secure the protection of the Bulgarian organisations. In those circumstances, is it possible to avoid the influence of Bulgarian propaganda?",*

asked the Gendarmerie Headquarters in Florina in 1934[61].

The reports that were drawn up by the police authorities in the region of Florina described the many imaginative ways used by the Bulgarian propagandists in America to get their messages to the Macedonian villages of Greece. It was not just via the Bulgarian-minded emigrants from the Florina region to Canada, the USA and Australia who had been initiated into Bulgarian propaganda and who eventually returned to their native villages. Propaganda also arrived from abroad in announcements, newspapers, periodicals and other similar manners and materials. The most usual method was batch mailings of propaganda material, leaflets, newspapers or periodicals from Committee organisations in Canada or the USA to recipients, of whatever leanings, in the Prefecture of Florina[62]. It was felt that while such actions could surely have no effect on "*our*" Slavic-speakers, it would nonetheless be advisable to keep an eye on this kind of postal communication[63].

Even the funds and remittances sent by associations and individuals established abroad for philanthropic purposes or to the benefit of their birthplaces or their families were considered to be part of the Committee's propaganda efforts. The Kastoria newspapers *Kastoria* and *Western Macedonia* came to virtual blows in their issues of 18 January 1931 and 1 February 1931 respectively over a donation of $75,000 from the "Omonia" Association of Kastorians of New York for the city's aqueduct and the uses to which such gifts from America could be put in the service of anti-national propaganda[64] Twenty-five cheques totalling $500, sent in March 1932 by the Association of Debeniotes of America in Madison to various families in Dendrochori as aid in a period of recession were deemed to have been sent for the purpose of strengthening the pro-Bulgarian sentiments of the people of Dendrochori and in order to escalate *komitadji* propaganda[65].

In order to counter Bulgarian activity among Macedonian emigrants, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs decided, early in the 1920s, that it was essential to monitor the line of conduct of the Slavophone emigrants, and equally essential to have them join Greek associations, to foster their Hellenic loyalties and ward off the influence of Bulgarian propaganda. To this end, it asked the Consulate General in Montreal for information about the general attitude of the non-Greek-speaking emigrants from Greece, and particularly the Bulgarian-speakers, whether they were members of Bulgarian emigrants associations, whether they were noted for Bulgarophile sentiments, whether they indulged in pro-Bulgarian propaganda[66].

Meanwhile, the consular authorities in America were urging the Greek Macedonians in America to form a Pan-Macedonian Association of local organisations, along the lines of the Pan-Epirote Association, which would constitute an "*alliance... of Macedonians living here for positive action against Bulgarian activity*". The seat of this association would be in New York, which had a number of well-established Macedonian societies, of emigrants from Kozani, Siatista, Naoussa, etc. Its purposes would be mainly nationalistic, and therefore great care would have to taken with the choice of officers if it were not to degenerate into a morass of "*internal personal disaffection and rivalry, party political dissension and misunderstandings*" The Association could have branches anywhere in America where there were Macedonians. Its object would be to organise the Greek Macedonians living in America into societies, to join these societies into an Association, to monitor the behaviour of all "Bulgarians", Bulgarian-speakers and other non-Greek-speakers from Greek Macedonia, their relations with their relatives in Greece, their sentiments and loyalties, their participation or otherwise in Bulgarian propagandistic societies, their general moral and material status in America[67] Western Macedonian emigrants to the USA had been forming societies for mutual assistance, social development and community support since the beginning of the 20th century.

Emigrants from Kozani in New York, for example, had a Mutual Aid Society ("I Kozani", founded February 1917), a Philanthropic Society "O Lefkos Pyrgos", founded 1919), and Society of Young Ladies of Kozani (1922). The dozens of Velvendians who settled in Washington, St Louis and Philadelphia founded a society in Washington in 1903 and in St Louis in 1910. The St Nicholas Lountziote Fraternal Association for Education founded on 6 December 1904 in Nashua, New Hampshire, chiefly by villagers from Kalloni Grevenon, was created primarily to raise money to support the school in that village. These societies, however, and others like them had no central guidelines or federal organisation.

These initial endeavours did not, apparently, produce the desired results. In 1931 the Governor General of Macedonia, S. Gonatas, could still regard as expedient the founding of "*our own*" societies of "*purely Greek*" emigrants from Greek Western Macedonia, who up to that time had, willy-nilly, been forced to register as members of the Committee. These societies could also keep track of those who were working for the purposes of the Committee, so that they could be barred from re-entering the country[68].

A year later the consular authorities in the USA observed that "*our people*", patriotic but absorbed in the harsh struggle for existence and persuaded that the Macedonian Question was a thing of the past, were unwilling to react by forming societies. They were, moreover, scattered across the continent, with little or contact amongst themselves[69].

> *"These emigrants from Greek Macedonia, although as far as I observed Greek-speaking, have no social contact with other emigrant Greeks. With few exceptions they neither join the Greek Orthodox Communities or any other Greek organisations or societies. As far as I can learn, efforts on the part of Greek societies and organisations to enrol them as members have remained fruitless. This attitude of theirs should probably be attributed primarily to the propaganda of the two Bulgarian-Macedonian organisations, MPO and MPL, and particularly to the first of these, which has greater means.*
>
> *To neutralise the propaganda of these organisations among the Slavic-speaking emigrants from Greek Macedonia, perhaps it would be advisable to set up a society of Greeks from Macedonia, inasmuch as the endeavours of the existing Greek organisations and societies have failed"*[70]*,*

noted a Greek diplomatic agent in the USA in 1935.

In Australia, too, the Macedonians who identified with Greek interests, emigrants from Florina and Kastoria, tended to form strongly local organisations, separate from the other Greeks, probably because of the attitude of the islanders and southern Greeks, who treated even the most fanatically loyal among them with suspicion, disdain, fear or condescension. The bilingual or Slavic-speaking natives of Florina had failed to convince the rest of the Macedonian clan and the Greek community that the term "Macedonian" and the use of that idiom did not imply a Bulgarian or other anti-Greek identity[71].

On the other hand, there were more than a few instances of unpleasant situations occurring within Macedonian societies, which upset the social life of the Macedonian communities. Clashes between Greek-Macedonian and Bulgarian-Macedonian members of the same societies were far from unknown.

The association of emigrants from Zhelovo (Antartiko), Florina, which had been founded in Toronto sometime before 1907, became inactive, although probably without being formally dissolved, for undisclosed reasons. It was refounded some years later, in

about 1921, as the Mutual Aid Society of Zhelovites of Toronto, with a membership that initially comprised all those whose families came from Zhelovo[72]. Before long, however, dissension had broken out. On 20 July 1929 the Florina newspaper *Elenchos* published a "*protest of Greek emigrants from Antartiko (Zhelovo) in Toronto, Canada*". The "*committee of the Greek emigrants*" from Antartiko in Toronto had, on 2 July 1929, denounced the officers of their society as collaborators and members of the Bulgarian-Macedonian Committee, since they had replied in Bulgarian to the request of the Prefecture of Florina for information from their society with regard to the issue of false emigration certificates. The protesters declared on behalf of more than fifty compatriots and members of the society that they wished to have nothing more to do with the society, expressed their indignation and stigmatised the leaders of the society before the Greek Zhelovites for their anti-national action[73].

In 1930 the streets of the Western Australian city of Perth were the scene of violent incidents between pro-Greek and pro-Bulgarian emigrants from villages in the Florina region. Among the forty-five or so people attending the charter meeting of the "Alexander the Great" Mutual Aid Society of Greek Macedonians of Perth, Western Australia, towards the end of October 1931[74], most of whom had come from Kastoria or from Eratyra and Pelka in the Kozani district, there were two Bulgarian-Macedonians and three Bulgarians, who proposed that the society be founded as a Macedonian rather than a Greek-Macedonian one. The proposal was rejected and its sponsors left the meeting in protest, but without incident or manifestations of hostility. Those remaining approved the constitution of the society without further ado. The matter was discussed at some length by the French-language newspaper *Macédoine* of Geneva on 6 December 1931, as a "*failed Greek coup in Australia relating to the founding of a society of Greek Macedonian emigrants in Perth*"[75] and by the *Ethnos* of Florina in its 31 October 1931 issue.

The General Government of Macedonia, which hastened to congratulate the founders of the society, recognised the value of the existence of such a society in Australia as a counterweight to Bulgarian-Macedonian propaganda, something that, ("*alas*!"), had not been feasible in Canada or the USA[76].

Despite the congratulations and the good wishes, the consular authorities in Australia remained sceptical about the organisation of the Greek-Macedonians in Australia. They felt that the founding of Greek societies like these (in 1932 emigrants from the villages of Siatista, Eratyra and Tsotyli, Agia Sotira, Ayiasma, Pentalofo, Florina and Kastoria founded Melbourne's first local Macedonian brotherhood, the "'Alexander the Great' Greek Macedonian Fraternal Organisation") would in all likelihood kindle similar reflex movements on the part of the Bulgarian-Macedonians in Australia, who would have the support of and ample funding from corresponding organisations in America. The Greek organisation would thus be drawn into a rivalry that it would be unable to sustain. Moreover the character, the sentiments and the objects of the founders and members of the Greek-Macedonian society remained unclear[77].

Indeed, in September 1934 a group of Macedonians in Melbourne applied for a licence to found a Macedonian Political Club on the lines of the Macedonian Political Organisations in the USA and Canada[78].

This same framework of Greek reaction to Bulgarian-Macedonian propaganda among the Macedonian immigrants in overseas countries governed the question of the re-organisation of the consular services in those countries. Towards the end of 1928 the Greek ambassador in Washington, Ch. Simopoulos, had emphatically raised the subject of the re-organisation of the consulates in America, to address the problem of Bulgarian propaganda better and to improve the general representation of the Greek state[79]. The

"*misfortune*", as he put it, of Greece's representatives in Canada and the USA (and Australia) having been unable to organise the many Greek-Macedonian emigrants into associations to combat Bulgarian-Macedonian propaganda[80] had caused a dolorous impression and grave disappointment among those emigrants. The "*less than nil*" action of Greece's diplomatic representatives in Ottawa and Toronto and their virtual abandonment by their native land had demoralised the Greek Macedonian immigrants in Toronto. Of the 320 emigrants from Zhelovo (Antartiko) who were living in Toronto in 1928, only thirty had Greek loyalties, the rest being fanatically pro-Bulgarian. Those from the Florina district village of Tyrsia (Trivouno) were also fanatical agents of Bulgarian-Macedonian propaganda[81].

In that same report (late 1928) Ambassador Simopoulos gave it as his opinion that, with regard to countering Bulgarian activity among the Macedonian emigrants, any official polemic from the Greek side would simply help the Bulgarians create more fuss about the situation in Greek Macedonia. The consular authorities remained unprepared, for objective and other reasons, to shield the Macedonian emigrants from anti-national propaganda and to reinforce their loyalty, and the bad faith of the editors and publishers of American newspapers would render useless any attempt at rebuttal on the part of the local consular authorities or the embassy in Washington. The best approach would perhaps be to publicise the progress made in Macedonia in the areas of education, administration, agriculture and security, and to mobilise such institutions as the Archdiocese of America, by placing "*good priests*" under the leadership of Archbishop Athenagoras[82], who was perfectly familiar with the problem (he had served as Metropolitan of Pelagonia-Monastir from 1910-18) and called for "*productive and patriotic action in America*" in order to wean the Slavic-speaking Macedonian emigrants away from the influence of the Bulgarian-Macedonian organisations through suitable propaganda, admonition and moral ministration, which were felt to be the most effective means of preventing them from being inveigled by anti-Greek propaganda[83].

These views on how to support the Macedonian emigrants were shared by the editors of *Kastoria* newspaper, which opined that:

> *"Many of them are victims of artful Bulgarian troublemakers. Some enlightenment of our compatriots in America would be beneficial. It would retrieve the errant from their error and show them that life in Macedonia is not as it is described by the press vehicles of Bulgarian propaganda. All the foreigners who have visited Macedonia have found that all in Macedonia live in absolute liberty, security and equality"*[84].

It was, moreover, generally accepted that "*none of the emigrants*" from Greek Western Macedonia could escape the network of agents of the Committee. There was, therefore, an urgent need for leaders, and particularly clerics, who spoke the language, who could with proper handling steer the Slavic-speaking emigrants back into "our" ideology and "*our*" church, to which in fact they belonged. Athenagoras had addressed a churchful of Slavophone Macedonians in their own dialect to the enthusiasm of the congregation[85], which indeed was still in a "*spiritual state receptive to cultivation*"[86].

In late 1929 and early 1930 the police and prefectural services in Macedonia were charged with the task of compiling lists of the "*Greeks of other races*" who had emigrated to America and Australia since 1926. The criteria for inclusion on the list were their manner of emigration (usually illegally through Bulgaria), the authorities' assessment of their national loyalty based on their life in Greece, and only very rarely information about their attitude and conduct while they were resident abroad. Those whose names were on the list (about 1,000 persons) were held to lack Greek civil consciousness, to have no intention of returning to Greece and, if ever they did return,

whether as Greeks or as aliens, to be likely to work against Greek interests. It was therefore proposed that they should be struck off the registers and forbidden to return to the country. In order to safeguard the administration in this respect, it was proposed to take declarations of non-return from citizens in this category who were intending to emigrate, so as to facilitate the implementation of the law[87].

The "golden age" of European emigration to America was over, and in fact the flow of Greek emigrants returning from America over the period 1922-1938 was substantial enough to restore the country's net emigration equilibrium. The Greek state tended to regard the returning Macedonian emigrants with suspicion. Information from America and from the local authorities in Western Macedonia indicated that since the early 1920s many of the fanatical "Bulgarians", especially those from the Florina region, who had left for the USA and Canada after 1913 or even earlier, before the liberation of Macedonia, and who had in many instances been members of the Bulgarian-Macedonian societies in America and had propagandised in favour of Bulgarian interests in Macedonia or had even out of compulsion pretended to be Bulgarian in order to secure the protection of the Bulgarian-Macedonian organisations, were now returning with plenty of money and the obligation and intention of organising their villages in Greek Macedonia in favour of Bulgarian affairs[88].

The Greek administration, then, originally thought that maintaining controls and monitoring the return of any person who was under suspicion of having, while abroad, become an agent of the Committee would be an effective method. Of course, Article 5 of Law 4310/1929 stated that it was in no circumstances possible to refuse entry to the country to persons who could be proven, by official documents, to be Greek citizens. Nonetheless through a combination of legal provisions and presidential or legislative decrees it was possible in a variety of ways to block the return of those who for various reasons (national security, illegal departure, expulsion or withdrawal of Greek citizenship, anti-Greek conduct abroad, etc.) had been designated by the Greek administration as unwelcome in Greece.

Similar measures against the return of undesirable or dangerous emigrants had apparently also been taken by Serbia. The Sofia daily *Macedonia* reported the protestations made by the Macedonian Political Organisation of the USA and Canada to the American Secretary of State and the letters of protest published in American newspapers like the New York Times or addressed to personalities in the USA on the ban imposed by the Serbian authorities on an American citizen of Serbian origin who had emigrated to the USA twenty years earlier, under the Ottoman Empire, and now wanted to visit his birthplace of Prilep in Serbian Macedonia to fetch his mother and return with her to America, on the grounds that in the USA he had been the treasurer of a revolutionary organisation in Pennsylvania[89].

In August 1930, then the Central Aliens Service of the Greek Ministry for the Interior filed with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs a list of all the Slavic-speakers who had emigrated from Macedonia to the USA and Canada up to the end of June 1930, recommending that they be struck off the register of Greek citizens[90]. In the face of the "*menace*" that was alleged to be inherent in the return of these Macedonian emigrants, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs agreed to apply the restrictive provisions of the law in cases of Greeks of other races who were animated by hatred of Greece and constituted "*grave dangers*" to the security of the country. It did, however, draw the attention of the competent authorities to the necessity of checking extreme zeal or chauvinistic excesses on the part of lower echelon officials and of ensuring careful investigation, including with regard to the application of the declaration of intention to emigrate measure with respect to departing emigrants of other races[91].

In January 1931 the Ministry of Military Affairs and the Ministry for the Interior ordered the Prefectures of Western Macedonia to strike off the registers of males all Slavic-speaking Greek citizens who had been designated as dangers to the nation and who were living abroad. Those who had returned in the interim were to be told to leave the country before their residence permit expired[92] For the sake of the national image and state interests, however, any such emigrants who presented themselves at the Greek border with proper passports were to be allowed to enter the country[93].

In that same month of January 1931 a copy of the list of "*emigrant Slavic-speakers from Macedonia living abroad and struck off the state registers*" was forwarded to the Greek diplomatic missions abroad, particularly in North America, advising them not to issue Greek passports or visas for Greece or for any of the neighbouring Balkan countries as intermediate stops on their return journey to the persons named on the list. In the case of persons not on the list but whom the consular authorities suspected of being Slavic-speakers of non-Greek origin, they were required to ask for a recent certificate from the appropriate communal or municipal authority in Greece confirming that the applicant was still registered in Greece, and only then could they issue the passport or visa[94].

When the measure came to be implemented, however, it was found that the local police stations had attributed the designation of "undesirable" without proper investigation, and that in a fair number of cases the prefects were of a different opinion. It was decided, therefore, to review all the evidence and compile a new list, to preclude exclusion on insufficient grounds. The criterion proposed was whether the emigrant had left his family or any property behind him.

Thus, in the spring of 1931 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, adopting a proposal made by the Prefect of Florina (V. Balkos), asked the prefectures in the General Governments of Macedonia (and Thrace), which had Slavic-speaking populations, to prepare – "*unostentatiously*" – a list of those who had emigrated to America, by village of origin (with their date of departure, place of residence in America, length of residence there, etc.)[95]

The Prefecture of Florina judged that the initial list had been compiled on the basis of chance and of unchecked information gathered by the local police stations, and that it included people who were totally inoffensive while omitting others who were exceptionally dangerous from the national point of view, and that the certificates of loyalty had designated as Bulgarians some of "*our people*" and vice versa, which meant that there was a risk of the authorities themselves creating Bulgarians "*out of our own people*" The ban on re-entry was a good measure in some cases where the individual was a proven danger, but in most instances there was a possibility that upon his return to Greece the emigrant would change his allegiance[96]. And so, in the summer of 1931 the Prefecture of Florina devised the following classifications for application to those registered in the prefecture, prior to compiling its new list:

a) The "*voulgarofronountes*", that is, those of clear and proven Bulgarian loyalties, for whom there was absolutely no objection to striking them off the register immediately, if they were living abroad. As for those who had returned to Greece, it was advisable to let them remain, since it would be easy to keep an eye on them.

b) The "*waverers*", with regard to whom the Greek state should adopt a policy designed to "bring them back into the fold" rather than estranging them even further. This would also make it easier to keep track of their state of mind, whereas abroad they would simply fall victim to hostile Bulgarian propaganda.

c) The "*ellinofronountes*", or loyal Greeks, whose families had taken part in the Macedonian Struggle, had offered sacrifices to the nation in its struggle for the Macedonian homeland, whom the deepest of gulfs divided from the "*voulgarofronountes*". Even if when in America they had joined a Bulgarian-Macedonian society, this did not necessarily mean that they had changed camps: it was more likely to be out of need for moral and material support, which Greece was unable to provide through the non-existent or barely functioning Greek societies abroad.

Having analysed the grounds upon which the list was being re-drafted and the ends they were designed to achieve, the Prefect of Florina proposed, as a basic tool and criterion for designating undesirables, that the consular authorities in America should deliver passports for return to Greece only to Greek citizens (regardless of whether or not they were on the list of those to be struck off the registers) to whom a certificate of nationality had been issued, with the approval of the Prefecture, by the president of their local commune in Greece[97].

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs accepted the suggestions made by the Prefect of Florina for the revision of the schedule of undesirables, the issuing of re-entry permits and the approaches to be used towards Slavic-speakers, and forwarded them to the Ministry for the Interior[98].

The process of revising the list of *non grata* Slavophones, to be struck off the national registers as a danger to public security, appears to have lasted until at least 1933. The initial list of 924 names, which had been widely criticised for its lack of foundation, was reduced, after multiple checks and cross-checks of information, to 344 Slavic-speaking emigrants from the region of Florina who, on the basis of their past history in Greece and their conduct abroad, were judged to be undesirable on account of the pro-Bulgarian sentiments that animated themselves and their families[99].

In the middle of 1934 a new Prefect was appointed to the Prefecture of Florina. This was Athanasios Souliotis-Nikolaidis, a man whose work during the period of the Macedonian Struggle had made him well acquainted with the situation in the region. The fact that some of his first reports (together with others on the ethnological composition of the prefecture and the loyalties of its inhabitants) dealt with the issue of the return of emigrants to that district and the need to revise the list of undesirables shows just how serious a problem this was for the administration, and possibly also for local society. A "*List of persons residing abroad and wishing to return to Greece*", which was found in his files, undated but probably compiled between September and November of 1934, shows that a thorough consideration of the matter had led the new Prefect of Florina to adopt milder measures.

The list contained 40 names[100] of people who had applied to the Prefecture of Florina for re-entry papers on the basis of the provisions in force at the time. These 40 people had emigrated from 28 towns and villages in the Prefecture of Florina (which at that time included Kastoria)[101] and were living in the USA (15), Australia (9), Canada (6), Bulgaria (6), Turkey (2), Yugoslavia (1) and England (London, 1). The list included, in addition to the basic particulars of the applicants (full name, place and date of birth, place of residence abroad), a brief account of their loyalties and their conduct abroad and a notation of whether their application was approved or rejected (a handwritten "yes" or "no").

The Prefecture decided that the list of undesirables needed to be regularly updated in order to avoid errors, since it was felt that "*national state of mind*" was something that could easily change. Knowledge of the situation of the Slavic-speaking emigrants in America was also judged to be essential, "*because from this one can obtain an idea*

of how they encourage the Slavophones here [in Greece] to persist in their sympathies with the Bulgarian cause"[102].

Towards the end of 1934 the Prefecture of Florina revised its list of Slavophone emigrants whose return to Greece was judged undesirable, reducing it to a total of 279 persons from the Prefecture of Florina and classifying them under four categories, each with its own separate list.

The first list contained 94 names, of people who, according to the Prefecture of Florina, should at all costs be struck off the registers and whose red cards should be regarded as perpetually in force, even though some of these people were reported as deceased. The people on this list should never under any circumstances be permitted to enter the country.

The second list contained 17 names that had appeared on earlier lists but of whom no trace could be found in the communes cited in those lists as their place of origin. These were people of whom nothing was known, either because they were listed under a false name or because they had been away from the country for too long. Their red cards were, however, to remain active as a matter of prudence.

The third list, of 63 names, concerned people for whom there were negative reports on their conduct in their adopted country but insufficient information to justify striking them off the registers. They would therefore remain on the registers, and the red cards flagging their names would be destroyed. The consulates would watch their conduct and verify their loyalties, and in any case would check with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs before issuing them a passport.

Finally, the 105 names on the fourth list were those of people who were still under suspicion only because they had been included on the 1933 list of 344 names, but without it ever having been determined whether this was on the basis of verified information about their conduct after they had left Greece. These people were to remain on the registers and their red cards destroyed, but any application for a re-entry permit was to be referred to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Knowledge of Greek was, for example, a significant criterion for the final 'yes' or 'no' decision.

On the basis of this recommendation, which was immediately put into effect, certificates of nationality should not be delivered to those who had justifiably been struck off the citizenship lists (the 110 people on the first two lists). The rest, against whom there were only suspicions and unconfirmed reports, could be allowed to return to Greece, on condition that their certificates be sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with all available information for review, and if approved returned to the local consular representatives[103].

Despite these changes and revisions, intended to make the system fairer and more accurate, things did not seem in 1936 to have improved a great deal. People, who had emigrated for purely economic reasons, working long years abroad to earn some money, faced a host of problems when they wanted to return. The Greek authorities were not yet in a position to decide with any conviction who should be allowed to return and who should be barred, and consequently there were cases of people with family and property in Greece who were refused entry to the country. It was "*regrettable*" that so many Greek [Macedonian] emigrants should have been exiled as enemies of the country, barring of course those few who had indeed been members of Bulgarian-Macedonian organisations[104].

This was why the new Prefect of Florina, Ioannis Tsaktsiras, proposed an opposite procedure for checking the lists: the Prefecture would compile its own detailed lists of such people, complete with addresses and evidence of their general activity in Greece.

These would be sent to the local consular authorities, who would issue passports on the basis of these lists, having first looked into their activity in their new country from the national point of view. The local consulates, using the information supplied by the police in Florina, could check on the activity of immigrants from that Prefecture and could safely refuse passports to individuals for whom the police there had no incriminating evidence but who were evidently anti-Greek and had while abroad been working in various ways against loyalist ideas[105].

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, however, felt that this system of having local consular authorities verify the attitude and loyalties of individual emigrants would be difficult to implement, since the Greeks in Canada and the USA (and Australia) were scattered across the continent and it would not be easy to garner information about specific individuals. Moreover the network of Greek consular authorities was very far from completely covering these countries, and the information that could be provided by local unpaid representatives was not sufficient to serve as a reliable basis for decisions and actions.

The Ministry therefore reminded the Prefectures of their obligation to refuse certificates of nationality to Slavic-speakers who had emigrated with Bulgarian passports and who in accordance with existing legislation had been struck off the registers as departed without intent to return, and were thus stripped of any right to re-enter the country. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs retained the responsibility for the final ratification of the required certificates. Although there were certainly cases of injustice towards people who had never been involved with anti-Greek activities, and opposite cases people undesirable from every point of view being allowed to return, this nonetheless remained the only reasonable method; and no error – unavoidable, indeed, from the nature and extent of the measures and the difficulty in implementing them – could justify a revision of the ban. No other system appeared to be applicable[106].

The problems and lack of co-ordination caused by the question of the repatriation of Western Macedonian emigrants were not limited to Greece's administrative services at home and abroad. They also affected Greece's relations with the countries to which these emigrants went, and particularly the USA, on account of cases of Western Macedonian emigrants who, having left their new country for whatever reason and having been declared unwelcome in Greece and thus deprived of the right to return there, found themselves literally stateless.

In a number of such cases, indeed, the Governor of Macedonia had been obliged to permit such returning emigrants to land, precisely in order to avoid complications with its collaboration with foreign missions in Greece. Towards the end of 1931 the American Consulate in Thessaloniki directly contacted the presidents of communes in Western Macedonia with questions about the identity of emigrants born in those places, asking for confirmation of their particulars, their dates of departure and whether they appeared on their registers as Greek citizens. A few days later the American Embassy in Athens delivered three protests to the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs and asked that the Greek Embassy in Washington be ordered to issue passports for repatriation from the USA to Greek citizens whose names appeared on the registers of their native communities.

The actions of the American Consulate enraged the Greek authorities, which described them as "*unacceptable*". According to the administrative department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Consulate had no right to intervene in the operation of the Greek consular authorities in the USA, which had refused to issue the necessary travelling documents to immigrants from Greece who were being deported. The actions of the American Consulate in Thessaloniki were held to be an extortionate attempt to

force Greece to accept the return of persons who had been declared *non grata* and a danger to the country's national security. The view of the Governor of Macedonia was that the American consul in Thessaloniki had no right, under current bilateral and international conventions, to correspond directly with Greek administrative or judicial authorities on matters other than defending the interests of American citizens or in protest against a breach of existing treaties or conventions. It should therefore have been represented to the American Embassy in Athens that the only authority with the competence to make a ruling and to inform the American authorities as to who was or was not a Greek citizen was the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs[107].

4. Post-war emigration

No significant emigration occurred in the period 1940-44, except for the persons displaced by the occupation authorities in Macedonia and, later, the inhabitants of the country's northern districts who were forced to leave the country at the end of the Civil War because of their involvement in it. These cases, however, have nothing to do with this study. Voluntary foreign emigration resumed in 1946, initially relatively slowly: Fewer than 10,000 persons a year emigrated from Greece between 1946 and 1953, save in 1951 when 14,155 emigrated. Of those who emigrated overseas, the smallest number (after 1948) went to the USA, while fully two thirds went to Canada and Australia[108]. Their numbers included not only landless peasants but also skilled workers, and they came not only from the poorest and most backward districts but also from the most highly developed, including Macedonia, Central Greece and Euboea. These regions, together with the Peloponnese, were also the sources of the increasing outflow of manpower to other parts of Europe, which began in the mid-1950s and peaked in the 1960s, and involved skilled and unskilled labour, specialised segments of the country's labour force, and not surplus farm labour[109].

Immediately after the war[110] Australian government services began to receive memoranda and letters from Greek government agencies and private individuals; their requests varied, but they were mainly inquiries about the possibility of emigration. In September 1945 the inhabitants of the commune of Rizo (Pella) wrote to the Australian Ministry for the Interior asking for permission to emigrate. They had, they said, read in a Thessaloniki newspaper that the government of Australia was intending to accept Greek immigrants. The 35 families of the village of Rizo, a total of 200 men, women and children, had decided to move to Australia for economic reasons. They had had problems in the past, they wrote, but after the war things had become much worse, since the enemy had burned their village and destroyed their livelihood. The little bit of land they owned and farmed was not enough to feed them. Their hearts were filled of sadness at the thought of abandoning their homeland, but they were desirous of emigrating to a country whose sons had fought alongside them for the freedom of the nations[111].

The first signs of a possible mass exodus to Australia also began to appear in the region of Drama, starting in July 1945[112] In October of that year the inhabitants of Doxato Dramas dispatched a letter of application to the Australian Minister for the Interior, declaring their desire to settle in Australia. Since they had no relatives there to sponsor them, they were appealing directly to the Minister, in the hope that they would achieve their objective and realise their dream of being able to earn their living. They were farmers and livestock-raisers, and expressed their willingness to work as farmers in Australia for the welfare of the country and their families. They wanted to emigrate with all their family members, since – as they said – they were afraid any who were left behind in Greece would not be able to survive.

Towards the end of 1945 the inhabitants of Doxato wrote another letter, this time addressed to the Australian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, applying to emigrate and settle permanently in Australia. Since they had already learned that the government of the country was willing to accept Greek emigrants, they sent a list with the names and number of their family members and appealed to the "*sentiments of love*" and humanity the Australians had for Greece[113].

Faced with the rumours that were circulating from one end of Greece to the other and the flood of applications – often for entire villages – for emigration to Australia, the representative of the Australian Red Cross in Thessaloniki in December 1945 informed the General Government of Western Macedonia that no decision had yet been taken with regard to the emigration of Europeans to Australia for permanent settlement and that therefore no specific answer could be given to any inquiries[114].

Documentary evidence, including the correspondence of the General Government of Western Macedonia, the proclamations and announcements published in Thessaloniki's daily newspapers and the records of the Thessaloniki Court of First Instance, shows that between the end of 1945 and 1947 at least four emigration societies were formed in Thessaloniki: the Association of Greek Emigrants to Australia of Macedonia-Thrace, the Association of Greeks intending to Emigrate Abroad, the Association of Greek Emigrants ("O Metanastis") and the Association of Greek Emigrants of Northern Greece. We also know of the existence of an active Association of Emigrants from the Region and Town of Veria. All these organisations were formed to facilitate the mass emigration of their members to the USA, Australia, South Africa, Canada, Argentina, Brazil and Madagascar.

It is not absolutely certain how active these associations were, whether they served as pressure groups to help their members achieve their goal of emigration, which was of course their purpose, or to what extent they helped shape the course of events. We do know that in August 1950 one Alexandros Thanopoulos of Thessaloniki sent the Australian Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Immigration a letter and a list (discovered intact in the Australian Archives) of 455 families, totalling 2567 people of all ages, from 35 different villages in Central and Western Macedonia (Prefectures of Thessaloniki, Imathia, Pella, Drama, Kilkis, Pieria, Grevena, Kozani). The letter stated that all these people wished to emigrate to Australia as farmers, experienced in various kinds of crops, willing to defend their new country and to be entirely useful to it. They were all good and honest souls, hard-working farmers, but their villages and property had been destroyed during the civil war. They already had exit permits from the Greek government, and were wondering, since Australia was accepting immigrants from Balkan countries at that time, why it would not accept good and peaceable farmers like them[115]. The fact that Mr Thanopoulos was a founding member of the Association of Greek Emigrants to Australia of Macedonia-Thrace may help answer the above questions. But there are others: How did all these people submit a joint application for permission to enter Australia? What common factor brought them together and who coordinated their action, when they lived in so many different and widely separated areas? Another odd point is their statement that they had already secured exit visas from the Greek government.

Curiously, newspapers of that time gave very little publicity to the activity of these emigration societies. In January 1947, for example, an article in *Makedonia* newspaper entitled "*The difficulties in emigrating to Australia / Applications submitted by various 'associations' disregarded*" noted among other things:

> *"Further information reports that 15,000 applications have been submitted by Greeks, which under the stated conditions will be examined favourably.*

In addition, that various organisations and Emigration Bureaus in Macedonia have submitted applications for emigration, which will not be taken into account"[116].

These were not the only groups of war victims to start a new life in Australia at this time: in 1950 the country welcomed the arrival, from Yugoslavia, of some 140 Macedonian children (from villages in the districts of Florina and Kastoria[117]), out of the nearly 28,000 Greek children[118] who, after the end of the civil war, found themselves scattered across the various Peoples Republics (Albania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Romania, Poland, Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia), alone or with their families. After establishing direct contact with Eastern Bloc countries in implementation of the appeals and resolutions of the General Assembly of the United Nations Organisation in 1948-1952 for these children to be returned to their homes, Australia set up two operations to reunite children with their parents or other relatives who had settled there (most of them from Western Macedonia, who had settled in Western Australia) before the war. The first 20 children arrived in Sydney on 14 June 1950. The second group, of children and young adults, left Yugoslavia in two groups, one – of 58 children and adults – on 26 October and the other – numbering 60 – on 9 November 1950. The role their presence in Australia played in the shaping, the evolution and the eventual magnitude of the Macedonian question in that country and around the world in subsequent years remains to be clarified. Generally speaking, however, 90% of the Macedonian immigrants into Australia before 1960 came from Greek Macedonia. Emigration from the then Socialist Republic of Macedonia did not begin until after 1960, and picked up momentum after 1964-65. Among the first of their number who came to Australia sponsored by relatives already settled there were fugitives from the Greek civil war who had sought refuge in the neighbouring state[119].

By the mid 1950s the pattern of emigration from Macedonia (and the rest of Greece) was beginning to change. The pre-war trend to overseas emigration continued until 1959. But by the middle of that decade, and increasingly after 1960, Greek emigrants were looking towards Europe. The flow of emigration to Mediterranean countries, which was still strong in 1960, dried up. Of the overseas countries the most important destinations were (in descending order) the USA, Australia and Canada, which attracted the bulk of Greek emigrants. Emigration to Europe was directed mainly to Belgium (1955-59) and, after 1960, West Germany. Secondary destinations included Sweden and Italy.[120] A sample survey conducted in communes in the Prefecture of Kozani in the period 1961-1982 yielded the following data on external emigration by country of destination and by sex[121]:

Country of destination	**% of all Emigrants by country**			**% of all emigrants by sex**	
	Total	**Men**	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**
USA	7.0	6.3	7.9	51.4	48.6
Australia	14.7	14.5	15.1	56.0	44.0
W. Germany	71.1	70.8	71.5	56.9	43.1
Arabia	2.5	4.3	0.1	98.0	2.0
Belgium	1.9	1.8	2.1	53.9	46.1
Canada	2.6	2.1	3.1	48.1	51.9
Sweden	0.1	0.1	0.1	50.0	50.0
Switzerland	0.1	0.1	0.1	50.0	50.0
Total	**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**	**57.1**	**42.9**

There was a functional correlation between the geographical pattern of emigration and the several chronological phases and contributory conditions: 1955-59 was predominantly a period of traditional overseas emigration, 1960-66 swung sharply towards European emigration, 1967-68 saw a return to primarily overseas emigration, 1969-72 witnessed a new upsurge in European emigration, while in 1973-77 the two currents were fairly evenly balanced. Overall during the post-war period emigrants from Macedonia, Thrace, Epirus, Thessaly and Crete headed primarily for European countries, while emigrants from the Peloponnese, Central Greece, Euboea and the Aegean and Ionian islands tended in proportionally greater numbers to go overseas. The geographical regions were unevenly represented both in emigration and in repatriation. Northern Greece (Macedonia and Thrace, Epirus) had the highest propensity towards emigration in this period, and also the highest propensity to attract returning emigrants[122] Moreover, the pattern of emigration within Europe was quite different from the overall pattern of total emigration, and the divergence is reflected in regional distribution. The most characteristic differences are seen in Macedonia, which accounted for 44% of European emigration compared to 36% of total emigration[123]. The difference observed more generally in emigration rates from the various regions may to a considerable extent be attributed to the different behaviours adopted by each population in the face of the prevailing economic and political conditions. The propensity to emigrate to foreign countries was strongest in the country's border regions, precisely where it ought to have been deterred[124].

The numerical expression of total emigration from the prefectures of Macedonia in the period 1951-1960 is given below:[125]

Prefecture	**Number of emigrants 1951-1960**	**Emigration per 1000 inhabitants**	**Annual population increase**
Drama	4,646	24.1	-11.3
Imathia	1,286	7.7	4.5
Thessaloniki	14,335	6.9	2.4
Kavala	3,908	15.0	-5.6
Kastoria	4,788	21.4	-9.1
Kilkis	1,466	12.7	0.9
Kozani	5,314	13.7	0.3
Pella	1,855	9.7	4.7
Pieria	2,523	16.3	-0.1
Serres	3,164	8.0	5.0
Florina	12,827	30.5	-16.5
Halkidiki	2,143	5.6	4.9
Total	**58,255**		

In 1962 the distribution of emigration among the geographical regions of the country towards the principal destinations was as follows[126]:

	USA	**Canada**	**Australia**	**Belgium**	**Germany**	**Other countries[127]**
Athens Area	10.6	5.9	8.0	1.3	46.3	27.9
Central Greece	11.7	7.5	22.9	10.5	37.1	10.3
Peloponnese	10.6	15.8	41.0	0.7	23.5	8.4
Ionian Islands	5.6	4.8	23.2	2.6	44.8	19.0
Epirus	1.4	0.3	4.4	5.5	84.7	3.7

Thessaly	1.9	1.7	4.2	3.6	81.6	7.0
Macedonia	1.5	1.6	8.2	5.3	77.8	5.6
Thrace	0.2	0.1	0.5	16.6	70.5	12.1
Aegean Islands	9.5	3.8	43.3	6.9	19.0	17.5
Crete	3.8	4.6	10.8	11.2	56.0	13.6

Of the seven prefectures with the highest emigration rates in the period 1956-59, two were in Macedonia: the Prefecture of Florina, with 21.64‰ of its total population, and the Prefecture of Kastoria with 9.70‰. By 1962 the number of Macedonian emigrants had almost sextupled, compared to a tripling in the rest of the country, and the rate of emigration within each prefecture had changed. In the Prefecture of Florina, which continued to head the list, the emigration rate was 39.43‰ in 1962 (4% of the total population emigrated in one year), when the national average was between 3.56‰ and 9.61‰. Of the 19 prefectures with an emigration rate above the national average, half were in Macedonia[128] In the period 1959-64 the Prefecture of Florina, with just 0.8% of the country's total population, according to the 1961 census, accounted for 2.76% of total emigration from Greece, remaining the prefecture with the highest emigration rate[129] In the period 1961-1977, of the four prefectures of Western Macedonia, Kozani had the highest emigration rate (44.6% or 35,991 people). A total of 80,833 emigrants left Western Macedonia during this period:[130]

Prefecture	**Number of emigrants**	**%**
Grevena	7,788	9.6
Kastoria	11,811	14.6
Florina	25,243	31.2
Kozani	35,991	44.6
Total Western Macedonia	**80,833**	**100.00**

It was not only the mountainous regions of Western Macedonia that felt the pull of foreign emigration – and particularly to Western Europe – in this period: the attraction was also strong in the rich tobacco-growing prefectures of Eastern Macedonia (Drama, Kavala)[131].

In most instances of overseas emigration the bridges of communication and relocation from the old to the new country remained open and operated in the same way as in the pre-war period. This small but representative example of emigration comes from New Zealand: of the 1,178 Greeks who arrived in this distant land in 1966 121 were from Macedonia, and specifically 10 from Kavala, 34 from Vytho Kozanis (home of Vasilios Vlades, the first Macedonian to settle in New Zealand, in 1924, after a sojourn in Melbourne), 28 from Thessaloniki and 49 from other regions[132].

In Western Macedonia in general, and in the Prefecture of Florina in particular, the native-born, following a tradition dating back to 1890-1910, which was not shared by the refugees who had settled there, continued to depart to overseas countries (mainly Canada and Australia). Their propensity to emigrate was rooted in incurable poverty and the sense of political insecurity that had continued to prevail since the period when the region was being fought over by the three neighbouring Balkan countries: Greece, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia. During the civil war (1947-1949) and its aftermath the sense of insecurity intensified among the native-born. The refugees, on the other hand, whose arrival was still relatively recent, carved their own paths and made their way primarily to various European countries (as did their fellows in the rest of Macedonia)[133].

The basic characteristics of the pattern of emigration did not change much in relation to the pre-war period; those who left continued to be the most dynamic, progressive and productive segment of the population. The personal characteristics of the individual emigrant might change somewhat from period to period, according to the circumstances of each emigration phase, but without straying very far from the familiar stereotype of a young man (80%-85% of all emigrants), probably unmarried, of limited education and limited skills, from a rural area, who was driven to emigrate because there was no other alternative. In peak phases emigration was mainly economic in nature (movement of surplus labour) while in its troughs (which were generally followed by a surge in repatriation) it acquired a demographic (family emigration) or mixed (economic - demographic) aspect[134].

In some prefectures the loss of population due to emigration was truly horrific: Drama –24.8%, Florina –22.4%, Serres –18.2%, Grevena –18.9%.

The Prefecture of Drama (which in 1961 had 121,000 inhabitants) lost 13.5% of its population in the five-year period from 1959 to 1964, with 16,359 people emigrating from the district. West Germany alone attracted 1,852 emigrants from Drama in 1961, 4,287 in 1962, 2,539 in 1963 and 4,200 in 1964. With just 1.44% of the total population of Greece, Drama accounted for 3.89% of all emigrants from the country in 1959-1964[135].

In the Prefecture of Florina many villages, already battered by the demographic catastrophe of the war decade, lost more than 50% of their population, as emigration, foreign and domestic, assumed the form of a mass exodus. Of the 875 people living in the semi-mountainous commune of Parorio in 1950, only 210 remained in 1965-67; the similarly situated village of Proti was reduced from 500 inhabitants in 1950 to 180 in 1965-67. Agia Paraskevi, one of the richest villages in the plain of Florina, saw half its population emigrate between 1950 and 1965. Kato Klines, the seat of a number of public services, was much less affected, since it offered a variety of non-farming jobs, which boosted the income of its families. In the mountain village of Atrapos the combination of traditional emigration, dating back to 1890, political events (substantial participation in the civil war 1947-49) and economic stagnation (little arable land, barren soil) kept emigration rates high until 1955, when the situation changed completely with the construction of a small dam that opened large tracts of land to farming and permitted the cultivation of specialised high-yield crops. Emigration from Atrapos was not halted, of course, but it was now largely confined to relatives of earlier emigrants. In Antartiko the situation was just the reverse: the post-war period brought no changes and 40% of the population, on the basis of the 1961 census, emigrated abroad. The refugee village of Lakkia, in the Amyntaio district, had a very low emigration rate. Those who left were a few smallholders or landless peasants who sought work in Germany. Apart from the refugee mentality with regard to emigration, a number of other factors came into play in Lakkia, including the existing and expected job prospects, especially in the nearby Vegora mines and of course in the region of Ptolemaida, where all of Western Macedonia was hoping to find work. Similarly, in Sklithro (75% native-born, 25% refugees), the heavy emigration characteristic of the period prior to 1960 had by 1965 dropped to more manageable levels, on account of the optimism generated by the creation of the energy field of Ptolemaida, together with extensive and profitable potato farming[136].

In the mountainous Prefecture of Grevena, with its barren soil and tiny holdings, emigration created a serious demographic problem. Within the space of a decade, from 1961 to 1971, the population dropped by 20.50%. Of the 6,343 emigrants who left in the period 1965-1971, 88.7% went to Germany. Worst affected by this worrying loss of population were 24 rural districts. The villages of Anavryta, Dasyllio, Elefthero, Kal-

lithea, Kydonies, Panagia, Pyloroi, Taxiarchis, Trikorfo and Trikomo lost more than 40% of their population, and Kokkinia, Kosmatio, Kyparissio, Kyrakali, Mavraneoi, Seirinio, Monachitio, Oropedio, Sitaras, Rodia and Vatolakkos between 25%-35%[137].

The Prefecture of Kozani lost about 30,000 people to emigration in the period 1961-1971 (20.0% of the 1961 population and 22.5% of the 1971 population), with the mountainous Boion district suffering most. As in other parts of Macedonia, foreign emigration outweighed the drain to the cities, since there was still a demand for labour abroad, while unemployment was high in large cities like Athens and Thessaloniki and smaller local centres could not absorb the surplus labour from the primary sector. The only solution, therefore, seemed to be emigration abroad – albeit temporary, since these emigrants all intended to return home once they had saved enough to buy a house or set up a business[138].

The Prefecture of Imathia, one of the richest in the country, with a total population of 114,515 in 1961 (according to that year's census), counted 7,969 foreign emigrants in the period 1959-1964, or about 7% of the total population. Of these 4,953 were men (62%) and 3,016 women (38%). Out its 61 communes and three cities (Naoussa, Veria, Alexandria), the twelve mountain villages and the city of Naoussa (designated as mountainous), with a combined population of 23,146 (20.20% of the total population), had 1,722 emigrants (Naoussa alone had 1,170), or 21% of the total. The four semi-mountainous communes (population: 3,419, or 2.98%) had 359 emigrants, or 4.55% of the total. The two lowland cities of Veria and Alexandria and the 45 villages of the plains, with a combined population of 87,950 (76.82%) had 5,888 emigrants (with Veria alone losing 2,606 people), which represented 74.45% of all the emigrants from the Prefecture. Emigration cost the mountain areas 7.47% of their population (71% men, 29% women), the semi-mountainous areas 10.5% (57% men, 43% women) and the plains (excluding Veria) 5.40% (63% men and 37% women). In Veria the number of emigrants represented 9.6% of the city's population (60% men, 40% women). Overall, in other words, emigration from the mountainous and semi-mountainous areas was, respectively, 50% and 100% higher than from the plains[139].

The Macedonian emigrants worked hard in the lands to which they went, and prospered. The members of their second and third generations advanced economically and socially, taking advantage of the opportunities offered by the political, social and economic environment of their new countries (multicultural in Canada and Australia, melting-pot in the USA, with other variations in the other host countries). Many of them played a significant national role; some helped the community or people from the same village or invested some of their earnings in Greece. They continued to send remittances back home, which still made an important contribution to the local economy; but no sums could compensate for the loss of acreage farmed and crops produced. Another factor was how the money was used: instead of being turned into land, as would once have been the case, or being invested in some other way and kept within the local economy, this time it all went to Athens and Thessaloniki, primarily for the purchase of flats or shops or other property. Purchases of farmland were rare, as were investments in farm machinery and the like.[140]

The first generation of emigrants were determined to perpetuate their Greek heritage in their children and grandchildren, and to maintain their cultural dependence on Greece. The members of the second and third generations, especially in countries like Canada and Australia, but in a number of European host countries as well, continue to share in their Greek-Macedonian tradition, generally forging a mixed cultural identity. They often join organisations and societies representing regions, cities, towns or villages of Macedonia, whose objects are to project their history and identity, to promote their common welfare and to develop functional social relations among their members,

and often as well to support some cause in “the old country” Most of these organisations and societies are members of the Pan-Macedonian Associations[141] of the states or provinces or countries where they now live, and are devoted to the struggle to preserve the name and the historic tradition of Macedonia, as needed.

Gravely concerned at post-war developments in the Balkans and what they were hearing about the attempt to construct a “Macedonian nation”, a “Macedonian ethnic consciousness” and a “Macedonian motherland”, immediately after the end of World War II the Macedonian emigrants in Canada and the USA succeeded (after several failed attempts, it is true) in founding the Pan-Macedonian Association of the USA-Canada, in April 1946. The object of this Association was to bring Macedonians of the Diaspora into contact with one another, to project the history of Macedonia and counter the falsification of Macedonia’s cultural heritage, to inform American and Canadian public opinion in order to prevent those societies from falling victim to misinformation, and to strengthen the educational and cultural links between those countries and Greece.

The consequences of the political and diplomatic developments in the Balkans, especially after World War II and the Greek civil war, were painful indeed for the pre-war Macedonian societies. With the arrival of the first emigrants from the then Socialist Republic of Macedonia came an intensification of the battle with a segment of the Greek-Macedonian community; and the attempt of the Slav-Macedonian side to create a separate Macedonian identity, based on the myth of irredentism and Greek oppression, generated an eager following among the Macedonian emigrants, particularly in Canada and Australia, who before the war had identified with the Bulgarian-Macedonian cause. It is important to remember that the founders and members of the first Slav-Macedonian organisations of emigrants to Australia and Canada came from Greek Macedonia. Many of them, indeed, had formerly been members of Greek-Macedonian societies. In Australia, for example, many of them had emigrated before the war and a fair number had already been naturalised as Australian citizens. They were active and recognised Communists, some of whom were also members of Greek communist organisations or collaborated with them through their own societies[142].

When in 1960 Archbishop Ezekiel of Australia asked for a list of Macedonian organisations in Australia (with notes on the national consciousness and loyalties of their members), he was given a list that hastily classed some organisations on the Bulgarian-Macedonian or Slav-Macedonian side, because of the language commonly used by their members or their allegedly “communist” (well camouflaged) political stance. In this way the compilers of the report “gave” 5 organisations in Melbourne to the Slav-Macedonian/Bulgarian-Macedonian side (including the Fraternal Association of Armenochoriotes and the Fraternal Association of Floriniotes), while recognising 6 others (with a total membership of about 2,500) as attached to the Greek cause. The same report recorded two organisations in Perth: “Alexander the Great”, whose 2,000 members were Greeks from Kastoria; and the “Makedonska Trubuna”, whose 500 Bulgarian-speaking members (from Florina) were intensely and actively anti-Greek. Adelaide had one Bulgarian-oriented organisation, with 500 members, and two organisations of Greek Macedonians, “Megas Alexandros” and the Pontic Fraternal Association[143].

The members of the first post-war generation of emigrants, bearers of the consequences of the civil war, conserved – and in some cases still conserve – an anachronistic and largely false reality concerning the country they left, since for many of them time had stopped several decades previously, at the moment of their emigration. Their gradual retirement from the front ranks of their communities in their adopted lands, particularly in Canada and Australia, and the corresponding activation of the second and third generations may open up new orientations for the Macedonian societies and lead

to new forms of defence of national rights and the Greek heritage, without necessarily implying an ideological distancing from the goals they have pursued thus far.

Apart from their gradually decreasing membership, another serious problem facing the Macedonian societies is the fragmentation of the Macedonian clan. In 1970 Melbourne had 36 different fraternal associations: three for the whole of Macedonia (of which two had been inactive since 1968) and 33 for smaller circumscriptions (villages, cities, districts, prefectures)[144] In 1973 Australia had (by state): 6 Macedonian societies in New South Wales (two general and 1 each for Halkidiki, Kavala, Kilkis and Kozani); 45 in Victoria (4 general, 2 for Halkidiki, 1 for Drama, 1 for Edessa, 2 for Imathia, 5 for Florina, 4 for Kastoria, 13 for Kozani, 2 for Pella, 3 for Pieria, 1 for Serres, 5 for Thessaloniki); 8 in South Australia (1 general, 1 for Halkidiki, 3 for Florina, 2 for Kozani, 1 for Western Macedonia); 2 in Western Australia (one general and one for Florina). No Macedonian societies were registered in Queensland, the Northern Territories or the Capital Territory[145].

The situation changed little over the next decades. In 1999 Australia and Canada between them had twenty-five collective organisations of emigrants from the general region of Kozani and Grevena, and two federations. Melbourne alone had six organisations of emigrants from Kozani, gathered since 1993 under the banner of an umbrella federation.

The Greek-Macedonian press played an important role in enabling emigrants to communicate with one another and in bringing news and information about the places they had left behind; the sports clubs formed by the Macedonian communities were another means of socialisation[146]. But economic and organisational problems and the commonplace of personal and party rivalries precluded, except in a very few instances, a successful and – more importantly – enduring presence within the Greek community or the host country. The *Μακεδονικός Κήρυξ* (*Macedonian Herald*: 1962-1969), organ of the National Pan-Macedonian Association; the *Φλώρινα* (*Florina*), published in 1963 as the organ of the Philanthropic and Recreational Society of Florina; the *Ακρίτας του Βορρά* (*Northern Frontiersman*), official organ of the Society of Thessalonians of Melbourne (1969); the *Μακεδονία* (*Macedonia*), published at three different times in the 1970s, as the organ of the Pan-Macedonian Association of Melbourne), the *Μακεδονική Φωνή* (*Macedonian Voice*: 1982, relaunched in May 1991), organ of the Federation of Pan-Macedonian Associations of Australia; and the *Μακεδονικά Νέα* (*Macedonian News*: 1981-1982), published by the first President of the Pan-Macedonian Association of Melbourne as a counterweight to the abovementioned *Μακεδονική Φωνή*, which was published by the official Pan-Macedonian Association; the new attempt by the Pan-Macedonian Association of Melbourne, entitled *The Pan-Macedonian*, launched in July 1985; the *Μακεδονική Φωνή* (1985) of the Pan-Macedonian Association of South Australia; the *Μακεδονικό Δελτίο* (*Macedonian Bulletin*), official organ of the Australian Institute of Macedonian Studies, which was first published in 1991 and after 2001 continued as the *Μακεδονικός Λόγος* (*Macedonian Word*)[147]: these were just some of the examples of short-lived, small circulation print ventures that were published by various pan-Macedonian organisations or individual communal societies for the principal purpose of informing their readers about what was going on within the Macedonian community in Australia or developments in the Macedonian question.

The emigrants from Macedonia now settled in Australia, Canada and the USA, like the rest of the Greek Diaspora, are particularly aware of and informed about the Macedonian problem and the activities of the government of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. Those living in Australia particularly, because of the numerous and politically active population originating from the neighbouring Republic and long settled on that continent, but also because of the many local societies of emigrants from

Macedonia, remain the most active. In Canada the Greeks seem to be fairly well informed about and interested in the Macedonian problem, as are those in the USA, although the latter lag behind their compatriots in Canada and Australia for reasons connected with the differences in the immigration and ethnic minority policies followed by each country, and also because of the fact that emigration to Canada and Australia is more recent than emigration to the USA[148] Societies of Macedonians abroad have, moreover, continued to be founded, particularly in response to the machinations against the Greekness of Macedonia effected through the policy exercised by the once Socialist and now Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. This is what led to the founding in Wellington in 1984 of the Pan-Macedonian Fraternal Association of New Zealand and of the Macedonian Association of Great Britain in 1989 in London.

While many of these emigrants have remained abroad, a considerable number have returned to Greece. Discounting those who settled in the Athens area, most (32.2%) of those who returned in the period 1968-1977 settled in Macedonia. For those returning from the Federal Republic of Germany (50%) and Sweden (60%), Macedonia was the first choice. By contrast, those returning from overseas countries generally preferred to settle in Athens or the Peloponnese, with Macedonia in third place. Refugees returning from Eastern European countries settled primarily in Macedonia and secondarily in Athens[149].

Of the twelve prefectures with the largest number of returning emigrants (more than 10,000), five are in the geographical region of Macedonia: Serres (18,009), Kavala (17,337), Kozani (13,754), Pieria (13,178), Drama (12,040). Others, by contrast, such as Halkidiki, welcomed relatively few repatriates (fewer than 4,000). The distribution of repatriates in Macedonia by Prefecture is shown below[150]:

	Number of repatriates	**%**
Grevena	6,992	1.1
Drama	12,040	1.9
Imathia	9,475	1.5
Thessaloniki	82,609	13.2
Kavala	17,337	2.8
Kastoria	5,737	0.9
Kozani	13,754	2.2
Pella	8,790	1.4
Pieria	13,178	2.1
Serres	18,009	2.9
Florina	5,092	0.8
Halkidiki	2,197	0.4
Total Greece	**627,625**	**100.00**

5. Conclusions

For Macedonia, the phenomenon of emigration was both endemic and diachronic from the latter part of the 19th century until at least the eighth decade of the 20th. Each generation trod the path of departure, following in the footsteps of the preceding one, a process facilitated by the policy of sponsorship practised by recipient countries starting in the period between the wars and imposed by the pattern of serial emigration as it developed in the post-war years.

This customary practice of serial emigration, which bound together the members of a household, a family, a village, played its own equally determinant role in departure patterns, along with all the other factors.

The causes of human migration from Macedonia were both economic and political, and in many cases it is very difficult to distinguish between them. Even those directly involved could not always explain precisely what it was that decided them to emigrate.

The inability of the land to provide them with a satisfactory living no doubt drove Western Macedonians, who already had a long tradition of emigration, to continue to depart. In reality, in most cases it was not poverty *per se* that spurred their emigration, but rather the poverty syndrome, since underemployment in the agricultural sector, which has to do with seasonality and other characteristics of traditional cultures, was typical of Greek agriculture in every part of the country and not just in Macedonia.

Emigration was also a manifestation of their inability to adapt to the new economic reality represented by the mechanisation and commercialisation of production, which became facts of the Macedonian economy with dizzying speed in the 1920s. It may also be interpreted as a sign of their disappointment in the Greek government, since their living conditions had not improved in relation to the preceding period. They had no more land than before, their crops were no larger nor prices higher, while other means of earning a living were not appearing. And the comparison with the economic level and standard of living in emigrant destination countries, as these were paraded before them every time an emigrant returned home for a brief visit, could only make their position appear worse. The greater the apparent difference on each occasion, the greater the wave of emigration that followed.

But the process of economic growth and development in a country can intensify or worsen local strife, and the failure of the ruling powers to find solutions that will permit coexistence and prevent ruptures of the social fabric of the country from economic and other conflicts between different population groups is capable of leading to contention, overt or latent, or to the emigration of those who are unable to improve their social and economic position. External emigration from Macedonia is a case in point: during the inter-war years it actually stopped the integration of its native-born population, especially the Slavophones of Western Macedonia, into the Greek state, and from the 1950s onwards it fostered the manifestation of ethnic differentiation outside Greece. Geographical distance and the ineptitude of the home country in many cases reinforced rather than effaced these differences.

The Greek state failed to regard seriously either the inter-war or the post-war waves of emigration from Macedonia (or for that matter from the rest of the country). The few initiatives that were taken were intended at times to protect emigrants from the toils of illegality and exploitation, at times to cope with pressing demands on the part of the people to permit emigration to specific countries, and at times to appease the desire of the inhabitants of Macedonia to emigrate.

In reality, the overseas emigration from Macedonia of the post-1922 period was of little concern to the Greek state as a socio-economic phenomenon, and it was only its political and national dimensions that attracted the attention of local authorities and the central government. Absorbed in the process of providing for the influx of refugees, particularly in Northern Greece, in pushing forward the economic and social modernisation of the country and in the maintenance of equilibria in its Balkan back yard, the inter-war Greek state had little time to spare for a phenomenon that was in any case slackening on the national as well as the local level. It merely reacted whenever it was *de facto* obliged to deal with a situation. Similarly, from the early 1950s, when not only

did it make no effort to stem the tide but did not even take measures that might have allowed the full and creative utilisation of the emigrants, either during their sojourn abroad or even more so when they returned to Greece, for the development of the country's industrial sector and the growth of its economy. Rather, the extolment of the positive effects of emigration for the Greek economy tended to intensify the outflow of labour.

The negligent, uncoordinated or self-confounding attitude of the Greek government in every phase of the emigration process, from departure and sojourn abroad to repatriation, which to a certain degree affected all Greek overseas emigration, this distance between theory and action in the tracing and exercise of policies in the matter of emigration from Macedonia, on the one hand impeded the implementation of specific administrative measures to stem emigration and on the other averted the adverse results of too stringent an application of such measures.

As an alternative to conflict, external emigration in one sense ends up becoming a mechanism by which the emigrant is transformed into an "other", a "threat". It was this "threat", these fears on the part of the Greek government, whose roots could be traced back to previous phases of history, and the threat it conceived as existing to the prejudice of its borders from the neighbouring Balkan countries, that mobilised the mechanism of state to confront the issue of emigration from Macedonia. In the end the Greek government addressed the phenomenon of emigration in the same helpless and ineffective manner as it used towards the native, primarily Slavophone, population of the region.

The uneasy political and social situation in Macedonia (and Greece) of the inter-war period and later, after the civil war, were responsible for external emigration. Political developments in their country of origin as well as in their country of residence played a significant role in shaping the identity of the Macedonian emigrants abroad, and the transfer and cultivation of political precedents and situations from the old to the new homeland caused terrible confusion in the emigrant communities abroad.

Those emigrants who had brought with them from the old country a developed political consciousness and with it the habit of or an aptitude for engaging in such matters were very likely to continue in the same way in their new country. The rest, the vast majority, would be as indifferent or as impotent abroad as they have shown themselves to be in the face of the world-changing events that had been occurring in their country since the early twentieth century. Within the emigrant organisations only a few were involved in power structures and community affairs. The ordinary hard-working Macedonian emigrants had little interest in becoming involved with societies and organisations. They found out what was happening in Greece through the filtering medium of letters from home, or from some local Greek newspaper if one happened to come their way.

And if one of the factors driving them away was a reaction to anything Greek, emigration was not necessarily, at least initially, an expression of some other identity (Bulgarian, Bulgarian-Macedonian or Macedonian). Greece became the "enemy" for some Macedonian emigrants only after World War II, in the light of the situation that emerged from the events (mainly) of the German Occupation and the Civil War in Macedonia. It was then that part of the irredentist ideology of Macedonianism sought to root itself in the attitude of the Greek state and its relations with the Slavophone population during the inter-war years.

In the end, political and economic causes merely triggered a decision to emigrate. The choice of whether to remain in Greece or seek one's fortune in one of

the countries that were open to immigrants remained to a significant degree a purely personal matter for the people of Macedonia, as of the rest of Greece.

Today, many of the generally negative effects of this emigration have been softened or totally effaced. More permanent traces could perhaps still be found up to the end of the last century in regions where the rates of emigration were strongest and which did not recover their lost population after the wave of repatriation.

Table 1. External emigration by geographical region 1955-1977[151]:

	1955-1959		1960-1964		1965-1969		1970-1974		1975-1977	
Geographic region	**Emigrants**	**%**	**Emigrants**	**%**	**Emigrants**	**%**	**Emigrants**	**%**	**Emigrants**	**%**
Capital district	34,641	24.1	59,795	15.0	67,555	17.4	39,538	15.8	13,518	23.6
Central Greece - Euboea	4,794	3.3	12,852	3.2	17,198	4.4	10,920	4.4	2,891	5.1
Peloponnese	20,510	14.3	39,516	10.0	43515	11.2	18,747	7.5	4,071	7.1
Ionian Islands	2,620	1.8	9,898	2.5	12,484	3.2	5,183	2.1	1,110	1.9
Epirus	2,582	1.8	24,275	6.1	24,409	6.3	17,584	7.0	2,919	5.1
Thessaly	2,347	1.6	16,778	4.2	21466	5.5	19764	7.9	2500	4.4
Macedonia	23,163	16.1	125,824	31.8	135,290	34.8	89,594	35.9	16,442	28.8
Thrace	16,194	11.3	28,755	7.3	25,211	6.5	19,295	7.7	3,146	5.5
Aegean Islands	10,459	7.3	21,701	5.5	22,513	5.8	12,002	4.8	2,752	4.8
Crete	2,202	1.5	11,646	2.9	10,620	2.7	8,471	3.4	1,285	2.3
N/A	24,251	16.9	45,260	11.4	8,950	2.3	8,698	3.5	6,576	11.5
Total	**143,763**	**100.0**	**396,300**	**100.0**	**389,211**	**100.0**	**249,796**	**100.0**	**157,210**	**100.0**

Table 4.[152] External emigration from Central and Western Macedonia 1961-1977

Prefecture	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
Grevena	-	-	-	-	1.481	939	305	488	1.444
Imathia	600	1,020	1,711	2,012	1,794	1,199	397	590	1,962
Thessaloniki	2,506	4,565	5,398	5,727	7,181	4,113	2,060	3,065	5,266
Kastoria	732	1,443	1,136	1,249	1,498	1,229	666	777	757
Kilkis	668	2,135	2,057	3,018	3,758	1,960	503	770	2,043
Kozani	1,164	4,455	3,987	4,549	3,865	2,470	931	1,598	3,755
Pella	587	1,959	2,324	2,869	3,126	1,974	530	918	2,711
Pieria	1,087	2,312	1,927	2,305	3,278	2,131	645	1,122	2,612
Florina	1,533	2,656	2,699	3,065	3,255	2,357	1,414	1,498	1,702
Halkidiki	256	692	764	691	764	414	128	264	369
Total	**9,133**	**21,237**	**22,003**	**25,485**	**30,000**	**18,789**	**7,579**	**11,090**	**22,621**

Prefecture	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	total
Grevena	1.069	624	592	241	203	125	153	124	7,788
Imathia	1,954	1,213	727	358	312	258	243	243	16,593
Thessaloniki	6,370	4,688	2,749	1,615	1,683	1,514	1,335	1,043	60,878
Kastoria	658	496	317	216	174	178	168	117	11,811
Kilkis	2,471	1,152	786	483	405	326	346	311	23,192
Kozani	3,628	1,795	1,125	635	534	1,463	522	515	35,991
Pella	2,689	1,848	1,173	630	459	381	363	352	24,893
Pieria	2,798	1,634	1,125	559	507	352	366	362	25,122
Florina	1,457	1,126	790	577	391	319	231	173	25,243
Halkidiki	499	368	209	90	83	63	102	63	5,819
Total	**23,593**	**14,944**	**9,593**	**5,404**	**4,751**	**3,979**	**3,829**	**3,303**	**237,330**

Table 5. Repatriation to Central and Western Macedonia 1969-1977

Prefecture	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	total	1974
Grevena	128	178	213	220	220	258	363	362	104	2,406	258
Imathia	208	299	363	377	333	458	738	676	221	3,673	458
Thessaloniki	1,390	1,733	1,886	2,478	2,153	2,540	4,098	4,105	1,567	21,950	2,540
Kastoria	186	234	225	257	219	186	289	281	99	1,976	186
Kilkis	328	388	453	498	419	645	917	723	227	4,598	645
Kozani	412	563	577	688	688	731	950	878	298	5,785	731
Pella	304	372	464	514	453	528	1,018	961	273	4,887	528
Pieria	344	408	477	546	537	725	1,306	1,059	386	5,788	725
Florina	269	360	340	365	242	329	449	405	111	2,870	329
Halkidiki	81	82	101	149	133	77	177	208	54	1,062	77
Total	**3,650**	**4,617**	**5,099**	**6,092**	**5,397**	**6,477**	**10,305**	**9,658**	**3,340**	**54,635**	**6,477**

Table 6. Net emigration from Central and Western Macedonia 1969-1977

Prefecture	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	total
Grevena	-1,016	-891	-411	-372	-21	+55	+238	+209	-20	-2,229
Imathia	-1,754	-1,655	-850	-380	-25	+146	+480	+433	-22	-3,627
Thessaloniki	-3,876	-4,637	-2,802	-271	+538	+857	+2,584	+2,770	+524	-4,313
Kastoria	-571	-424	-271	-60	+3	+12	+111	+113	-18	-1,105
Kilkis	-1,715	-2,083	-699	-288	-64	+240	+591	+377	-84	-3,725
Kozani	-3,343	-3,065	-1,218	-437	+53	+197	+487	+536	-217	-7,187
Pella	-2,407	-2,317	-1,384	-659	-177	+69	+637	+598	-79	-5,719
Pieria	-2,268	-2,390	-1,157	-579	-22	+218	+954	+693	+24	-4,527
Florina	-1,433	-1,097	-786	-425	-335	-62	+130	+174	-62	-3,896
Halkidiki	-288	-417	-267	-60	+43	-6	+114	+106	-9	-784
Total	**-18,671**	**-18,976**	**-9,845**	**-3,531**	**-7**	**+1,726**	**+6,326**	**+5,829**	**+37**	**-37,112**

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Notes

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8. Peter Vasiliadis, *Whose are you? Identity and Ethnicity among the Toronto Macedonians*, New York 1989, p. 156.
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17. IAM/GDM/70, telegram Minister Repoulis to GDM, Athens 16 November 1913, no. 29441.
18. IAM/GDM/70, telegram Agorastos to GDM, Florina, 6 October 1913, no. 2623. The sources speak of a mass exodus of at least 130,000 Muslim refugees from Macedonia to Turkey in 1913 and the first months of 1914. This wave of emigration was of great concern to the Greek government, because it emptied the countryside and generated a flood of complaints about the behaviour of the Greek authorities towards the non-combatant population of the area.
19. IAM/GDM/70, GDM to Police Headquarters of Thessaloniki, Thessaloniki, 15 November 1913, no. 19276.
20. IAM/GDM/70, GDM to Prefecture of Florina, Thessaloniki, 12 October 1913, no. 2642.
21. *Macedonian Tribune*, 21 February 1991, 3, 5.
22. The reports (or extracts from them) filed by Andreades as they were found in IAYE/1919/A/αακ13, in about September 1919.
23. IAYE/1922/B/59_{10}, General Government of Kozani-Florina to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kozani 15 January 1922, no. 110, attached to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Ministry for the Interior, General Army Staff Service, Bureau II, Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Instruction, Athens, 1 February 1922, no. 751.
24. IAYE/1921/B/45_{2}, Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Embassies in Washington, Rio de Janeiro, London, Paris, Berlin and others, Athens 1 December 1922, without protocol number. Specifically for the difficulties, see dispatch Rio Embassy to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Rio de Janeiro, 16/29 November 1921, no. 1332.
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26. Hassiotis, *op. cit.*, p. 111.
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29. IAYE/1925/Z/172, report from the Greek Consulate in Melbourne, 27 November 1924 no. 118, attached to Greek Embassy London to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, London, 8 January 1925, no. 53.
30. IAYE/1931-32/A/III, "*Έκθεσις Μητροπολίτου Φλωρίνης [Χρυσοστόμου] περί της εθνολογικής καταστάσεως εις τον νομόν του, προς τον Πρόεδρο της Ελληνικής Κυβέρνησης*" [*Report from the Metropolitan of Florina (Chrysostomos) on the ethnological situation in his prefecture, to the Prime Minister of Greece*], Florina, 23 April 1931.

31. IAYE/1929/A/21/II, confidential report from P. Demetriades no. 15, Athens 14 August 1927, attached to Ministry for the Interior to Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Education and Religious Affairs, Military Affairs (General Army Staff), Health & Welfare, Agriculture and Transport, Athens 28 January 1929, no. 4814.
32. IAM/GDM/70, Prefecture of Florina to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Department of Emigration, Florina, 4 February 1929, no. 2082.
33. IAM/GDM/70, Prefecture of Florina to GDM, Florina, 1 May 1929, no. 6526.
34. IAM/GDM/70, Prefecture of Florina to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Arrairs, Florina, 2 October 1929, no. 13778.
35. IAYE/1930/A/2/II, Gendarmerie Lieutenant Konstantinos Granis to Florina Gendarmerie Headquarters, 6 April 1929, top secret report "on Bulgarian propaganda activity in Toronto, Canada".
36. See also Mandatzis, "Emigration", *op. cit.*, 125-126 and note 58, 130 Table 3.
37. The simplest similar procedure in the Prefecture of Florina, still according to *Kastoria* newspaper, obliged many of its inhabitants to "*take the road to Florina...* [where]... *without difficulties, without trouble, without comings and goings and stamps and signatures*" their passports were issued. *Kastoria*, no. 362, 23 February 1930.
38. James R. Mapstone, "The Greek Macedonians of Shepparton: A study of immigrant assimilation in a rural area of Australia", doctoral dissertation, Canberra, Australian National University 1966, pp. 101-102.
39. IAYE/1931-32/A/III, in the report of Metropolitan Chrysostomos cited above.
40. Athanasios Souliotis-Nikolaidis Archives, file. 2/II, report from the Gendarmerie headquarters in Florina on "those living in Canada and America and considered dangerous from the national point of view", Florina, 22 September 1934.
41. IAYE/1936/A/6/9, the Prefect of Florina Ioannis Tsaktsiras to the Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Florina, 13 August 1936, no. 153 conf.
42. IAYE/1931/A/6/IIα, text of the report, attached to Thessaloniki Press Office to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs and 3rd Army Corps, Thessaloniki, 3 October 1929, no. 4971.
43. IAYE/1929/A/6/II, Greek Embassy Sofia to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Sofia, 14 November 1929, no. 4320.
44. Kayser, *op. cit.*, 3, 6 and table 6, 135.
45. IAYE/1932/A/6/IIα, Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Ministry of Justice, Athens, 5 May 1932, no. 16677 I/9.
46. IAM/GDM/18-21, Prefecture of Florina to Ministry of Agriculture, Florina, 24 August 1936, no. 15150.
47. IAYE/1932/A/6/IIα, Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Ministry of Justice, Athens, 6 February 1931, no. 16185, Ministry of Justice to Prosecutor of the Court of Appeals of Thessaloniki, Athens, 1 April 1931, no. 8184.
48. *Kastoria*, no. 410, 2 February 1931.
49. IAYE/1930/A/2/II, in the report by Gendarmerie Lieutenant Granis cited above.
50. IAYE/1932/A/6/IIα, Hellenic Foreign Ministry of Foreign Affairs to General Government of Thessaloniki (with copy to the Prefecture of Florina), Athens, 11 December 1930, no. 15474. Prefecture of Florina to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Florina, 18 December 1930, no. 99 "*Κατάσταση ονομαστική εμφαίνουσα τους πράκτορας μεταναστεύσεως της περιφερείας μας καθ' ων ησκήθη ποινική αγωγή και το αποτέλεσμα αυτής*" [*List of names of emigration agents in our region against whom criminal charges have been laid and the result of those actions*].
51. IAYE/1929/A/6/II, article published in the newspaper *Vradyni*, 8 November 1929.

52. IAYE/1930/A/2/II, report by sub-lieutenant Georgios Xypolytas to the Ministry for the Interior, Athens, 18 July 1929, "on false passports", attached to Ministry for the Interior to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Athens, 29 August 1929, no. 1120/1532/2.
53. IAYE/1930/A/2/II, Gendarmerie Headquarters Florina to GDM, Florina, 20 November 1930, no. 16/116/3 "on the circulation of false emigration permits", attached to GDM to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry for the Interior, Thessaloniki, 28 November 1930, no. 119319.
54. IAM/GDM/70, Prefecture of Florina to Prefecture of Thessaloniki, Florina, 25 July 1929, no. 10915. Also Prefecture of Thessaloniki to GDM, Thessaloniki, 29 July 1929, no. 44.
55. IAYE/1930/A/2/II, Ministry for the Interior to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Athens, 9 October 1930, no. 28/3/18, attached to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs Department VII to First Directorate of Political Affairs, Athens, 18 December 1930, no. 54396. The same attached to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Greek Embassy Paris, Athens, 19 November 1930, no. 49886 conf. in IAYE/1932/A/6/IIα.
56. IAYE/1932/A/6/IIA contains all of the extensive correspondence between the Canadian Emigration Commission in Paris, the Greek Embassy in Paris, the Canadian High Commissioner in London and the Yugoslav Embassy in Athens and the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Interior Affairs and Justice, from September 1930 through to June 1931.
57. IAYE/1934/A/6/II_1, Prefect of Florina S. Petroulas to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Florina, 20 June 1934, no. conf. 127.
58. IAYE/1929/A/2/II, Florina Gendarmerie Headquarters to Supreme Gendarmerie Headquarters for Macedonia, Florina 3 July. 1929, no. 13/22/II secret.
59. IAYE/1932/A/6/IIα, Prefect of Florina V. Balkos to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Florina, 13 June 1931, no. 152.
60. IAYE/1930/A/2/II, Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Ministry for the Interior, Directorate of Gendarmerie Public Security and Municipal Police, General Army Staff Bureau II, and Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs Administrative Section, Athens, 8 November 1929, no. 12304. Also, Florina Gendarmerie Headquarters to Ministry for the Interior, Central Aliens Service, Florina, 22 November 1930, no. 16/5/266 top secret "on Greek Citizens emigrating to Bulgaria, Canada, etc. and designated as dangerous to the nation".
61. Athanasios Souliotis-Nikolaidis Archives, file. 2/II, report from the Gendarmerie Headquarters in Florina on "those living in Canada and America and considered dangerous from the national point of view", September 1934.
62. IAYE/1936/A/6/9, Hellenic Royal Gendarmerie, Higher Administration, Macedonian Bureau of Security to GDM, Regional Directorate of PTT Services, Thessaloniki, 30 April 1936, no. 15/149/41 "on the circulation of Bulgarian printed matter, newspapers, etc." Also, Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs to GDM, Athens 8 May 1936, no. 9484 "on the circulation of issues of the Bulgarian newspaper *Makedonska Trubuna*" In the same file, Florina Gendarmerie Headquarters to State Defence Service, Section A, Florina, 27 September 1936, no. 3/2/Iα "on Bulgarian phonograph records", attached to State Defence Service Section A, to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Athens 8 October 1936, no. 58/9/2/18.
63. IAYE/1931/A/6/IIα, GDM to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Thessaloniki, 20 April 1931, no. 171.

64. IAYE/1931/A/6/IIα, the newspaper articles attached to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs Press Section to Political Section A, Athens, 2 March 1931, no. 8476.
65. IAYE/1932/A/6/IIα, Gendarmerie Headquarters, Special Security Section to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Athens, 13 April 1932, no. 574/82/I.
66. IAYE/1921/B/45_2, Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Consulate General in Montreal, Athens, 17 April 1920, no. 9237.
67. IAYE/1923/B/59/9, Consul General in Boston L. Matlis to Greek Embassy Washington, Boston, 8/21 April 1922, no. 348. Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Greek Embassy Washington, Athens, 29 November 1922, no. 12412.
68. IAYE/1931/A/6/IIα, GDM to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Thessaloniki, 20 April 1931, no. 171.
69. IAYE/1932/A/6/IIα, Ch. I Simopoulos to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Washington, 21 June 1931, no. 1023 and 22 September 1932, no. 1740. Also Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Greek Embassy Washington, Athens, 26 November 1932, no. 10651.
70. IAYE/1935/A/6/4&A/6/9, sub-consulate Cleveland, Ohio, sub-consul K.N. Vilos to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Cleveland, 15 September 1935, no. 604, "on the 14th annual congress of the Bulgarian-Macedonian 'Macedonian Political Organisation'".
71. Price, "Migration and Assimilation", *op. cit.*, 104-105. A. Tamis, "Greek Macedonians", *op. cit.*, 337.
72. [The Zhelevo Brotherhood of Toronto], *Short History of Zhelevo village, Macedonia* (Toronto, χ.χ.), 75-103, esp. 89 ff.
73. IAYE/1929/A/2/II, copy of the protest attached to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs Press Section to Political Section B, Athens, 30 July 1929, no. 29957.
74. Archives of the "Alexander the Great" Greek Macedonian Association of Perth, Western Australia, letter from presbyter Christopher K. Manessis to Mutual Aid Society of Greeks of Macedonia, Perth, 27 October 1931, no. 38.
75. IAYE/1932/A/6/IIα, Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs Press Section to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs Political Section A, Athens, 12 December 1931, no. 51712 on the article published in the Geneva newspaper *Macédoine*, attached to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs to London and Washington Embassies and Consulate General in Sydney, Athens 22 December 1931, no. 16768 and Consul General in Sydney L. T. Chrysanthopoulos to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Sydney, 27 April 1932, no. 42.
76. IAYE/1932/A/6/IIα, GDM to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Thessaloniki, 5 January 1932, no. 151923
77. IAYE/1932/A/6/IIα, Consul General in Sydney L. T. Chrysanthopoulos to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Sydney, 27 April 1932, no. 70.
78. Australian Archives (hereafter AA), A981/1 MIS 62, memorandum from H.E. Jones, Director of the Commonwealth Investigation Branch, Attorney-General's Department, to Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, [Canberra], 13 March 1935. Also memorandum [Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs] to the Director of the Commonwealth Investigation Branch, [Canberra], 14 March 1935.
79. IAYE/1930/A/2/II, Embassy in Washington to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 26 December 1928, no. 1922.
80. IAYE/1929/A/21/II, in the confidential report filed by P. Demetriades, no. 15, as cited above.
81. IAYE/1930/A/2/II, report from Heracles Papamanolis, director of the Greek newspaper *Estia* in Montreal, Canada, on "the activity of Bulgarian propagandists for

Macedonian autonomy in Toronto and the attitude of emigrants from Greek Macedonia to His Excellency the Greek Ambassador in Washington", Montreal, 9 December 1928.

82. IAYE/1930/A/2/II, Ch. I. Simopoulos to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Washington, 26 December 1928, no. 1922. Also IAYE/1932/A/6/IIα, successive dispatches Simopoulos to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Washington, 18 March 1932, no. 498, 3 May 1932, no. 859, 25 August 1932, no. 1607, 22 September 1932, no. 1740. Also Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Greek Embassy Washington, Athens, 26 November 1932, no. 10651/A/6/1932. The Serbian diplomatic mission in the USA was also in agreement with the decision not to aggrandise the propaganda activity and the "denunciations" of the Bulgarian-Macedonian organisations in America, so as not to give them greater weight and therefore validity. See IAYE/1931/A/6/IIα, Ch.I Simopoulos to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Washington, 28 November 1930, no. 2103, attached to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Greek Embassy Sofia, Athens, 20 December 1930, no. 16193.
83. IAYE/1933/A/6/IIγ, Prefect of Florina V. Balkos to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Florina, 20 February 1931, no. 42.
84. *Kastoria*, no. 448, 25 October 1931.
85. IAYE/1931/A/6/IIα, Embassy in Washington to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Washington, 21 June 1931, no. 1023.
86. IAYE/1935/A/6/4&A/6/9, Embassy in Washington to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Washington, 26 June 1935, no. 1108.
87. IAYE/1930/A/2/II, Ministry for the Interior, Municipal Police Division, Central Aliens Service, Bureau II to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Political Affairs Directorate A, Athens, 7 May 1930, no. 9/7/3 conf. Similar issues had been discussed by the two ministries in 1916/1508/2, 19 December 1929 and 4053, 19 April 1928.
88. IAYE/1923/B/59/9, Governor General of Macedonia to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Thessaloniki 28 February 1920, no. 305 conf., forwarding an extract from a report wired by the Prefect of Pella on 25 February. And later, $IAYE/1934/A/6/II_1$, dispatch from Prefect of Florina S. Petroulas to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Florina, 20 June 1934, no. 127.
89. IAYE/1931/A/6/IIα, Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Press Section to Political Section A, Athens, 24 March 1931, no. 12418 and Thessaloniki Press Bureau to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Thessaloniki, 18 March 1931, no. 1689, with translation of the article published in the Bulgarian newspaper *Macedonia* on 14 March 1931.
90. IAYE/1930/A/2/II, Ministry for the Interior Municipal Police Division, Central Aliens Service, Bureau II to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Political Affairs Directorate A, Athens, 23 August 1930, no. 9/7/9 urgent.
91. IAYE/1930/A/2/II, Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Citizenship Bureau, Section B to Ministry for the Interior, Central Aliens Service, Athens, 26 August 1930, no. 26684.
92. IAYE/1931/A/6/IIα, Central Aliens Service, Bureau II to Florina Gendarmerie Headquarters, [Athens], [8]9 January 1931, no. 9/7/25.
93. IAYE/1931/A/6/IIα, Ministry for the Interior Municipal Police Division, Central Aliens Service to Prefectures of Florina, Edessa, Kozani, [Athens], undated, no. 9/7/32 secret and urgent, and Ministry for the Interior Municipal Police Division, Central Aliens Service, Bureau II to all Gendarmerie and Police Services, Athens, 11 February 1931, no. 9/7/33, urgent and confidential.

94. IAYE/1931/A/6/IIα, Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs to "all embassies, salaried consular authorities in North and South America and the Consulates General of Constantinople and Paris and Ministry of Foreign Affairs Political Section A", Athens, 16 January 1931, no. 53101.
95. IAYE/1933/A/6/IIγ, Prefect of Florina V. Balkos to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Florina, 20 February 1931, no. 42. Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs to GDM and General Government of Thrace, Athens 17 March 1931, no. 2890. The competent services in the prefectures of Serres, Kozani, Pella and Kastoria responded positively to the request from the Ministry but required nearly a year to complete their lists.
96. IAYE/1932/A/6/IIα, Prefect of Florina V. Balkos to Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Florina, 13 June 1931, no. 152.
97. IAYE/1931/A/6/IIα, V. Balkos to GDM, Florina, 8 July 1931, no. 174.
98. IAYE/1931/A/6/IIα, Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Ministry for the Interior, Athens, 10 November 1931, no. 40443.
99. Athanasios Souliotis-Nikolaidis Archives, 2/II, report from the Gendarmerie Headquarters in Florina on "those living in Canada and America and considered dangerous from the national point of view".
100. There are actually 42 reports, two of them referring to the same person, who in the end was struck off the list, since his case followed a different procedure.
101. Most communes were represented on the list by a single person. Exceptions included Polypotamos (6, of whom 5 wanted to return from Australia), Akritas (Boufi) (3: 2 USA + 1 Canada), Trivouno (2), Koryfi (2) and Dendrochori (2), Florina (2) and Metamorfosi (Kondoropi) Kastorias (2).
102. Athanasios Souliotis-Nikolaidis Archives, 2/II, Athanasios Souliotis-Nikolaidis to Minister [General Government of Macedonia], Kastoria, 6 August 1935.
103. Athanasios Souliotis-Nikolaidis Archives, 2/II, Athanasios Souliotis-Nikolaidis to GDM, Athens, 18 November 1934, and dispatch to Rossetti, Florina 16 December 1934.
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XV. The European Union and the Macedonian Question

Aristotelis Tziampiris

1. European Political Cooperation and the Dissolution of Yugoslavia

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the "Eastern Bloc" was received with speculation and scepticism in southeastern Europe. The Cold War had virtually "frozen" the history of the region, leaving in this way room for an almost unprecedented period of four decades of relative stability and peace.[1] After the end of this period, however, politicians, academics, and a large part of the world were possessed by fears of a possible resurgence of nationalism, the return of wars, changes in national frontiers and violations of human rights. Besides, these were things which had troubled the Balkans from the 19th century until the end of the Greek Civil war in 1949.[2] The beginning of the ferment which led to the violent break up of Yugoslavia appeared to testify to the gloomiest scenarios.[3]

More specifically, in the elections of 1990, the nationalists came to power in all the republics of Yugoslavia (Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Slovenia), and the tensions between the different ethnic groups in the country increased significantly.[4] From July 1991, with eventual instability being seen as a much greater reality, the European Political Cooperation (EPC) of the then European Economic Community (EEC)[5] almost exclusively took on the responsibility for confronting the problems that would arise out of the process of dissolving Yugoslavia, and, therefore, for the new parameters of the Macedonian Question which were related to the independence of the Former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia (FYROM).[6] This period (1991-1992) remains the most important period connecting Europe with the question of the name of the newly-formed neighbouring republic.

In its attempt to support the prospect of a united Yugoslavia, the Community initially offered a substantial financial incentive. At the beginning of June 1991, the then President of the European Commission, Jacques Delors, visited Belgrade and informed the Yugoslavians that "they would be providing them with financial aid in the region of four to five billion dollars".[7] On the 24th of June, the Community and Yugoslavia signed the Third Financial Protocol, which amounted to 730 million ECU for a period until the 30th of June 1996.[8] However, despite these attempts by the Community, the process of dissolution of Yugoslavia soon proved to be unavoidable.

On the 25th of June 1991, Croatia and Slovenia declared their independence. The war in Yugoslavia began two days later, with an attack, controlled by the Serbian-Yugoslavian People's Army (YPA), against Slovenia. The same day, the Foreign Ministers of the EPC met in Luxembourg and decided that the Troika should make a visit to Yugoslavia.[9] The Troika put forward a plan which included the suspension of all declarations of independence for a period of three months, the return of the army to their camps, as well as a series of other measures which aimed at settlement of the constitutional crisis in the country.[10] Notwithstanding the fact that all parties agreed to the measures, not one was implemented. The Troika was forced to return on the 30th of June, this time threatening to suspend financial aid.

While the hostilities continued in Slovenia, the army of this new republic proved to be exceptionally successful in its campaigns against the YPA. In order to increase the pressure which it was exercising and to achieve a realistic settlement, an Extraordinary

Meeting of the EPC on the 5th July 1991 decided that the EPC would impose an embargo on weapons in all the Yugoslavian republics.[11] Similarly, urged the members of the international community to follow the same line. Greece approved of the decision and of the warning that failure to arrive at a settlement of some kind would result in a suspension of the Second and Third Protocols with Yugoslavia. These protocols, which constituted the largest aid packet which the European Community had ever made available to a single state, amounted to the sum of one billion dollars.[12]

On the 5th of July, the Committee of Senior Officials (CSO) of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) accepted the EPC plan, which asked primarily for an end to hostilities.[13] This acceptance also signaled the relinquishing by the CSCE of responsibility for finding a solution to the war in Yugoslavia. Perhaps for the first time in so many decades, the members of the EPC would shoulder the leading and almost exclusive role in solving an important international crisis.

The attempts by the EPC to achieve some kind of settlement appear to have culminated in the signing of the Brioni Agreement on the 7th of July.[14] This agreement provided for the withdrawal of YPA forces from Slovenia, a move which would mark the end of a limited war of only ten days duration. Furthermore, it was decided to send a delegation from the Community to monitor the ceasefire, while there was also an agreement for the commencement of negotiations before the 1st of August negotiations, which would deal with all aspects of the future Yugoslavia.

With the visits of the Troika and the Brioni Agreement, the EPC managed to gain a little time. The war had ended in Slovenia and had not been transferred to any other Yugoslavian republic. Nevertheless, it was clearer to all observers that “the era of the Yugoslavian Federation in its present form had become a thing of the past”, [15] as Jacques Delors observed. On the 13th of July, the Dutch presidency sent a telegraph to the members of the EPC, proposing that they move towards the “voluntary recasting of internal borders as a possible solution”.[16] The Greek government disagreed, but its negative stand did not cause problems. The Dutch proposal for an attempt at changing the borders before the granting of recognition did not manage to win support from within the EPC and as such did not advance.

2. CPC and the Question of the Name

In August of the same year war broke out in Croatia. On this occasion, the YPA proved to be more effective than it had been in Slovenia, managing to take control of a quarter of Croatia by the beginning of September. Faced with this undesirable development, Greece agreed to have her anxiety expressed during the Ministerial meeting of the CPC on the 27th of August. The meeting made clear that the forces of Serbian irregulars in Croatia and the YPA were considered responsible for the outbreak of violence in the region.[17] The then Greek Foreign Minister, Antonis Samaras, also decided together with his counterparts to establish a Peacekeeping Conference and an arbitration procedure which would be incorporated in the Conference.[18] This procedure would involve a five-member Arbitration Commission, with two of its members appointed by the Presidency of the Yugoslavian Federation. The decision to have Yugoslavian representatives participate on the Arbitration Commission was not finally realized, and, consequently, this commission was made up of only representatives from the member states of the EPC, who were at the same time the presidents of the Constitutional Councils of each country, with the Frenchman, Robert Badinter, as President.[19]

During the EPC meeting of the 27th of August, Antonis Samaras expressed his government’s anxiety over an issue which was destined to develop into an extremely

ambiguous matter and submitted a memorandum on Yugoslavian Macedonia.[20] The text began by expressing concern over Kossovo and FYROM, stressing that in the case of these two regions it might be necessary to use a different approach from that which had been adopted for Slovenia and Croatia. Using an academic, diplomatic but extremely unsettling tone, the memorandum maintained that a declaration of independence by Yugoslavian Macedonia would create serious problems. The state was not economically viable, while the huge Albanian minority which existed there would constitute a source of instability and perhaps, eventually, war.

It is worthwhile noting the prophetic content of the memorandum in connection with international relations in the region of the Balkans. The crises and the dangers which Greek diplomacy had been warning of from as early as 1991 were finally kindled eight years later in Kossovo and after ten years in FYROM. Justifiably, an analyst might wonder what the outcome of these crises might have been if the Greek reservations had been taken more seriously by our European partners.

In all events, the memorandum made it clear that Athens would not welcome a declaration of independence by FYROM. Nevertheless, since such a move was expected, the memorandum did not propose steps for its definitive annulment or postponement. On the contrary, it attempted to determine possible moves on the part of FYROM which Greece would consider hostile and provocative. In this way, the issue of the name of the new state arrived in the diplomatic foreground:

> *The Greeks strongly disputed the use of the traditional Greek name of Macedonia for the definition of a Slavic people… The Greeks believe that this name constitutes a part of their historical heritage and should not be used for the recognition, in an ethnic sense, of another nation.*[21]

The memorandum may stress the Greek sensitivity on the issue of the naming of Macedonia, but it does not demonstrate an absolutely specific and clear stand. Moreover, the objection to the specific ethnologic use of the name Macedonia, together with the fact that the document refers five times to the inhabitants of Yugoslavian Macedonia as Slavo-Macedonians, may imply that Greece might possibly have been open to a conciliatory appellation which would have included the term Macedonia, such as for example "Slavo-Macedonia".[22]

On the 8th of September 1991, the Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia held a referendum on the question of its independence. According to the official results, there was a 72.16 per cent turn-out.[23] Out of those who voted, 96.44 per cent declared their support for an "autonomous and independent state of Macedonia, with a right to become a part of a future union of sovereign Yugoslavian states".[24] On the basis of this referendum, the Assembly of the Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia declared the country's independence on the 17th of September.[25]

The Greek Prime Minister, Constantine Mitsotakis, responded to the results of the referendum by stressing that "the position of the Greek government, in connection with the name which they use [the inhabitants of the Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia] is given, self-evident and shared by the entire Greek nation".[26] This statement sent a resounding message that the name of the new republic was as important to the Greek people as it was to the government. At the same time, it did not reject or propose any particular name, leaving in this way sufficient room for negotiations and a possible compromise solution.[27]

On the 6th of October, Greece and its partners in the EPC

> *agreed that a political solution should be sought with the prospect of recognizing the independence of those republics which desire it, at the end of a*

> *negotiation process which is conducted in good faith and includes all the parties involved.*[28]

A similar statement was included in the Declaration of the 28th of October 1991.[29]

These statements definitely prepared the ground for FYROM's request for independence. However, the Greek government did not attempt to exploit this early opportunity to express its concerns or introduce certain terms which FYROM would be compelled to implement in the event of its declaring independence.

On the 7th of December 1991, the Arbitration Commission published its first resolution, which concluded that "the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia is in the process of dissolution".[30] As a result, it became more and more difficult for the member states of the EPC to avoid the subject of recognition, at least of certain Yugoslavian republics.

The question of recognition was also dealt with by the Greek government in its Cabinet meeting of the 4th of December 1991.[31] According to the minutes, there was a decision reached to support a united Yugoslavia.[32] Furthermore,

> *the government set out three provisions for the Republic of Skopje, which it would have to accept if it wished to have recognition from Greece: firstly, to change the name "Macedonia", which has geographic and not ethnic hypostasis, secondly, to recognize that it does not have territorial claims to the disadvantage of our country, and, thirdly, to recognize that there is no "Macedonian minority" in Greece.*[33]

As the Maastricht Summit approached, German pressure for the recognition of Croatia and Slovenia was stepped up. On the 14th of December, Dieter Vogel, the representative of Chancellor Kohl, affirmed Germany's intention to move for recognition of these two republics, regardless of whether or not this was keeping in step with the other European states.[34]

Under the prism of these developments, an Extraordinary EPC Ministerial Meeting was convened in Brussels on the 15th of December 1991,[35] a dramatic session which lasted ten hours. The agreement which was reached early the following morning marked the official and irreversible end of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. This meeting also provided an example of the seriousness of the intergovernmental approach of the EPC, since these weighty decisions were taken by the Council of Ministers.

The EPC ministers at the meeting adopted a common stand in connection with the terms which had to be fulfilled in order for recognition of the different republics to be granted.[36] The applications for recognition had to be submitted by the 23rd of December. It was also agreed that the Arbitration Commission would offer advice on the advantages of the different applications.

The stand taken by the German Foreign Minister, who was steadfast in his intention to recognize, be it unilaterally, some of the Yugoslavian republics, was definitely conducive to the taking of the above decisions. In order to preserve even a sense of the principle of solidarity, the Foreign Ministers of the EPC accepted the German stand in connection with recognition.

Antonis Samaras had never withdrawn his serious concerns over the repercussions which an eventual decision by the EPC to recognize the former Yugoslavian republic would have, especially in the event of an application by FYROM for recognition under the name "Republic of Macedonia". In the circumstances, however, the Foreign Minister considered that to veto all the decisions taken during the meeting would have been counter-productive. Nevertheless, in order to adequately confront the legitimate concerns of Greece, he insisted that there be included a paragraph which would set

additional provisions, which would apply to a future application for recognition by FYROM.

The Italian Foreign Minister, De Mikelis, proposed adopting a simple solution to the question with the name New Macedonia. Samaras, however, rejected this proposal. Finally, the ministers of the EPC agreed on the 16th of December to the three following conditions:

> *The Community and its member states also request that every Yugoslavian republic, before being granted recognition, undertake to adopt constitutional and political guarantees which ensure that they do not have territorial claims upon neighbouring member states of the Community and that they will not carry on hostile propaganda against neighbouring members*, including as well the use of names which imply territorial claims.[37]

The first two conditions proved to be a little less ambiguous. FYROM would appear to have realized that the vociferous conducting of hostile propaganda and whatever territorial claims it had upon Greece would not have been in accordance with the expectations and specifications which had to be satisfied by the states which were seeking recognition by the EPC. Consequently, it went ahead and made certain significant (but not necessary or adequate) changes in the constitution of the country.[38] All the same, the third condition which requested that countries applying for recognition not use a "name which would imply territorial claims", proved to be important, vague and ambiguous.

Samaras maintains that during the meeting of the 16th of December, he acted on the instructions in connection with FYROM, which he had been given by the government on the 4th of December. This assertion is accurate in as far as it refers to the name of the republic. Indeed, the wording of the third condition is consistent both with the decision taken during the Cabinet meeting of the 4th of December and with the memorandum on Yugoslavian Macedonia. Despite this, Samaras, as was clearly shown by his subsequent stand on the question, underestimated or misapprehended the possibility of a name such as Upper Macedonia or Vardar Macedonia being at least negotiable, if not acceptable, in accordance with the above records.[39]

The news of the agreement of the 16th of December, which set out the three conditions, generated enthusiasm in Greece. The government announced "a great national success",[40] while PASOK stated that the agreement constituted a "positive development".[41] The official and celebratory Greek statements, however, did not involve a restricted interpretation of the third condition set by the EPC, according to which the term "Macedonia" would have to be removed from the future name of FYROM.[42]

On the 22nd of December, in a significant development, the following question was put to Foreign Ministry spokesman, Ambassador Kalamidas: "If our partners [in the EPC] press for a composite name, would we reject it?"[43] The Ambassador replied that "it is clear that there is no question of backing down. What do you mean by a composite name?"[44] This dialogue constitutes the first indication of the adoption of a maximalist and a restricted interpretation of the third condition of the EPC. Notwithstanding this, the answer given by Kalamidas was somewhat vague. However, such a restricted interpretation was not the result of a certain document, the decision of a Cabinet meeting or a statement by the prime minister after the EPC meeting of the 16th of December. In other words, this was still not the official stand of the Greek government.

In the meantime, FYROM had submitted an application for recognition by the Community on the 20th of December, announcing its decision to satisfy all the required conditions.[45] On the 6th of January 1992, the parliament of this new republic added two amendments to its constitution. The first declared that FYROM would not revive terri-

torial claims upon neighbouring states, while the second pledged that "the republic would not intervene in the sovereign rights of other states and in their internal affairs.[46] Apart from these amendments, FYROM sent a series of answers and documents to the Badinter Commission.[47]

While the Arbitration Commission was studying the question carefully, Greece gave further indication of the significance of the name of the new republic. In a letter to the heads of the governments of the member sates of the Community on the 3rd of January 1992, the President of the Greek Republic, Konstantinos Karamanlis, noted that the name of this republic was "*of fundamental importance* to Greece… This republic has absolutely no right, historical or ethnologic, to use the name Macedonia".[48] It is worth noting that this wording did not support the restricted interpretation of the third condition of the EPC, in the sense that it did not contain a clear rejection of a composite name.

A few days later, on the 11th of January, the Arbitration Commission's decision on FYROM was announced.[49] The shock for the Greek circles where decisions are taken was great. The Arbitration Commission decided that FYROM conformed fully with the EPC's guidelines for recognition, laying emphasis on the decision by the republic to refrain from carrying on hostile propaganda. However, what was more significant was that the Badinter Commission adopted the view

> *that, furthermore, The Republic of Macedonia clearly renounced every territorial claim, whichever may be with declarations, without there being any vagueness and with obligatory validity under international law. And, consequently*, the use of the name "Macedonia" would not be able to imply any territorial claim upon another State.[50]

The decision of the Badinter Commission dealt a serious blow to the Greek arguments. Fortunately for Greece, the Arbitration Commission resolved at the same time not to recognize Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.[51] This fact provided Greek diplomacy with an opportunity. Attempting to win support from the EPC, Mitsotakis went to Rome and Bonn on the 14th of January. During meetings with Prime Minister Andreotti and Chancellor Kohl, he maintained that the EPC's recognition of FYROM under the name Macedonia would mean a tremendous blow for his government and, consequently, would endanger their small parliamentary majority of just two seats.[52] Something like this could return to power the then leader of the Opposition, Andreas Papandreou, who, it was considered, would adopt much more 'uncontrollable" behaviour within the scope of the EPC.

As a result of these arguments, Mitsotakis won Italian and German support, so as not to have FYROM recognized by the EPC unless the republic complied with all three conditions which it set at its meeting of the 16th of December 1991. Mitsotakis also appears to have pledged Greek support for the recognition of Croatia. After these developments, the EPC decided to ignore the advice of the Arbitration Commission and, on the 15th of January 1992, recognized Slovenia and Croatia but not FYROM.[53]

This decision marked the end to a period during which the Greek government exercised collaboration and a spirit of conciliation towards the former Yugoslavia and FYROM. Between June 1991 and January 1992, Greece collaborated fully within the framework of the EPC on almost all the issues which arose from the dissolution of Yugoslavia, contributing in this way to the attempts to limit and end the war.

Of special importance to subsequent developments was the rally in Thessalonikie, which constituted a historic event at which approximately one million citizens in Northern Greece expressed their interest in and sensitivity over the Macedonian Question.[54]

This enormous peace rally proceeded to condemn different hostile propagandistic activities of FYROM and, most important of all, attested to the special Greek Macedonian identity which is indissolubly associated with an uninterrupted historical and cultural presence which spans almost three thousand millennia.

The rally ended with the reading and adoption of a resolution which contained the following paragraph:

> *The government is called to stand by the spirit and message of the resolution of today's rally. The people of Macedonia and Thessalonike ask the Foreign Minister to continue to struggle and not to agree to recognize the government of Skopje by any name or appellation which would include the word Macedonia.*[55]

The Thessalonike rally supported the maximalist position on the question of the name, according to which the term "Macedonia" should not be included in the name of this new republic. In this way, it linked the question of a name for FYROM with authentic concerns, emotions and patriotism which could only be manifested in the freely expressed and unreserved will of one million people who were demonstrating in the streets.

Before the 14th of February 1992, Greek foreign policy was being exercised exclusively by experienced diplomats and elected politicians. Nevertheless, the fact that nearly one tenth of the population of the country so fervently supported a specific stand on a question which clearly concerned foreign policy had inevitable consequences. The people represented an important, if not a leading factor in the diplomatic efforts of Greece, not only because of the electoral power which they were able to exercise every four years, but mainly because of the constant reminder and pressure which they exercised in connection with the specific policy which the government should apply on the question of FYROM. It should be pointed out that the Thessalonike rally was the starting point of a process of interaction between foreign policy, internal policy and nationalism, which were linked with the activities of the country in connection with the Macedonian Question.

More specifically in connection with the name, this interaction culminated in the Second Council of Party Leaders which was convened on the 13th of April 1992, under the presidency of the then President of the Greek Republic, Konstantinos Karamanlis.[56] It proved to be a dramatic meeting, with an outburst from the president against the Foreign Minister, which virtually announced his dismissal from the government and also the formal adoption by almost the entire Greek political leadership of their preferred stand on the question of the name.

The meeting ended with a bulletin that stressed the following:

> *In connection with the question of Skopje, the political leadership of the country, with the exception of the Greek Communist Party, agreed that Greece will recognize Skopje as an independent country only if it complies with the three conditions which were stipulated by the EPC on the 16th of December 1991, with the self-evident clarification that in the name of that state the word Macedonia will not appear.*[57]

This wording marked the formal adoption, at the highest political level, of the non-negotiable maximalist position on the question of a name for FYROM. The combined results of the Thessalonike rally and this decision were enormous. The political leaders of the country responded in a positive way to this expression of power, quality and breadth of popular feeling. This agreement between the people and their representatives remained undisturbed for almost a decade, and was in fact displayed in different ways,

mainly with the rejection of international attempts at mediation which proposed settlements on the question of the name that were incompatible with the maximalist line which had been adopted.

In particular, in April of 1992, the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Joao De Deus Pinheiro, following a decision taken by the EPC, made specific diplomatic attempts and presented a settlement packet, known as the Pinheiro Packet, which aimed at a settlement of the dispute between Greece and FYROM.[58] This solution called for among other things abstaining from threats and the use of violence, offered guarantees of the inviolability of the frontiers and the territorial integrity of the two countries and ensured the legitimate and unobstructed transportation of goods. That which determined the fate of the Pinheiro Packet was the fact that it proposed the recognition of FYROM with the name "New Macedonia", provoking in this way a furious response from the then Foreign Minister of Greece, Antonis Samaras[59] and bringing about the final rejection of the proposed settlement.

Yet another attempt to achieve a compromise was made at the end of 1992 by the retired British diplomat Robin O'Neill,[60] under the aegis of the British Presidency of the EPC. The initiative by O'Neill resulted in a report submitted on the 3rd of December 1992,[61] which announced that "the government of FYROM… is … ready to accept the name Republic of Macedonia (Skopje) in all its international transactions".[62] The dissatisfaction of Athens with this unacceptable proposal was obvious and, consequently, the O'Neill Report was rejected with bitterness because it was not considered objective.[63]

After O'Neill's failure, the EU abandoned the attempt to solve the dispute between Greece and FYROM and the negotiations in connection with the question of the name passed into the scope of the UN, where in effect they remain up to this day.

3. The Interim Agreement of 1995 and rapprochement between Greece and FYROM.

Intense diplomatic activity behind the scenes in New York led to a third unsuccessful attempt at mediation by the UN negotiators Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, who, in May of 1993, submitted a draft plan which covered almost all the differences and points of disagreement between the two countries.[64] Nevertheless, the main provision of the draft plan in connection with the issue of the name included a proposal for the new country to be recognized internationally under the name "Nova Makedonija". The proposal was ostensibly similar to that of Pinheiro, but its notable difference was that it included the name in its Slavic (untranslatable) version, implying in this way that FYROM was without ancient Greek origins. Though many politicians in Athens saw the Vance-Owen draft plan as "a masterpiece of diplomatic expertise",[65] it was not compatible with the maximalist stance of the country on the question of the name and, despite its serious concern, the Mitsotakis government was not in a position to support or sign it.

The PASOK government under Andreas Papandreou imposed a more stringent and extensive embargo in February of 1994.[66] In addition to closing the General Consulate of Greece in Skopje, it decided to ban the movement of goods from and to Skopje, especially through the port of Thessalonike. Certain exceptions were made on humanistic grounds and, consequently, food and pharmaceutical products were not included in the otherwise almost general embargo.

Although at an international level the reaction to the move by Athens was almost universally adverse, it managed to put the question of the name of FYROM back on the agenda of the international community. One important problem appeared to have arisen when, on the 6th of April 1994, the European Council decided to take legal action

against Greece in the European Court of Justice (EC) over the question of the embargo.[67] Athens responded with a thorough and flawlessly grounded legal document.[68] Finally, on the 29th of June 1995, the EC decided in favour of Greece, rejecting the rationale of the Council as well as the request for the adopting of provisional measures.[69]

The question of the embargo was finally resolved with the signing of the Interim Agreement in New York on the 13th of September 1995, which formed a nodular point in the rapprochement and settlement of bipartite relations between Greece and FYROM.[70] This agreement was mainly the result of the intense pressure which had been exercised on both sides by the United States (and not the European Union).[71] The most important consideration before the signing of the agreement was whether to adopt the approach foreseen by the "big" or the "small packet". In the first case, the question of the name would be confronted and settled, while in the second, settlement over the question of the name would be postponed to a later time. Finally, the second approach was chosen for obvious political reasons.

Despite this, the approach foreseen by the "small packet" proved to be adequate enough to settle and stabilize bipartite relations between Greece and FYROM, and this was so because the Interim Agreement provided both sides with substantial benefits and advantages. More specifically, Greece managed to get a change made to the flag of FYROM. This concerned a sensitive matter since the flag of the country, which, as of August 1992, featured the Sun or Star of Vergina, had rightfully enraged the Greeks, who saw in this move an unfounded usurpation of the symbol of the ancient Macedonian dynasty.[72] Furthermore, Articles 6 and 7 of the Interim Agreement contained several clarifications and interpretations which referred to the constitution of FYROM, all of which fully satisfied the Greek side.

On the other hand, FYROM won recognition by Greece at an international level.[73] Similarly, it succeeded in ending the afflictive embargo (Article 8) and secured the pledge that Athens would not try to obstruct attempts by this new republic to join international organizations and institutions (Article 11). On the basis of the above, it becomes clearer that the Interim Agreement of 1995 settled many bipartite issues on the grounds of reciprocal accommodations and in this way allowed the postponement of the final settlement of the question of the name. As a result, this sensitive but at the same time crucial question was put aside.

In the five years that followed, the spectacular improvement in bipartite relations led the then Prime Minister of FYROM, Louptso Georgievski to describe the new situation as a "small miracle".[74] "By the end of 1999, the total amount of Greek investments was 150 million dollars and the invested capital amounted to 300 million dollars".[75] Between 1995-2000, Greece became the second largest trade partner of FYROM… and the largest investor in the country.[76] Greece was also in third place as a destination for FYROM's exports and in second place as the country of origin of its imports.[77] During the period 1995-2001 the "average annual rate of growth [of Greek investments was] 223.55%".[78] By March 2001 "Greek exports to Skopje constitute[d] 25% of our exports to the Balkans and Greek investments in the neighbouring country [had] created 5,000 jobs there".[79]

This success was the result of the fact that Greek companies purchased the largest petrol refineries, opened supermarket chains, and proceeded to invest in sectors of mining, meat processing, brewing and cement manufacturing. In addition, a petroleum pipeline was constructed connecting Skopje and Thessaloniki, while many joint ventures were established in the sectors of electricity generation, telecommunications, and the expansion of railway lines between the two countries.[80] Fully aware of the importance of national interests of the common objectives in foreign policy and of the

important economic opportunities, Athens provided for FYROM the sum of 74,840,000 Euro (for the five year period 2002-2006) within the framework of Hellenic Plan for the Economic Reconstruction of the Balkans (HIPERB).[81]

Today (2005) it is estimated that:

> *The volume of direct Greek investments which have been carried out or are in the process of being carried out exceeds 460 million US dollars, creating 8,000 jobs mainly in the sectors of petroleum products, telecommunications, mining, textiles, banking, tobacco manufacturing and food and drink. As far as bipartite trade is concerned during the year 2002, Greece was the third largest supplier of goods to FYROM, after Germany and Serbia-Montenegro.*[82]

Furthermore, Greece also signed a military pact with Skopje in December 2000, which provided for increased cooperation on border patrols, the secure exchange of classified documents between the respective heads of the armed forces and collaboration in the sector of arms manufacture.[83] For a period before the outbreak of ethnic disturbances in FYROM in 2001, hopes emerged for an agreement which would have been concluded successfully on the basis of the name "Gornamakedonia" [Upper Macedonia], in combination with the provision of substantial Greek aid and guarantees of security.[84] The outbreak of an armed ethnic crisis during 2001,[85] effectively ended these attempts.

Athens stood actively by Skopje when the territorial integrity and existence of the neighbouring country was endangered. Greek diplomacy openly condemned all attempts at using violence to change the borders of the southeastern Europe and at the same time gave its support for human and minority rights.[86]

The responsible and mature behaviour of all the Greek parties allowed Greece to appear internationally as righteous and earnest in its attempts to confront a problem which, on top of all, had the potential to destabilize the wider region.[87] Special mention must be made of the letter which was sent by the then leader of the opposition and president of the New Democracy party, Kostas Karamanlis, to the *International Herald Tribune*, in which he observes the following:

> *Greece...desires a more tangible display of the determination of the international community to oppose ethnic terrorism. Clear guidelines must be formulated for the protection of minority rights, while effective mechanisms of regional cooperation must be established for their implementation.* The Greek government has stressed its commitment to moves in this direction, and on this [matter] it has the support of the New Democracy, the main opposition party.[88]

It would have been in vain to seek a somewhat similar example of public and international support of the government's foreign policy in relation to the post-Cold War Macedonian Question in the decade preceding this.

The positive assistance of Athens culminated in a series of steps which resulted in the signing, on the 9th of April 2001, of the Stability and Association Agreement between the European Union and FYROM. In fact, FYROM was the first western Balkan country to succeed in signing a Stability and Association Agreement with the EU.[89] This event is particularly significant because it also marked the indirect association between the EU and FYROM and by extension the parameters which are established by the new phase in the Macedonian Question.

The ethnic crisis in FYROM ended with the signing of the Ochrid Agreement.[90] During this period, intense international pressure was exerted on Athens (mainly by the USA) to give way and accept a compromise on the question of the name.

Finally [the then Greek Foreign Minister, Georgios] Papandreou resorted to a bold move. He successfully requested that the EU Foreign and Security Policy Chief, Xavier Solana, be assigned to function on behalf of the EU as mediator on the problem with [FYROM]. The purpose was twofold: Greece gained a necessary breathing space and *the matter was once again brought within the jurisdiction of the EU as well*.[91]

With this move, Athens managed to avoid further pressure, which together with the events of the 11th of September helped shift the strategic interest and priorities of the USA. In addition, the role of the EU in connection with the question of the name did not continue beyond that certain, brief point in time since the actual negotiations remained within the scope of the UN.

In any case, it is significant that became clear to the leadership of the Slavo-Macedonians that the only valid hope of preserving their nation lay in its accession to the Euro-Atlantic frameworks. The future of Skopje is indissolubly connected with Brussels. The realization of this fact by both Athens and Skopje gave rise to the conditions for a new phase of serious negotiations the outcome of which were the Nimitz proposals of April 2005.

4. The European Union as a Catalyst in the Settlement of the Question of the Name;

The ulterior motive of all the Balkan states, including FYROM, is still to gain accession to the European Union. The summit meeting of the European Council (EC) in Thessaloniki on the 19th and 20th of July 2003, held during Greek presidency of the EU, constituted a focal point in this process.

More specifically, the European Council of Thessaloniki used language which left no doubt over the European future of the Balkans:

> *recalling its conclusions in Copenhagen (December 2002) and Brussels (March 2003), it reiterated its determination to* fully *and* effectively *support the European perspective of the Western Balkan countries, which will become an* integral part *of the EU once they meet the established criteria.*[92]

In addition, on the 21st of June 2003 a separate summit meeting was held between the EU and the Western Balkan countries to deal with all the problems in the region as well as bipartite relations. In the declaration which followed, the EU affirmed

> *its outright support of the European perspective of the Western Balkan countries. The future of the Balkans is to be found within the scope of the European Union.*[93]

Taking into account the above developments, the government of Skopje submitted, on the 22nd of March 2004, a formal application for accession of the state of FYROM to the EU.[94] At the same time, attempts were stepped up to have FYROM admitted to NATO, in all likelihood by 2007.

Athens, after "reading" correctly the significance of these developments, asked in September 2004 for a stepping up of the talks in New York over a settlement of the name.[95] The Greek government chose in this way to take the initiative so as not to be faced with a fait accompli, or to be dragged under the weight of developments into spasmodic and ineffective actions, as had unfortunately happened on several occasions

in the past. In other words, seeing that the intention of Skopje to gain admission to the Euro-Atlantic framework would inevitably bring the question of the name back into the foreground at international level, it was preferable to have it presented by Greece, which in this way was able to surprise and take (at least in the first stages) the "reins" in this new diplomatic attempt.

Furthermore, Athens used rhetoric and argumentation which was not only based on incontestable Greek laws on issues connected with the (ancient and modern) history of the Macedonian Question. The leadership of the Foreign Ministry linked the settlement of the issue of the name with the wider stability of the Western Balkans, in expectation of a decision on the final regime for Kosovo as well. In effect, Greece called for the active support of the international community (and especially of the USA) not only as confirmation of the validity of the Greek position, but mainly as a basis for a realistic formulation of reciprocal regional interests.

Greek diplomacy suffered a serious blow when the USA recognized, on the 4th of November, the newly-formed republic under its constitutional name "Republic of Macedonia".[96] Despite this, the negotiations continued in New York and finally a proposal was submitted by the special UN mediator, Matthew Nimitz. On the question of the name, Nimitz concluded that

> *The essence of the solution which is embodied in this resolution is an explicit recognition that the constitutional name of the State is "REPUBLIKA MAKEDONIJA", but a further decision that in the interest of peace and harmony in the region and good neighborliness, and to avoid misunderstandings, the name of the capital of "REPUBLIKA MAKEDONIJA" will be appended to the constitutional name with a hyphen to form a new composite name to be used in the United Nations and for other official international usage.*[97]

Athens initially approved the Nimitz proposal as a basis for further negotiations,[98] while Skopje appeared to reject it.[99] The reaction from Greece was strong and it virtually threatened to exercise its veto and thereby deprive FYROM of the possibility of acceding not only to the EU but to NATO as well.[100] However, for the first time since 1991, FYROM and not Greece was seen by the international community to be the main obstacle to the finding of a conciliatory solution. Skopje is indeed inexpiably adhering to an unwarranted maximalist position. This development constitutes a clear diplomatic gain for Greece, which perhaps "shields" us from unfavourable reactions, provided it becomes necessary in the future to take tough decisions which are connected with FYROM's move towards accession.

In any case, it must be stressed that the European perspective of FYROM constitutes a difficult, distant but at the same time feasible and necessary objective. The possibility of realizing such a development sends a clear message to the Albanian citizens of the country that their future has to be sought in Europe and not in armed nationalistic escapades and expansionist ideas. The well-being and security of the newly-formed neighbouring republic can be safeguarded in the long run only through the procedure which will lead to its accession to the Euro-Atlantic frameworks. The road to Europe constitutes for FYROM the best guarantee of peaceful coexistence among the nationalities and long term political stability.

Both of FYROM's strategic goals (admission to NATO and especially the EU) remain connected with the institutional choices and capabilities of Athens, which (rightly so) continues to support political stability and admission to the Euro-Atlantic frameworks for all the Balkan states.

Furthermore, the establishing of a permanent regime for Kossovo constitutes a development which affects perhaps the structure and existence of FYROM. Public opinion among the Slavo-Macedonians perceives that major reclassifications in the Western Balkans which are related to the Albanian element do not bring adverse consequences for their nation.

Consequently, it is not out of the question, despite the initial rejection of the Nimitz proposal, for the government of Skopje to be forced to accept a diplomatic compromise on the question of the name, allowing for the country's relatively unhindered admission to the EU and, at the same time, creating the conditions for a virtual overcoming of the almost endemic instability which continues to characterize FYROM. In the event of something like this happening, and in spite of the failures of the decade of the 1990s, the EU, the allurement of being accepted within its embrace, and the institutional parameters which are connected with the procedure of expansion will play a catalytic role which will probably lead to developments that would include a final settlement of the question of the name.

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Notes

1. For the history of the Balkans see Glenny, 1999, Hupchick, 2002, Castellan, 1991, Mazower, 2000 and mainly Stavrianos, 2000.
2. See Kofos, 1999, pp. 227-9.
3. For the dissolution of Yugoslavia see Burg and Shoup, 1999, Glenny, 1992, Gow, 1997, Holbrooke, 1988, Owen, 1995 and Woodward, 1995**.**
4. Montenegro was perhaps the only exception. For an analysis of the elections of 1990 see Woodward, 1995, pp. 117-125.
5. For the more standard and important study of the EPC see Ifestos, 1987. Nevertheless, we may briefly mention, in connection with the status of the EPC as a regime, the principle of solidarity which governs it. (See the Luxembourg Report of 1970, Part Two I. b, the Copenhagen Report of 1973, Part I. ii, the Introduction to the London Report of 1981 and the Single European Act (SEA) of 1986). Other important principles are that of deliberation, confidentiality and the parallel status as a member of the Community and the EPC (For the principle of deliberation, see the Copenhagen Report Part II. 11, and SEA Chapter III. Article 30. 2. a. On the subject of confidentiality, see The London Report, Article 6. For the parallel status of a member, see Nuttall, 1992a, pp. 43 and 260). Furthermore, the EPC functions on the basis of the principle that there cannot be any military confrontation between its member states. We can therefore assert that the members of the EPC constitute a plural community which focuses on security issues "Within such a community, the likelihood of a military confrontation had been removed together with all the special preparations for such an event" (Deutsch, 1979, p. 180).
6. In this work, the term FYROM will be used. This approach has the advantage of being consistent with Resolution 817 adopted by the UN Security Council on 7th April 1993, for that state's "being provisionally referred to for all purposes within United Nations as 'the Former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia' pending settlement of the difference that has arisen over the name of the state". For the full text of the resolution see Valinakis and Dalis, 1994, p. 147.
7. Gow and Freedman, 1992, p. 99.
8. For the terms of the protocol, see Official Journal of the European Communities (hereafter referred to as OJ), No C 134/6, 24.5.91.
9. See Bull. EC 6-1991, p. 8.
10. See Gow and Freedman, 1992, p. 102.
11. See EPC Press Release P. 61/91, 5 July 1991.
12. *The Times*, 6 July 1991, p. 10. See also Weller, 1992, p. 573.
13. For further details on the EPC plan, see Gow and Freedman, 1992, pp. 105-106.
14. For the text of the Brioni Agreement, see European Political Cooperation Documentation Bulletin (hereafter referred to as EPCDB), vol. 7, 1991, pp. 334-338. See also *TheFinancial Times*, 8 July 1991, p. 1, Gow and Smith, 1992, p. 10, Weller, 1992, pp. 573-574 and Woodward, 1995, pp. 168-172.
15. See OJ No 3-407/68, 9.7.91.
16. The text of the telegraph can be found in Owen, 1995, pp. 2-3.

17. For the declaration concerning Yugoslavia which was arrived at during this conference, see EPCDB, vol. 7, 1991, pp. 389-390.
18. The peace-keeping conference began in The Hague on the 7th of September 1991 and was presided over by the former British Foreign Minister, Lord Carrington.
19. For this reason the Arbitration Commission is often referred to as the Badinter Commission. Badinter was eventually supported by his fellow ministers from Belgium, Spain, Germany and Italy.
20. For the text of the memorandum see Skylakakis, 1995, pp. 258-260.
21. Skylakakis, 1995, pp. 259-260, the emphasis being my own.
22. See Skylakakis, 1995, pp. 42-43.
23. The full results are to be found in Valinakis and Dalis, 1994, pp. 38-39.
24. Quoted in Valinakis and Dalis, 1994, p. 38.
25. For the text of the declaration of independence of FYROM see Valinakis and Dalis, 1994, pp. 40-42.
26. Skylakakis, 1995, p. 46.
27. Mr. Mitsotakis made several similar statements prior to the meeting of Cabinet on the 4th of December 1991. For a reference to the most important statements which were made in the middle of November 1991, see Lygeros, 1992, pp. 104-105 and Tarkas, 1995, p. 64.
28. EPCDB, vol. 7, 1991, p. 476, the emphasis being my own. See also Genser, 1997, pp. 792-793.
29. See EPC Press Release P. 106/91, 28th of October 1991.
30. *International Legal Materials* (hereafter referred to as ILM), Vol. 31, No. 6, (December 1992), p. 1494.
31. For important references to this meeting see Skylakakis, 1995, pp. 62-63 and Petridis, 1997, p. 391.
32. The minutes are to be found in Papakonstantinou, 1994, p. 419.
33. Papakonstantinou, 1994, p. 419, the emphasis being my own.
34. *The New York Times*, 15 December 1991, p. A1.
35. See Genser, 1997, pp. 797-799, Skylakakis, 1995, pp. 63-64 and Tarkas, 1995, pp. 67-69.
36. See EPC Press Release P. 128/91, 16 December 1991. These terms were also to be applied to the recognition of the new states of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.
37. Quoted in Valinakis and Dalis, 1994, p. 52, the emphasis being my own.
38. See Kofos, 1994, p. 49.
39. For example, the meeting of the Council of Ministers on the 4th of December 1991 had decided that the name Macedonia "had a geographic…basis" (Papakonstantinou, 1994, p. 419).
40. The official government statement is referred to in Tarkas, 1995, p. 70.
41. *Eleutherotypia*, 18 December 1991, p. 4.
42. For statements by Mitsotakis and Samaras, see *Makedonia*, 18 December 1991, p. 1.
43. Quoted in Tarkas, 1995, p. 77.
44. Quoted in Tarkas, 1995, p. 77.
45. See *Macedonia*, 21 December 1991, p. 20.
46. 31 ILM, p. 1511 (1992).
47. For the answers given by FYROM on the important questionnaire which was sent by the Arbitration Commission, see Valinakis and Dalis, 1994, pp. 54-62.
48. For the letter from Karamanlis see Ioannou,1992, pp. 101-102, the emphasis being my own.
49. For the resolution of the Arbitration Commission, see Valinakis and Dalis, 1994, pp. 65-71.
50. Valinakis and Dalis, 1994, p. 71.
51. For the resolutions of the Arbitration Commission on Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, see 31 ILM, pp. 1501-1507 (1992).
52. See Lygeros, 1992, p. 117, note 64.
53. See EPC Press Release P. 9/92, 15 January 1992.

54. For a lengthy analysis of the Thessalonike rally and its immediate consequences, see Tziampiris, 2000, pp. 97-101.
55. *Macedonia*, 15 February 1992, p. 5.
56. For the Second Council of Party Leaders, see Papandreou, 1997, pp. 516-539, Skylakakis, 1995, pp. 133-143, Tarkas, 1995, pp. 282-291 and Tziampiris, 2000, pp. 122-125 and 132-133. The First Council of Political Leaders was of lesser importance and took place on the 18th of February 1991. See Skylakakis, 1995, pp. 93-96.
57. Valinakis and Dalis, 1994, p. 93.
58. For the content of the Pinheiro Packet, see Valinakis and Dalis, 1996, pp. 87-90.
59. See Skylakakis, 1995, p. 284.
60. Important information on this diplomatic episode is given in O'Neill, 1997 and Papakonstantinou, 1994, pp. 169-210.
61. For the text of the report by O'Neill, see Papakonstantinou, 1994, pp. 431-439.
62. Papakonstantinou, 1994, p. 437.
63. See Tziampiris, 2000, p. 151.
64. For an analysis of this initiative, see Kofos, 1999, pp. 243-244, and Papakonstantinou, 1994, pp. 381-412.
65. Kofos, 1999, p. 244.
66. See Kofos, 1999, pp. 244-246, and Tarkas, 1997, pp. 376-403. For important statistical data in connection with the economic burden to FYROM after a year's enforcement of the embargo, see Valinakis and Dalis, 1996, pp. 329-332. Gligorov in his memoirs made the following assumptions: "It is not unlikely that when the Greeks imposed the embargo, they calculated that we would not be able to hold out. There is no way for us to import from abroad petrol and the necessary raw materials for our industry, which at the same time obstructs our exports. Especially our very important exports, such as, for example, the exports of minerals... Meaning – the embargo hit all our remaining production" (Gligorov, 2001, p. 306). It has also to be pointed out that the huge mass rallies which were held in Athens and Thessalonike in 1994 (in combination with the embargo) attest to the strong popular feeling over the question of the name at the time.
67. For the announcement of and thinking behind the legal action see Valinakis and Dalis, 1996, pp. 239-240.
68. See Valinakis and Dalis, 1996, pp. 241-298.
69. See Valinakis and Dalis, 1996, pp. 302-327.
70. For the text of the Interim Agreement see Rozakis 1996. For the more interesting analysis of the Interim Agreement which in addition proves that Athens gave ground in connection with the Vance-Owen plan, see Kofos, 2003α, pp. 167-170.
71. Richard Holbrooke has given a singular, frank and lengthy report on the American diplomatic efforts. See Holbrooke, 1988, pp. 121-127. See also Rozakis, 1996, p. 15.
72. See paragraph 2 of Article 7 and Tziampiris, 2000, p. 144.
73. Article 1.
74. See website: http://world.flash.gr/research/print_version_asp?articleid+2251.
75. *The Vima*, "Epicheirimatika Kardiochtypia sta Skopia [Business Heartbeat in Skopje]", 25 March 2001.
76. See *Flash.gr*, "PGDM: Menei mono to onoma [FYROM: Only the name remains" December 2000.
77. Nikas, 2003, p. 122.
78. Nikas, 2003, p. 135.
79. *Flash.gr*, "Simitis stin Bouli gia PGDM [Simitis in parliament on FYROM]", 2 March 2001.
80. See mainly Nikas, 2003, pp. 135-139 and Tziampiris, 2000, p. 53.
81. See web page http://www.mfa.gr/greek/foreign_policy/europe_southeastern/-balkans/fyrom.html as well as *The Kathimerini*, "Dysphoria Skopion gia kathysterisi boitheias [Resentment of Skopje over delay in help]", 21 February 2003.
82. See web page http://www.mfa.gr/greek/foreign_policy/europe_southeastern/balkans/fyrom.html. The data comes from the Greek Foreign Ministry.

83. See *Eleutherotypia*, "Tha boithame ta Skopia na phylane ta synora tous [We will help Skopje to guard its borders]", 12 December 2000.
84. See Kofos, 2003α, pp. 199-204, *The Vima*, "Epitynchanetai symphonia gai to onoma ton Skopion [Agreement reached on the name for Skopje]", 26 January 2001, *Eleutherotypia*, "Protasi Athinas sta Skopia me prosphores kai onoma [Proposal from Athens to Skopje with offers and a name], 9 February 2001, *Kathimerini*, "To zitima tou onomatos se krisimo staurodromi [The question of the name at a crucial crossroads]", 11 February 2001, *Kathimerini*, "Kai to onoma autis 'Gornamakedonia' (Anomakedonia) [And its name 'Gornamakedonia' (Upper-Macedonia)]", 13 May 2001 and mainly, International Crisis Group, "Macedonia's Name: Why the Dispute Matters and How to Resolve It", 10 December 2001, p. 10.
85. For detailed explanation of the events in connection with the nationality crisis in FYROM see Vichou, 2005, Balalovska, et al, 2002, Phillips, 2004 and Roudometof, 2002, pp. 211-223.
86. A complete explanation and justification of the Greek position during the crisis in FYROM can be found in the announcement of the then Foreign Minister, Mr. Georgios Papandreou in connection with the Cabinet meeting on the 5th of July 2001 over the latest developments in FYROM. See web page: http://www.papandreou.gr/2.../-ana_ypex_fyrom_05072001.htm. See also, *The Vima*, "I Athina aporriptei kathgorimatika ta senaria gia diaspasi tis PGDM [Athens categorically rejects the scenario for the disruption of FYROM]", 7 June 2001.
87. For interesting argumentation according to which Greece chose the path of ethics and not that of *Realpolitik*, missing perhaps a unique opportunity to place the question of the name imperatively to the government of FYROM, which had been weakened by the nationality crisis, see Kofos, 2003a, pp. 203-204.
88. *International Herald Tribune*, "A United Response to Ethnic Violence", 12 May 2001, the emphasis being my own.
89. See Kontonis, 2003, pp. 92-93.
90. For the text of the Ochrid Agreement see web page http://www.sinf.gov.mk/-PressRoomEN/2001/07/n0815.htm.
91. Kofos, 2003, p. 204, the emphasis being my own.
92. Conclusions of the Presidency, European Council meeting of Thessalonike 19 and 20 June 2003, the emphasis being my own.
93. Statement, Summit Meeting European Union-Western Balkans, 21 June 2003, the emphasis being my own. Likewise, the European Union pledged to increase economic aid to the Western Balkans by an amount in excess of 200 million Euro, which represented an increase in the respective expenditure of 12 per cent.
94. The opinion of the European Commission is expected in October 2005.
95. *Flash.gr*, "Synechisi tou dialogou gia tin onomasia tis PGDM apophasisan oi YPEX Elladas kai Skopion [The Foreign Ministers of Greece and Skopje have decided to resume talks on the name for FYROM]", 23 September 2004.
96. See International Crisis Group, (ICG), *Macedonia: Not Out of the Woods Yet*, 25 February 2005, pp. 4-5 on web page: http://www.crisisweb.org/home/-index.cfm?id=3295&l=1
97. *Eleutherotypia*, "Sto phos to akros aporriton [The top secret come to light]", 13 April 2005.
98. For the full text of the letter from Nimitz see Eleutherotypia, *op. cit.,* It contains some problematic provisions, such as for example in the text of the proposed UN resolution it states that it will "declare that no state or official subdivision of it will be referred to, at any time in international and formal use, as 'Macedonia' or 'Makedonija' ".
99. *The Kathimerini*, "Oute bima piso apo ta Skopia [Not a step back by Skopje]", 20 April 2005.
100. See in particular the respective interview with the under-secretary for Foreign Affairs, Gianni Valinakia (*Eleutheros Typos*, " I adiallaxia tha echei megalo kostos gia ta Skopia [Intransigence will be of serious detriment to Skopje]", 11 April 2005.